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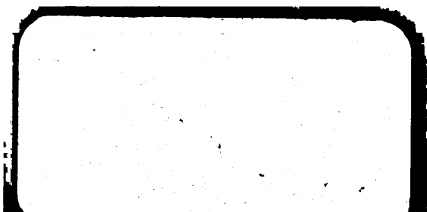
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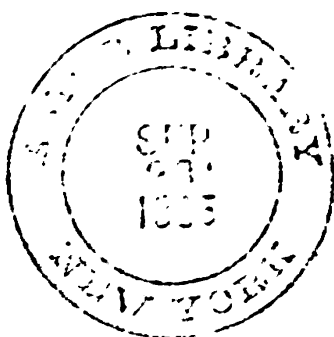
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ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS.

BY A SCOTTISH CLERGYMAN.

THAT in all our Churches it is desirable both to increase the variety and to improve the quality of the sacred songs employed in devotional exercises may be said to be generally felt. The whole question has often been discussed, and within the last year or two has received an unusual share of public attention. In this article we do not mean to attempt more than to offer a few practical suggestions, chiefly in regard to one special mode by which the psalmody might, in our opinion, receive important additions at once in variety and in quality. The scheme in question—which is no more than a large extension of the use of alternate, or second, versions of the Psalms—is not now proposed for the first time; but it has never hitherto succeeded in obtaining practical recognition in the degree to which we think it is entitled.

It is not certainly to be maintained, for a moment, that the Psalms of David are the only songs of praise which ought to be employed in Christian worship. Fully admitting, however, the force of the arguments from antiquity, and from the nature of the case, in favour of the introduction into the service of God of hymns as well as psalms, and admitting, also, the high character, every way, of many hymns, we may claim for the Book of Psalms, both as a collection of devotional songs written by inspiration, and as one which for so many ages

has been used by the universal Church, a preeminence, at least, in the services of the sanctuary. Nothing, indeed, need here be said in commendation of the Psalms themselves. By their depth of spiritual meaning; by their wide sympathies with human nature, not in its accidental, but in its essential conditions, in those weaknesses, sufferings, fears, and hopes which are incident to all men everywhere; by their marvellous anticipations of the spirit of the Gospel—a result of their prophetic character; and by the use, even in those of them which abound most in national or personal allusions, of a symbolical language, which, in its highest sense, is not less intelligible nor less becoming on the lips of a Christian than of a Jew: these Hymns of the Temple have been preserved from ever becoming obsolete, and will doubtless endure as the mother tongue of devotion “while the earth endureth.”

The Psalms suffer, of course, in translation; and especially must they suffer when, not only are the Hebrew vocables translated into English vocables, but the Hebrew versification into English versification. A prose version of the Psalms, however much to be preferred on other grounds, is open to the serious exception, as far as regards its use in congregational singing, that it cannot be adapted to that purpose without involving to a very great extent the sacrifice of the meaning of the words to the music. In the Church of England and other Churches, where a literal prose translation is in part employed, the result is notorious. In the words of Dr. Elvey, “The musical rendering becomes a veil to the meaning, and affects most painfully the expression of the words.”^a It appears, therefore, to be indispensable, as it is certainly reasonable, that in transferring the Psalms to another language, in order that they may be sung in churches, they should be reproduced, as they were originally composed, in some kind of verse. This in a considerable degree increases the difficulty of translation,—i.e., if the aim be at once fidelity to the original, and the attainment of anything like vigour in the expression. Mr. Warton, indeed, declares the difficulty to be insuperable; and though, perhaps, partly influenced by his ecclesiastical views, and a preference for what he calls the “catholic usage,” yet avowedly, on the ground of criticism and literary taste, pronounces all metrical versions of the Psalms an abomination.^b Mr. Warton and his friend Dr. Johnson, who shared his antipathies, were probably not aware that their objections to metrical psalms had been anticipated,

^a Elvey's *Psalter*, quoted in *A New Metrical Translation of the Book of Psalms, Accentuated for Chanting*. Preface, pp. xi., xii.

^b *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii., p. 456.

and even surpassed, by men with whom they were, as far as possible, from sympathizing on other matters. In Baillie's *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times* (1646) the curious reader will find evidence that among some of the Independents of the Commonwealth period, not only were hymns, or, as they called them, "apocryphal and erroneous ballads in rhyme sung instead of the Psalms and other songs of Holy Scripture," condemned as unlawful; but the like sentence was pronounced against the "rhyming and paraphrasing the Psalms" themselves: the "Psalms in rhyme" being elegantly compared by one of their chief authorities to "the harmony of vultures and cranes."⁶ Such extravagancies, however, apart, there can be no doubt that a perfect reproduction of the Hebrew text is impossible; and the defects of all existing versions, though often absurdly exaggerated, are considerable.

Imperfect as all such versions may be, we maintain that the Psalms are, even in their rudest dress, entitled to the pre-eminence in devotional poetry. It is remarkable how little they suffer in the best, nay, in some of the very worst, metrical versions in that quality which is the most essential, especially in translations from inspired writings,—namely, in meaning. Fidelity is certainly not everything. Devotional poetry, whether original or translated, must possess some properties in common with all other true poetry. It ought not, for instance, to violate the rules of criticism and grammar. As Sir Roundell Palmer justly says,⁴ "Its language may be homely, but should not be slovenly or mean. . . . Nor will the most exemplary soundness of doctrine atone for doggerel, or redeem from failure a prosaic, didactic style." Fidelity, however, if not the only quality desirable in a version of compositions like the Psalms, is the most important; and it is, we say again, astonishing how generally, and, in many instances, how perfectly this essential end has been attained. One of the literary characteristics of the Bible on the whole is its *translateableness*,⁵ and the Book of Psalms appears to be no exception. Mr. Keble, certainly, while admitting that "the system of parallel members and clauses on which the Psalms are constructed, seems to have been providentially framed with a view to the expression in other languages of their form as well as substance;" adds, "but the more encouragement it gives to versions merely rhythmical, such as those of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, or the English Prayer Book, the less chance does it leave of suc-

⁶ See *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, pp. 29, 42, 81.

⁴ *Book of Praise*. Preface.

⁵ McCulloch's *Literary Characteristics of the Holy Scriptures*, p. 57.

cess in any modern metre ; the form of the two being not only different, but, generally speaking, irreconcilable.”^f We venture to think Mr. Keble’s success in his own metrical version is a sufficient reply to this argument ; and not *his* success only, but that of many other men without a tithe of the genius of the author of the *Christian Year*. The fact, at all events, is that the meaning is generally preserved with surprising accuracy. This has, indeed, been the great aim of most of our English versifiers of the Hebrew Psalter ; those who have engaged in this pious labour having usually done so in a truly pious and reverent spirit, and been content to sacrifice all comparatively unimportant considerations to fidelity. Not that they have always failed in the valuable, though less essential, qualities of force and grace of expression. Upon the whole, though not, as already admitted, in any case perfect productions, our English versions of the Psalms, speaking of them here generally (for some collections and some Psalms are much better than others), so far, in our opinion, resemble their inspired originals, that we think no other devotional poetry can be compared to them for all purposes of public worship.

We advocate, therefore, strongly—not the exclusive, but the liberal use of versions of the Psalms in the worship of God ; and, indeed, hold not only that the old practice in this respect should be continued—or rather, as regards some churches, we must say restored—but that that practice should be extended, by the introduction into our Church psalters of as many alternative versions as possible.

The advantage of such an extension is obvious. To increase the mere number of the pieces in our collections would, of course, be an evil rather than a good ; but a selection of different versions of the same Psalms would do much more than swell the bulk of our Psalters, and would in our opinion, to a very considerable extent, vary the nature of their contents. More variety in the forms provided for praise is often demanded by congregations, and may be gained many ways (as by the larger use of hymns), but gained in the manner to which we are now referring perhaps as effectually as in any other. It would be easy to specify two or three, or six or eight, or even twice as many distinct versions of some Psalms, every one of them good, and every one of them more or less different from the others ; so different as to introduce some element of novelty either in the words or in the style, perhaps in the thought ; something more clearly brought out than in the others, which have their

^f *The Psalter*. By a Member of the University of Oxford. Third edition. Preface, p. vii.

own excellencies in their turn ; as different, in short, as many hymns which have no common origin. Above all, however, a liberal use of alternative versions would, we believe, rescue from comparative oblivion, and turn to profitable account, some of the best devotional verses which exist in our language ; for such are, in our opinion, not a few of those renderings of the Psalms which, under the common arrangement, are set aside as superfluous.

As one, and not a very favourable, example, take a few of the many translations which have been made of a Psalm which, for obvious reasons, has been more often attempted than almost any other—though not by any means, in our opinion, more successfully—namely, the Twenty-third. We venture to think the versions printed below will be found, on comparison, at once sufficiently varied, at least, in expression, and also sufficiently on a par in point of excellence to justify the admission of more than one of them into any collection :—

KEBLE.

My shepherd is the Lord ; I know
 No care or craving need ;
 He lays me where the green herbs grow
 Along the quiet mead :
 He leads me where the waters glide,
 The waters soft and still,
 And homeward He will gently guide
 My wandering heart and will.
 He brings me on the righteous path,
 Even for His name's dear sake.
 What if in vale and shade of death
 My dreary way I take ?
 I fear no ill, for Thou, O God,
 With me for ever art ;
 Thy shepherd's staff, Thy guiding rod,
 'Tis they console my heart.
 For me Thy board is richly spread
 In sight of all my foes,
 Fresh oil of thine embalms my head,
 My cup of grace o'erflows.
 Oh, nought but love and mercy wait
 Through all my life on me,
 And I within my Father's gate
 For long bright years shall be.

GEORGE SANDYS.

The Lord my shepherd, me his sheep
 Will from consuming famine keep.

He fosters me in fragrant meads,
 By softly sliding waters leads
 No terror can my courage quail
 Though shaded in death's gloomy vale !
 By thy protection fortified ;
 Thy staff my stay, thy rod my guide !
 My table thou hast furnishéd,
 Pour'd precious odours on my head ;
 My mazer [goblet] flows with pleasant wine ;
 While all my foes with envy pine.
 Thy mercy and beneficence
 Shall ever joyn in my defence ;
 Who in thy house will sacrifice
 Till aged Time close up mine eyes.

GEORGE HERBERT.

The God of love my shepherd is,
 And he that doth me feed ;
 While he is mine and I am his,
 What can I want or need ?
 He leads me to the tender grass
 Where I both feed and rest ;
 Then to the streams that gently pass :
 In both I have the best.
 Or if I stray, he doth convert
 And bring my mind in frame !
 And all this not for my desert,
 But for his holy name.
 Yea, in Death's shady black abode
 Well may I walk, not fear :
 For thou art with me, and thy rod
 To guide, thy staff to bear.
 Nay, thou dost make me sit and dine
 Even in my enemies' sight ;
 My head with oil, my cup with wine,
 Runs over day and night.
 Surely thy sweet and wondrous love
 Shall measure all my days ;
 And as it never shall remove,
 So neither shall my praise.

SCOTCH CHURCH VERSION.

The Lord's my shepherd. I'll not want.
 He makes me down to lie
 In pastures green : he leadeth me
 The quiet waters by.
 My soul he doth restore again ;
 And me to walk doth make
 Within the paths of righteousness,
 Even for his own name's sake.

Yea, though I walk in Death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill;
For thou art with me; and thy rod
And staff me comfort still. . . .
Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me,
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling place shall be.

ADDISON.

The Lord my pasture shall prepare,
And feed me with a shepherd's care;
His presence shall my wants supply,
And guard me with a watchful eye.
My noonday walks He will attend,
And all my midnight hours defend.

When in the sultry glebe I faint,
Or on the thirsty mountain pant,
To fertile vales and dewy meads
My weary, wandering steps he leads,
Where peaceful rivers, soft and slow,
Amid the verdant landscape flow

Though in the paths of death I tread,
With gloomy horrors overspread,
My steadfast heart shall fear no ill,
For thou, O Lord, art with me still;
Thy friendly hand shall give me aid,
And guide me through the dreadful shade.

ISAAC WATTS.

My shepherd will supply my need,
Jehovah is his Name;
In pastures fresh he makes me feed
Beside the living stream.
He brings my wandering spirit back
When I forsake his ways,
And leads me for his mercies' sake
In paths of truth and grace.
When I walk through the shades of death,
Thy presence is my stay:
A word of thy supporting breath
Drives all my fears away.
Thy hand in spite of all my foes
Doth still my table spread;
My cup with blessings overflows,
Thine oil anoints my head.

The sure provisions of my God
 Attend me all my days;
 O may thy house be mine abode,
 And all my work be praise !

BATHURST.

Jesus, if thou my shepherd be
 My soul no want shall know ;
 For in green fields thou leadest me
 Where healing waters flow.
 In paths of righteousness and peace
 Thou causest me to tread !
 And pourest, with a rich increase,
 Thy blessings on my head.
 Yea, though I pass the gloomy shade
 Of death, I will not fear ;
 Thy staff shall guard me, and thine aid
 My steadfast heart shall cheer.
 Thy love, which makes my cup run o'er,
 And soothes my burdened breast,
 Shall guide me till I reach the shore
 Of everlasting rest.

Before proceeding to indicate some of the chief sources from which alternative versions of the Psalms may be sought, a word or two on another matter not altogether irrelevant to the question at issue. One of the chief reasons for an endeavour to improve the Psalters in use, in this way or otherwise, is to be found in the wide-spread employment, in public worship, of words of praise not only inferior to the Psalms, but even sometimes positively objectionable. In a former number of this *Journal*^{*} some account was given of the hymn-books of the Moravian Brethren; and "the profanity, indelicacy, and absurdity which abound in them"—and which had been first brought before the world, forty years before, in Southey's *Life of Wesley*—are probably in that article sufficiently illustrated. For examples of unworthy and offensive devotional poetry, however, it is, unhappily, not necessary that we should go back to the Moravian hymn-books. In bad taste, in distortions and misrepresentations of divine truth, in irreverent familiarity with the most sacred topics and the most awful names, nothing can well exceed many hymns found in collections which are obtaining currency amongst ourselves at the present day. These collections are very numerous, and large editions of them seem to be sold freely. One of those before us is in its "three

* See *Journal of Sacred Literature*, for July, 1864.

hundredth thousand" edition. The price is very small, and makes them easily accessible to the poorest, and, therefore, the least educated and most impressible of the population. They have been introduced largely, often without suspicion, into Sunday schools, where they poison the religious sentiments and the religious belief of the next generation at the fountain head. And they are not only the unsuspected bane of simple persons of pious disposition and imperfect knowledge, but the occasion of making to others the whole subject of religion a scandal and an offence.

Even the peculiar sin of the Moravian hymns is not altogether without shocking representation in these popular collections. Thus a hymn of Dessler's, entitled "I thirst," forms one of the Rev. Mr. Gall's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. One or two verses will suffice :—

"I thirst, thou wounded Lamb of God,
To wash me in thy cleansing blood,
To dwell within thy wounds,—there pain
Is sweet, and life or death is gain
How blest are they *who still abide*
Close sheltered in thy bleeding side," etc.

The best protection, of course, from follies and impieties such as those to which we have purposely alluded in only the most general terms, is to be found in the substitution of a healthy literature in this department, as in others, for one which is morbid or pestilential. And there is in our language no lack of resources from whence to draw songs of praise, whether for public or private worship, which shall be found, in every way, worthy even of so sublime an exercise as that of shewing forth the praise and glory of God. We shall not at present say anything of the number of noble *Hymns* with which the English tongue is enriched, and of which so excellent a selection is to be found in the work of Sir Roundell Palmer already referred to, but shall confine our attention, as before proposed, to the Psalter itself.

It would be impossible to review, however cursorily, all the versions of the Psalms of David which are in print. Mr. John Holland published, a few years ago, "Notices, Biographical and Literary," of no fewer than one hundred and fifty "authors who have rendered the whole, or parts, of the Book of Psalms into English verse;" and he has not, by any means, exhausted the number. They are men of all ranks and conditions; but it is curious to notice how few names otherwise known to fame for poetical genius are to be found in the list. John Milton cer-

tainly translated some Psalms into English verse ; and one, at least, of these—the first Psalm—with a felicity not unworthy of the author of the sonnets “On his Blindness,” and on “The Massacre at Piedmont” (both of them among the noblest of original hymns) ; and even Robert Burns and Lord Byron versified a few ; as did Addison, William Cowper, and others. But these names acquire no fresh lustre from their labours in this field ; and the most successful translators of the old liturgic hymns of the Tabernacle and the Temple have not been drawn from the ranks of professed poets. Is it that devotional poetry does not require, nor give scope to, the same powers as madrigals and canzonets, or even tragedy and “the lofty epic ;” and that moral qualifications are alone needed ; so that the only

“Fineness which a hymn or psalm affords,
Is when the soul unto the lines accords ?”

We think not. Doubtless the best Psalms and hymns are also the most poetical. It is not because the poetical faculty is not required nor available, but because it is not of itself sufficient, that poets have rarely been successful in what might appear the loftiest of all themes for their muse, and that men less conspicuous, and even of humbler powers, but more devout, have taken that place which the others have thus left unoccupied.

The first version we shall mention as affording some materials for enriching our English Psalter, is the “Old Version,” or that of Sternhold and Hopkins. Though not the first collection used in England, it dates from a very early period in the history of the English Reformation. The nucleus of it was formed, in the year 1549, by the publication of thirty-seven of the Psalms, “drawn into English metre” by Thomas Sternhold, a Groom of the Chamber to Henry VIII. Sternhold died the same year that his fragmentary work saw the light ; but the other Psalms were gradually added—the greater number by John Hopkins, a clergyman of Suffolk, who also edited and revised the complete collection. It was first printed as a whole, at the end of the Book of Common Prayer, in the year 1562. The early editions contained a selection of “apt notes to sing them withal,” besides metrical versions of such ancient hymns as the *Veni Creator*, (seldom more happily rendered), the *Te Deum*, the Song of the Three Children, the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.

It requires some courage, perhaps, to say a single word in favour of anything contained in this version of the Psalms, which though for a considerable period not only in universal use

in England, but also (with some unimportant variations¹) in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, has long ceased to be known at all, except by means of the abuse and ridicule which for the last 200 years it has been the fashion to heap on it. Bishop Horsley claims, however, for this Old Version, the merit of being "an original translation from the Hebrew text, earlier by many years than the prose translation in the Bible; and, of all that are in any degree paraphrastic, as all in verse in some degree must be, *the best and most exact* to put into the hands of the common people." "The authors," he adds, "were little studious of the harmony of their numbers, or the elegance of their diction; but they were solicitous to give the full and precise sense of the sacred text, according to the best of their judgment, and their judgment, with the exception of some few passages, was very good."² This, in its way, is high praise from such an authority as Horsley. Even as regards harmony and elegance, where these are wanting (as they often are), their place is not uncommonly more than supplied by a rugged force and spirit in the versification, which as a *variety* at least, is far from displeasing. Warton speaks as if the only lines in the Old Version rising above what he considers its prevailing poverty and meanness of style, are in the often quoted verses of Psalm xviii. :—

"The Lord descended from above
And bowed the heavens high;
And underneath his feet he cast
The darkness of the sky.
On cherubs and on cherubims
Full royally he rode,
And on the wings of all the winds
Came flying all abroad."

These are certainly noble lines, well worthy of the high commendation of Dryden. But the old words of the Hundredth Psalm, beginning, "All people that on earth do dwell," etc., and which are reproduced to this day in so many modern collections, first appeared in Sternhold and Hopkins, having been

¹ See Livingstone's *Preliminary Dissertations*, prefixed to his interesting edition of *The Scottish Psalter of 1635*; and *The Works of John Knox*, edited by David Laing, vol. vi., p. 283. In some early Edinburgh editions of the Old Version, the Psalms were printed in the Scottish dialect.

² *Translation of the Psalms*, 2nd edit., vol. i., p. 11. Warton (*History of English Poetry*, vol. iii., p. 456,) ignorantly asserts that the translation of Sternhold and Hopkins was probably "altogether made from the Vulgate text, either in Latin or English," and talks (p. 460) of "the entire contexture of the prose version being literally transferred, unbroken and without transposition, allowing for the small deviations necessarily occasioned by the metre and rhyme."

written by William Kethe. In like manner the long version of Psalm cxlv., "O Lord, thou art my God and King," and which is still used in some churches, was originally published in the Scotch edition of the same much-decried version. Very many of Sternhold and Hopkins' renderings have indeed been largely taken advantage of by more recent translators.

Some very beautiful translations of particular Psalms may be found in the Psalm-book ascribed to King James the First, but the greater portion of which was certainly composed by Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. The following is a specimen of this version, which James had expected to impose on the churches of England and Scotland: a purpose formed some years before the more successful attempt to introduce a new prose translation of the Holy Scriptures:—

PSALM LXIII.

"O God, thou art my God, and shalt
Be early sought by me;
My soul doth thirst, my flesh doth long
In dry parch'd lands for thee.
The greatness of thy mighty power,
And glory so to see
As in thy sanctuary, erst
Thou hast been seen by me.

Because thy loving kindness, Lord,
Than life is far more worth,
My lips shall always be employed
To sound thy praises forth.
Thus I will bless thee evermore
While as I life enjoy,
In thy most holy name, and will
Lift up my hands with joy," etc.

The version of the book of Psalms, now, and for the last two hundred years in almost universal use in Scotland, both in the Established and in Dissenting Presbyterian Churches, deserves special notice. It was one of the results of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Besides preparing a Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government, and a Directory of Public Worship, for the projected United Church of England and Scotland, that remarkable convocation also devoted itself to the composition of a new version of the Psalms, adopting as its basis a translation of which Mr. Francis Rous, a member of Parliament, and one of the lay-assessors in the Assembly, was the author. Out of this undertaking grew ultimately the Col-

lection, which, though far from faultless, is perhaps upon the whole the best we as yet have.

It ought to be good considering the time and pains which were expended in perfecting it. How much anxiety was felt in the Assembly of Divines that the task should be accomplished in a manner befitting its importance, appears very clearly from the letters and journals of Dr. Lightfoot and Principal Baillie. The choice of a new Psalter was for many reasons anything but a matter to be decided perfunctorily in the Westminster Assembly. The various parties represented in it differed even as to the lawfulness of the use of metrical Psalms. And not less discordance of opinion prevailed as to the question whether Rous's version, or that of Mr. William Barton, which had also been referred to them by the Commons, should be preferred, as the basis of a national Psalm-book. Accordingly it was not until after much deliberation, and repeated revisals of successive editions, prepared by the author in conformity with the suggestions of the divines, that the Psalms of Rous obtained their *imprimatur*. A second and even more protracted and elaborate revision awaited the version when sent down for approval to the representatives of the Church of Scotland.^j And in this revision, it is worth noticing, the Committee which superintended the arrangements had authority to make use not only of the labours of Rous and the Westminster Divines, but of other translators, "that what they found better in any of these might be chosen:" a power of which they largely availed themselves. Barton, in the preface to the later editions of his own Psalms, asserts that they had been greatly indebted to him. They have, in fact, derived sometimes whole Psalms, sometimes appropriated single verses, or even single expressions, from all the best sources within their reach. And the collection, collation, and revision of these materials for the eclectic version eventually agreed to, required in Scotland alone a period of not less than between two and three years for its completion.

The result is what might have been expected,—not a version remarkable for the graces of poetry, but scrupulously faithful to the original text, and free from offence (if not always to refined taste) at least to devotional feeling. It is not necessary to multiply specimens of a Psalter so generally known. A single illustration may, however, be given from this version of what we consider the greatest merit of any translation of the Psalms, whether into prose or verse,—namely, its *fidelity*, or the closeness with which it renders the original Hebrew. Milton esti-

^j See a full account of the proceedings in an interesting Appendix to the third volume of Mr. David Laing's edition of Baillie's *Letters*.

mated this virtue so highly, that in his own Psalms he has distinguished by the use of *italics* (as is done in the English Bible) those words in the version which are not in the original. The following is Psalm xcvi. of the Scottish Psalter, printed for the sake of comparison, in parallel columns with the authorized *prose* version :—

PSALM XCVI.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. O sing unto the Lord a new song,
for he hath done marvellous things:
his right hand and his holy arm hath
gotten him the victory. | 1. O sing a new song to the Lord,
For wonders he hath done:
His right hand and his holy arm
Him victory hath won. |
| 2. The Lord God hath made known
his salvation: his righteousness hath
he openly shewed in the sight of the
heathen. | 2. The Lord God his salvation
Hath caused to be known:
His justice in the heathen's sight
He openly hath shewn. |
| 3. He hath remembered his mercy
and his truth towards the house of
Israel: all the ends of the earth have
seen the salvation of our God. | 3. He mindful of his grace and truth
To Israel's house hath been,
And the salvation of our God
All ends of the earth have seen. |
| 4. Make a joyful noise unto the
Lord, all the earth: make a loud noise,
and rejoice, and sing praise. | 4. Let all the earth unto the Lord
Send forth a joyful noise;
Lift up your voice aloud to him,
Sing praises and rejoice. |
| 5. Sing to the Lord with the harp;
with the harp and the voice of a psalm. | 5. With harp, with harp, and voice of
Unto Jehovah sing. [psalms, |
| 6. With trumpets and sound of cornet,
make a joyful noise before the Lord
the King. | 6. With trumpets, cornets, gladly sound
Before the Lord the King. |
| 7. Let the sea roar and the fulness
thereof, the world, and they that dwell
therein. 8. Let the floods clap <i>their</i>
hands: let the hills be joyful together | 7. Let seas and all their fulness roar,
The world and dwellers there;
8. Let floods clap hands, and let the hills
Together joy declare, |
| 8. Before the Lord: for he cometh to
judge the earth: with righteousness
shall he judge the world, and the
people with equity. | 9. Before the Lord: because he comes,
To judge the world comes he,
He'll judge the world with righteous-
His folk with equity. [ness, |

With regard to the two versions just noticed as having competed in the Westminster Assembly for the honour of forming the basis of the National Psalm-book contemplated by that body, we are not acquainted with Rous, though copies of the original work are, we believe, in existence. Barton's Psalms, which passed through several editions, and were used and highly approved by some of the most eminent Nonconformist ministers in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century,^{*}

^{*} Such men as John Owen, Thomas Manton, and Edmund Calamy signed a recommendation of Barton's Psalms, as "coming nearest to the original of any they had seen, and running with such a fluent sweetness as to be worthy of recommendation to all Christian congregations." They continued to be reprinted till the year 1705, the date of the latest edition. The first appeared in 1644.

are better known. In fact, besides his complete version of the Psalms, Barton has supplied in what he calls his *Two Centuries of Psalm Hymns*, and in others of his *Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, amounting to at least six hundred, so many alternative renderings of individual Psalms, that he may be said to be the author of not one but several translations. Many of them are the mere sweepings of the author's study—rough drafts afterwards set aside for the results of further labour. Even the most finished of Barton's Psalms are liable to the charge of haste and carelessness. He would doubtless have done better had he written less. Then it is often doubtful how far his versions are his own. Like almost all versifiers of the Psalms, and almost all writers of hymns, Barton seems not to hesitate to avail himself of the labours of previous writers to an extent which in any other kind of literature would be deemed piratical. He complains that he was robbed in like manner himself; and there is certainly remarkable similarity between some of his Psalms and others of the same age: but it is difficult to decide which had the priority. We should, however, upon the whole, recommend recourse to the voluminous labours of William Barton, with the confidence that alternative versions well worthy of preservation will be thus obtained. One of his renderings of Psalm c. may be given as an example of his style:

“ Make joyful noise to God, O all ye lands !
Observe the Lord with gladness and delight ;
With cheerful singing come before his sight.
Know that the Lord is God, who all commands,
'Tis he that made us, and not our own hands.
His people and his pasture sheep are we ;
Enter his gates, your gratitude proclaim.
Come to his courts with praise and bless his name,
For God is good : his mercies constant be ;
His truth endures unto eternity.”

It may seem unnecessary to mention here the Psalms of Dr. Isaac Watts, which are so extensively used by English Dissenters to this day. Beyond, however, the pale of those churches in which they are actually employed in public worship, we believe this often beautiful version to be much less known than it deserves. The translation certainly is professedly made on a principle which, in our opinion, cannot be defended. The title indicates sufficiently the nature of that principle,—*The Psalms of David imitated in the language of the New Testament, and applied to the Christian state and worship*; and the plan which Dr. Watts laid down for himself is thus explained in the preface :—

"My own design is this, to accommodate the Book of Psalms to Christian worship ; and in order to do this, it is necessary to divest David and Asaph, etc., of every other character but that of a psalmist and a saint, and to make them always speak the common sense and language of a Christian."

An extreme instance, and one which shews the danger of all such liberties with the original text, is found in the following "accommodation," still printed in the copies of Watts's Psalms for use at the present day :—

PSALM LXXV.

Applied to the glorious Revolution by King William, or the happy Accession of King George to the throne.

"To thee, most holy and most high,
To thee we bring our thankful praise.

* * * *

Britain was doomed to be a slave,
Her frame dissolved : her fears were great :
When God a *new supporter* gave
To bear the pillars of the state.
He from thy hand received his crown,
And sware to rule by wholesome laws ;
His foot shall tread th' oppressor down,
His arm defend the righteous cause.
Let haughty sinners sink their pride,
Nor lift so high their scornful head ;
But lay their foolish thoughts aside,
And own the king that God hath made."

No one can read this without seeing the risk of all such "accommodations," if the object be to make the Psalms more generally applicable to Christian worship. Besides, on principle, to deprive the Psalms of David of their figurative language, and of their allusions to names and things which are no longer Jewish, but have become the common heritage of all the faithful, would, of course, have the effect, not of making them more Christian, but only less significant—less rich in meaning and spiritual life. Mr. Keble notices a further objection to schemes like this of Watts. "By trying," he says, "to bring out the spiritual meaning, *we do to a certain extent limit it* It cannot be right," he continues, "to translate a passage which for aught we know may be capable of a double interpretation, so as to confine it to the single one ; and yet this is what we should be often doing, were we to express more fully the prophetic allusions to our Lord, under the notion of spiritualizing them."¹

¹ Keble's Psalms, preface, p. xi.

Happily Watts did not carry out at all consistently his own vicious principle, and with such slight alterations as Charles Wesley made on the Hundreth Psalm of this version—transforming it into one of the most exquisite songs of praise in the English tongue—very many of the objectionable peculiarities, which mar the beauty and usefulness of individual Psalms, may be removed without difficulty. Dr. Doddridge, in the dedication to Dr. Watts of his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, says:—"I congratulate you, that by your sacred poetry, especially by your Psalms and your hymns, you are leading the worship, and, I trust, also animating the devotion of myriads, in our public assemblies, every Sabbath, and in our families or closets every day; an unparalleled favour by which God hath pleased to distinguish you, I may boldly say it, beyond any of his servants *now upon earth*." It is the strongest testimony to the excellence of Dr. Watts's Psalms as well as his Hymns, that in spite of occasional defects of a very damaging kind, they have continued to the present time to be so extensively used. We should like to see many of them even more generally employed in "leading the worship" and "animating the devotions" of all denominations of Christians.

A single sentence or two must suffice to indicate the best of those other collections from which contributions might be obtained to a comprehensive Psalter: with our rapidly diminishing space, it would be hopeless to attempt naming the authors of good renderings of individual Psalms. "The most *poetical* version in the English language," according to Montgomery, is the "Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David" of George Sandys, first published in 1636; a Paraphrase which was the solace of Charles the First (to whom it is dedicated) in prison, and is

* Psalm c. (*Watts altered by C. Wesley*).

"[Before Jehovah's awful throne
Ye nations bow] with sacred joy;
Know that the Lord is God alone,
He can create, and He destroy.
His sovereign power, without our aid,
Made us of clay and form'd us men;
And when like wandering sheep we strayed,
He brought us to His fold again.
We'll crowd thy gates with thankful songs,
High as the heavens our voices raise;
And earth with her ten thousand tongues,
Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise!
Wide as the world is thy command,
Vast as eternity thy love;
Firm as a rock thy truth must stand,
When rolling years shall cease to move."

called "excellent and elegant" by Richard Baxter, whose only regret was that Sandys had not "turned the Psalms into metre fitted to the usual tunes." One of Sandys' friends (Lord Falkland), whose laudatory verses are prefixed to the "Paraphrase," goes so far as to say to him:—

"Blest David might almost desire
To heare his harp thus echo'd by thy lyre."

His twenty-third Psalm has been already given; but we must find room for a more favourable example in his version of

PSALM LXV.

Due honours, Lord, on thee attend,
Where Zion's sacred towers ascend:
There thy devoted Israelites
Shall pay their vows, with solemn rites.
To thee shall all mankind repair:
Since thou vouchsafest to hear our prayer.
Our sins thy mercies expiate
When burdened with their loath'd weight.
Thrice happy he, of whom thou mak'st
Thy choice, and to thy service tak'st;
That may within thy courts reside;
There with thy goodness satisfied;
And taste of that sincere delight
Which never cloyes the appetite.
From thee, O God, our safety springs;
Thy judgment threatens dreadful things . . .
Great is thy power; propt by thy hand
Cloud-touching mountains steadfast stand.
Thou with thy sceptre dost appease
The roaring of the high wrought seas,
And the tumultuous jars
Of people breathing blood and wars!
Who dwell upon the earth's confines,
They tremble at thy fearful signs.
Where first the sun his beam displays,
And where he sets his golden rays,
They triumph in the fruits of peace:
Inriched by the earth's increase.
He rain upon her bosom pours;
His swelling clouds abound with showers:
And so prepares the lusty soil
To recompense the reaper's toil;
Mellows the glebe with fat'ning juice,
Whose furrows hopeful blades produce;
With plenty crowns the smiling years,
Shed from the influence of the spheres;

The desert with sweet clover fills
 And richly shades the joyful hills :
 Herbs cover all the higher plain :
 The ranker valleys clothed with grain.
 There in abundance solacing,
 Without a tongue thy praises sing."

Sir Philip Sydney and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, were joint authors of another complete version which long existed only in manuscript (it was first printed in 1823). A specimen is given in one of Addison's *Spectators*. The "Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David" of Samuel Woodford, D.D. (1667)—a versifier of the school of Cowley—had in view as its professed object to rescue David from the hands of Sternhold and Hopkins, or as one of his panegyrists says, in a preliminary "Pindariqu' Ode" to the author—

"Long in disguise the Royal Prophet lay :

* * * * *

He seemed as if at Gath he still had been
 As once before proud Achish he appear'd,
 His face besmear'd
 And spittle on his beard,
 A laughing stock to th' insulting Philistin :
 Drest in their Rimes he look't as he were mad ;
 In tissue you and Tyrian purple have him clad !"

Woodford's "Paraphrase" is not without merit, but is very far from being equal to that of Sandys. Of the more modern translations of the whole Book of Psalms we shall only mention three, among which the first place, we think, is due to that of Mr. Keble. It is remarkable both for vigour and for fidelity—the last-named quality being chiefly aimed at by the author. That Keble's Psalms have the same freedom and grace as the verses in his *Christian Year* cannot be asserted ;" they sometimes suffer in simplicity, and even in clearness, from too elaborate an effort after condensation. They are, however, as we have already said, a remarkable testimony to the *translateableness* of the

* Occasionally, however, as in the following rendering of Psalm xlii., the Psalms bear striking family resemblances to the *Christian Year* :—

"As hart pants high for gushing rills,
 So pants my soul, O God, to thee :
 Deep eager thirst my bosom fills
 With God, the living God, to be.
 When shall I dare again draw near ?
 When in the Almighty's sight appear ?

Hebrew Psalms into English verse without serious loss either of meaning or of force. The Rev. H. J. Lyte's Psalms are very different, as being more remarkable for the devotional spirit which breathes in them, and their elegance and felicity of expression, than for their closeness to the Hebrew. Indeed, they are avowedly paraphrases. An admirable version of the Psalms was published anonymously by Bagster, six or eight years ago, "accentuated for chanting," being "an attempt to preserve as far as possible the leading characteristics of the original in the language of the English Bible." This work is evidently the result of a happy combination of qualities for such an undertaking, and not less worthy of recognition as an elaborate and successful attempt to improve the translation, than on the ground of its poetical merits.

While advocating more use than has hitherto been made of existing versions of the Psalms in our collections for public worship, and asserting, as we desire to do, that by the introduction of a greater number of the different renderings of individual Psalms which are already extant, much every way excellent devotional poetry, which now is standing in the marketplace idle, might be made serviceable in the Master's vineyard, let us, in conclusion, express a hope, that the ranks of those who have always as yet from time to time been raised up to lead the voices of the Church in singing the praises of God, may continue to be not less worthily filled than heretofore. There can be no nobler or more enviable employment for the highest powers, than that of dedicating them to the celebration of the glory of God—whether in original songs of praise, or in worthy reproductions of the songs of inspiration. James Montgomery said he would "rather be the anonymous author of a few hymns which should

Tears are my bread both night and day,
 Long weary days and nights of care,
 While hourly to my soul they say,
 Where now thy God? thy Champion, where?
 Thus count I mournful thoughts apart,
 Thus on myself I pour my heart. . . .
 Therefore to thee I musing turn
 From where I roam on Jordan's shore,
 And from mine own low hill discern
 The brightening ridge of Hermon hoar.
 Deep calls on wakening deep, at sound
 Of thy dark watery pillars: all
 Thy wild sea waves are gathering round,
 Thy breakers o'er me burst and fall.
 Yet wherefore droop, my heart, and why
 So restless o'er me moan and fret?
 Trust God:—the Enlightener of mine eye,
 Mine own true God, and praise him yet."

become an imperishable inheritance to the people of God, than bequeath another epic poem to the world, which should rank his name with Homer, Virgil, and our greater Milton." And there is abundant room for further labour at once in preparing

"New honours for God's name,
And songs before unknown,"

and in preserving, and rendering more worthily into our own language, the old yet never obsolete songs of Zion.

Roxburgh, Aug. 1866.

WILLIAM LEE.

Carmel.—Beautiful Carmel! No one who has spent three or four months in traversing the rugged and arid tracks which characterize Syrian travel can fail to be struck with the wonderful fertility and beauty of the park-like ground to which you ascend after leaving the marshy swamps of the Kishon, on the road from Nazareth to "Mohrakah," the undoubted site of the sacrifice of Elias. The so-called "Forest" of Carmel scarcely deserves its name in the English sense, but is more like a glade in our forest scenery, reminding one also of the Tyrol; with dwarf oak, bay, carouba, arbutus, and a multitude of flowering and aromatic shrubs; the sweet-scented olive, with its pale-yellow clusters; the mastic, with its pendent white bell-shaped blossoms, and the delicate purple acacia; while cistus, white and lilac, in full flower, colour the ground for miles. All the similes of the Book of Canticles find their natural explanation here:—"My head is like Carmel;" "How beautiful art thou, and how comely!" Scrambling through this thicket of shrubs, our travellers arrived at last at a magnificent amphitheatre, in the centre of which was a fountain, and by its side a beautiful Turkey oak, under the shade of which they agreed to rest during the burning heat of noon-day. The hewn stones at their feet marked the site of the altar which Elias rebuilt: from this very fountain must the water have been drawn which filled the trench before the sacrifice was offered—that sacrifice which, in its accomplishment, was to vindicate the majesty of God in the sight of His chosen people. Here again, after the atonement had been made by the death of the idolatrous priests by the river Kishon, the welcome rain was obtained in answer to the prophet's prayer. The view on all sides is grand in the extreme, embracing the whole of Central Palestine, with the plain of Esdraelon, and Tabor, and the "Cities of the Plain," Nain and Shunem, Megiddo and Jezreel. From the place of sacrifice the path leads through the native village of Espya to a high ridge covered with flowers and aromatic shrubs; and thence a ride of seven or eight hours through lovely scenery brings you to the Convent of Mount Carmel, built on a promontory overlooking the sea, with the little town of Caiffa nestling at its feet. Our travellers, although with a Carmelite Friar for their guide, missed the right track, and found themselves, at ten o'clock at night, in a deep ravine, from whence apparently there was no exit except by the road through which they had come. But a Bedouin shepherd took pity on their exhausted condition, and shewed them a path which led them at last to the convent gates, after more than twelve hours in the saddle. There the usual hospitable welcome awaited them, though no longer from their much-loved Franciscan Fathers. Carmel is the head-quarters of the Discalced Carmelites, who received the rules of their Order from Albert, the holy Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the year 1205. The convent is a very spacious building, with a fine domed chapel; and the whole was built from the alms collected by a single monk, who visited Europe for that purpose.

HERMES TRISMEGISTUS.

DR. GUSTAVE PARTHEY, of Berlin, published, some years ago, a new edition of the celebrated *Ποιμάνδρης*, which occupies so prominent a place amongst the remains of what is called Hermetic Philosophy; in his preface, he announces his intention of collecting and issuing, in like manner, the other fragments preserved by Lactantius, Stobæus, and various classical authors. Without, however, waiting for the appearance of this promised sequel, we shall endeavour now to bring before our readers all the reliable facts which we know respecting the writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; and we shall attempt to determine the place these writings hold in the history of philosophy, availing ourselves occasionally of M. Ménard's excellent article on the subject.^a

When the revival of literature throughout Europe, during the sixteenth century, opened up to enthusiastic students the rich stores of ancient thought, mediæval society was falling into decay, and the spirit of inquiry had begun to undermine the authority of the Church. Amidst the universal impatience of restraint and thirsting after fresh sources of knowledge which everywhere prevailed, some injudicious worshippers of the past went so far as to wish to substitute a kind of modified Neo-Platonism in the place of Christianity, whilst others did their best to shew that the Gospel had almost been anticipated by Plato and by the less intelligible adepts of the Alexandrine school of metaphysics. It was no mark, they thought, of undervaluing the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, to maintain that the teaching they upheld was, to a certain extent, embodied in the best works of ancient times: and instead of deriving from such a fact an argument against the Divine origin of Christianity, could we not, on the contrary, strengthen the authority of our religion by proving it to have been foreseen, understood, and even maintained, as far back as the days of Moses? Under the influence of such ideas, it is not astonishing that the *Ποιμάνδρης*, and the other Hermetic treatises, should have obtained, as soon as they were known, the greatest reputation. "Quocirca, Christiane lector," says Franciscus Flussas, in the preface to his edition, "quoquo se vertat Termaximi illius status aut conditionis negotium, iis quæ de ipsius dicuntur tempore, disciplinam ab ipso traditam ante-

^a See *Revue des deux Mondes*, April 15, 1866.

pone, ac Mercurium suscipe, non modo tanquam philosophum prophetam, verum et philosophum evangelistæ nomen promeritum. Hic namque gratiam præcipuis effectibus nunciatis homini propalavit, et hujus salutem, a Dei filio uno homine regenerandis hominibus dato, pendere primus aperuit." Marsilius Ficinus gives his testimony in the following manner: "Scripsit autem Mercurius libros ad divinarum rerum cognitionem pertinentes quam plurimos, in quibus quam arcana mysteria, quam stupenda panduntur oracula, nec ut philosophus tantum, sed ut propheta sæpenumero loquitur, canitque futura. Hic ruinam prævidit priscae religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum."^b

All the *savants* of the Renaissance period agreed in representing the Hermetic books as monuments of the old Egyptian theology. Hermes was considered to be a kind of inspired philosopher anterior in date to Moses; his writings were deemed the original source of the Orphic initiations, and of the metaphysical teaching both of Pythagoras and of Plato. "Primus igitur theologiæ appellatus est auctor," says Marsilius Ficinus, "eum secutus Orpheus, secundas antiquæ theologiæ partes obtinuit. Orphei sacris initiatus est Aglaophemus; Aglaophemo successit in theologia Pythagoras, quam Philolaus sectatus est, divini Platonis nostri præceptor. Itaque una priscae, theologiæ ubique sibi consona secta, ex theologis sex miro quodam ordine conflata est, exordia sumens a Mercurio, a divo Platone penitus absoluta."^c To an opinion which had no real foundation, but which was merely the result of preconceived fancies, many objections were, however, raised in course of time; and improved criticism discovered that the *Ποιμάνδρης* could not really represent the theological views of ancient Egypt. Commentators, descending rapidly down the scale of chronology, classed it amongst the latest manifestations of the decaying philosophy of Greece; Casaubon ascribed the Hermetic books to a Jew or even to a Christian;^d Jablonski thought they were the work of a Gnostic;^e finally in our own day, Creuzer and his French translator, M. Guigniaut, have adopted the opinion that, although the ideas developed in the various treatises fathered upon Hermes are mainly Alexandrine, yet they likewise preserve some traces of the religious doctrines of the people amongst whom they were thought to have originated.^f

^b *Argumentum in Merc. Trismegistum*, edit. Genev. 1507.

^c *Ubi supra*.

^d *Exercitat. in Baron.*, ex. i., diat. 10.

^e *Panthe. Egypt.*, vol. ii., pp. 156 sqq.

^f *Relig. de l'Antiquité*.

As a general conclusion to this introductory part of our subject we may say, that the books bearing the name of Hermes Trismegistus are, in our opinion, decidedly the product of heathen thought, but of heathen thought already expiring before the influence of Christianity. They are a kind of connecting link between the past and the present; when we read them, we fancy we see the religion of the old world endeavouring to hold its ground by a compromise with the new faith; originator and guardian of a wonderful system of civilization, it will not acknowledge that its day is gone, its authority past, and it fancies that a few judicious excisions and alterations will confirm its enjoyment of a *prestige* which has dwindled away into nothing.

Three different lines of thought run through the *Ποιμάνδρης* and the other books of kindred origin; Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews have each contributed a share to their preparation, and, in order to understand well this extraordinary *mélange*, we must try and enter a little into the spirit which animated the intellectual population of Alexandria—that great centre of learning at the time of the first appearance of Christianity. The Hellenic race prevailed, if not numerically, at least by virtue of its superior mental culture, and accordingly it imposed upon its neighbours its idiom, whilst respecting their usages and their traditions. The Polytheism of Greece was elastic enough to include the deities of other nations, and Olympus opened its gates to the strange gods of Egypt, satisfied with altering a little their names, and making them more harmonious. We may further remark, that such a concession was not really a very serious matter; the Greeks acknowledged themselves, without any hesitation, to be descended from Egyptian colonists, and the Egyptians in their turn, proud of the connection with a people whose glorious history had shed such undying lustre, welcomed the descendants of Themistocles and Solon, not as strangers, but as relatives who were now returned to the mother-country.

The Jews, on the other hand, found Egypt an equally commodious abode, but for totally different reasons. Driven away from their country, they had left behind them at Jerusalem those ideas of supremacy which were the essential feature of their national character whilst settled in the Holy Land; at Alexandria, their position was that of strangers; all they claimed was hospitality; they lived peaceably with their neighbours, applied themselves to the study of Greek philosophy, and did not allow their political isolation to deprive them of the pleasures of intellectual culture. Plato was the

thinker towards whom the Alexandrine Jews felt especially drawn, and the saying is well known, "*Vel Plato philonizat, vel Philo platonizat.*" Philo, imagining no doubt that Greece had always been what it was in his time, says that Greek traders came to the Court of Pharaoh for the purpose of educating Moses. In most cases, however, patriotism was stronger than gratitude, and instead of acknowledging their debt to Greek philosophy, they maintained that Hellenic wisdom had borrowed its principles from the Bible. Until the Christian period, it does not appear as if that assertion had been noticed by the Greeks. Numenius of Apamea is reported, indeed, to have called Plato "an Attic Moses,"^g but what conclusions are we justified in drawing from one isolated sentence taken from a work now lost? The utmost we could say is, that Numenius was evidently acquainted with Moses only through Philo's allegories, for it is difficult to suppose any critic finding a theory of ideas in the Book of Genesis. The hypothesis of Greek philosophers borrowing from the Bible, is quite as plausible as that of the Greek instructors of Moses. If Plato had appropriated portions out of the Hebrew Scriptures, he would have certainly preserved traces of his study in some of his dialogues. Generally speaking, the Greeks, far from repudiating their intellectual debts, are rather disposed to exaggerate their importance. Besides, it is universally acknowledged that, before the age of Alexander, they did not even know the name of the chosen people of God. At a later period, under the Roman empire, when the Jews were already dispersed throughout the west of Europe, Justinus, relating their history on the authority of Trogus Pompeius, ascribes their origin to a certain Damascus, whose successors, according to him, are Azelus, Adorès, Abraham, and Israel.^h What he says of Joseph is nearly in accordance with the Bible;ⁱ but he represents Moses as a son of Joseph,^j and as the chief of a colony of lepers driven out of Egypt.^k Aruas, he adds, son of Moses, was likewise his successor; the Jews were always

^g Τί γὰρ ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ἡ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων, Clem. Alexand. *Strom.* i., cf. also Suidas, and Porphyry., *De Antro Nymph.* c. 10.

^h Judæis origo Damascena, Syriæ nobilissima civitas Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum; in cujus honorem Syrii sepulchrum Arathis uxoris ejus pro templo coluere Post Damascum Azelus, mox Adores, et Israhel reges fuere. *Lib.* xxxvi., *cap.* 2.

ⁱ *Id.*, *ibid.*

^j Filius ejus Moyses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat.

^k Sed Ægyptii, cum scabiem et vitiliginem paterentur, responso moniti, eum cum ægris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. Dux igitur exulum factus, sacra Ægyptiorum furto abstulit.

governed by the priests;¹ and Xerxes was the first who subdued their country.² Trogus Pompeius may have consulted some Egyptian or Phenician tradition, but he had certainly not read the Old Testament, although in his time such a study would have been comparatively easy.

The religion of the Jews was not better known than their history. People had heard that they were governed by a national God; but that God, who was he? *Dedita sacris incerti Judæa Dei*. Plutarch inclines to identify him with Dionysos, who was the same as Adonis; he argues from a supposed similarity between the Jewish ceremonies and the Bacchanalian orgies, and from certain Hebrew words the explanation of which he believes he has found in the Dionysiac worship. As for the horror with which the Jews consider pork, nothing is more easily explained; it can be traced to the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar. Instead of accumulating so much nonsense, would it not have been far better if Plutarch had inquired in the proper quarter, and got some intelligent Jew to explain to him thoroughly the character of his religion, the distinctive features of his theocracy, and the scheme of his laws, political and social?

The Egyptians were no doubt better known than the Jews, and yet all the Greek authors who write about the Egyptian religion give to it an Hellenic physiognomy, varying according to the time in which each has lived, and the school of thinkers to which he belongs. The most ancient Greek author who has written about Egypt, is Herodotus. He finds there a system of Polytheism similar to that of Greece—a hierarchy of eight primitive and twelve subordinate gods,³ something analogous to Hesiod's theogony.⁴ On the other hand, each city has, according to him, its local religion; the worship of Osiris and of Isis is alone common to the whole of the country, and has many features in common with the Eleusinian mysteries.⁵ However, Herodotus is struck by a singularity which the religion of the Egyptians possesses exclusively—the worship

¹ Post Moysen etiam filius ejus Aruas, sacerdos sacris Ægyptiis, mox rex creatur; semperque exinde hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eosdem, reges et sacerdotes, haberent; quorum justitia religione permixta, incredibile quantum convaluere.

² Primum Xerxes, rex Persarum, Judæos domuit. *Ibid.*, cap. 3.

³ See chapter 3 of the *Appendix to Herodotus*, book ii. (by Sir G. Wilkinson); Rawlinson, vol. ii., pp. 305—321.

⁴ *Euterpe*, 144—146. See the notes in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

⁵ Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιδὸς τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. Τοὺτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται.—*Euterpe*, 11, 42. See the note 123 in Blakesley's *Herodotus*.

paid to animals;⁹ but he does not stop to inquire into the reason of that symbolism, so different from that of the Greeks. He also remarks that, contrarily to the habits of Greece, the Egyptians pay no adoration to heroes.⁷ As for Diodorus Siculus, he takes quite an opposite view, and he considers the Egyptian gods as ancient kings who have been deified.⁸ It is true that there are also eternal gods—the sun, the moon, the elements—but Diodorus takes little notice of them;⁹ the pseudo-historical system of Evhemerus prevailed in Greece during his time, and he applies it to Egypt.¹⁰ Then comes Plutarch, to whom is ascribed the treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, the most curious document which the Greeks have left us on the religion of the Egyptians; and yet he also dresses up that religion in a Greek costume; only, since Diodorus, the fashions have changed; it is no longer Evhemerism but demonology which enjoys the vogue. Plutarch, who belongs to the school of Plato, sees in the Egyptian deities demons, and not divinized men. Then, when he wants to explain the names of the gods, side by side with a few Egyptian etymologies, he gives others derived from the Greek, and which he seems to prefer. His treatise is addressed to an Egyptian princess, but instead of asking her for details, he proposes his own conjectures.

As for Porphyry, he is satisfied with putting questions; he raises doubts on various metaphysical problems which interest him, and he asks the priest Anebo what the Egyptians think of them. He is particularly puzzled by the statement of the philosopher Cheremon, to the effect that the Egyptians were acquainted only with visible gods, that is to say, with the constellations and the elements. Had they no idea whatever on metaphysics, demonology, theurgy, in short, on all those sciences without which Porphyry cannot understand the possibility of any religion?

“Cupio insupra mihi explicari,” says he, “quid de prima omnium causa statuunt Ægyptii; utrum existiment esse Mentem, aut aliquid supra Mentem. Deinde an solitarium quid sit, an simul cum alio aut pluribus; porro corporeumne an incorporeum; utrum cum demiurgo idem sit, an aliquid prius. Et num ab uno omnia, an e pluribus producant;

⁹ *Euterpe*, cap. 65.

⁷ νομίζουσι δ' ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν—50. See Sir G. Wilkinson's note 5 in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 93.

⁸ Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὧν ἐνίοις καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.—*Lib. i.*, 13.

⁹ *Lib. i.*, 11, 12.

¹⁰ See *Fragmenta*, lib. vi., pp. 7, 8, of Wesseling's edit., col. 4.

materiam agnoscant necne, an corpora prima qualitatibus prædita; tum genitamne ponant materiam, an ingenitam. Chæremon certe alique multi nihil quicquam agnoscunt ante mundum hunc aspectabilem, nec alios Ægyptiorum in ipsis suorum scriptorum exordiis ponunt deos, præter vulgo dictos Planetas, et Zodiaci signa, et stellas simul cum his in conspectum venientes, et sectiones Decanorum et Horoscopus. Quique fortes ac duces nuncupantur, quorum nomina et procurationes, ortusque simul et occasus, futurorumque significationes in Almenichiis continentur. Quippe videbant enim qui solem universi architectum esse dicerent, ab illis non ea tantum quæ ad Osiridem Isidemque pertinent, sed etiam quicquid sacrarum fabularum erat partim in stellas et earum conspectus, occultationes occursusque devolvi; partim in lunæ, modo crescentis, modo senescentis, varietatem, partim in solis cursum, vel in nocturnum, vel in diurnum hemisphærium, vel in [Nilum] ipsum fluvium; cuncta denique in res naturales, nihil in corporea mole carentes, viventesque naturas ipsorum interpretatione conferri. Atque Ægyptiorum plerique id quod in nostra voluntate est, et potestate positum, ex siderum motu suspensum esse voluerunt, cuncta necessitatis, quod fatum appellant, sic tanquam inexplicabilibus quibusdam vinculis nescio quo pacto constringentes. Sed et ipsis quoque Diis fatum annectunt, quos interim uti fati solos vindices in templis, in statuis, aliisque ejus modi venerantur.”*

To this letter of Porphyry, Jamblichus answers under the name of the Egyptian priest Abammon. In order to prove that the Egyptian religion is excellent, he gives a statement of his own ideas, which he ascribes to the Egyptians. This treatise, entitled *De Mysteriis*, is full of endless discussions on the hierarchy and the functions of the souls, the demons, and the gods, on divination, destiny, magical incantations, etc. He examines the signs by which the various classes of spirits can be recognized in the theophanies; he alludes to the use of barbarous words in evocations. After all this theurgy, which makes us sometimes inclined to doubt whether the author is a quack or a madman; he has only a few words to devote to the religion of the Egyptians, and those few words are full of uncertainty and obscurity. He speaks of the columns and obelisks which have supplied Plato and Pythagoras with all their philosophy, but he does not quote a single inscription. He assures us the books of Hermes, although written by learned men familiar with Greek philosophy, contain Hermetic opinions; but what are these opinions? and why does not Jamblichus give even one specimen of them?*

From this comparison of the principal Greek documents we have on Egyptian religion, must we conclude that Egypt has

* I quote the Latin translation given by Gale in the Oxford edition of Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, fo. 1678.

* Sect. viii., cap. 4.

always been for the Greeks a sealed book, and that their questions to the land of the sphinx have elicited nothing but either obscure riddles or the echo of their own interrogation? Such a supposition would be an insult to Hellenic research. The details they furnish us have been completed, but not contradicted, by the study of hieroglyphic inscriptions. In these details we must carefully distinguish between facts, and the interpretation of those facts. The facts transmitted to us by the Greeks are generally true, and do not contradict each other; only the explanations they give of them vary. The same differences are noticeable in the manner in which they allude to their own religion; it is the result of a general law of the human mind—the law of transformation in time, which governs religion and societies as well as living beings. If the Greeks have applied to the religion of Egypt the same system of hermeneutics as to their own, it is because that system was equally admitted in Egypt and in Greece; for Egypt, at that time, was under the influence of Hellenic philosophy.

The outward forms of the Egyptian religion remaining unchanged, the religion itself was considered to be stationary; and, in proportion as philosophers adapted its spirit to the metaphysical system of the Greeks, in the same proportion they thought that the reverse was the fact, and that the systems themselves were of Egyptian origin. The Greeks had begun by ascribing to the Egyptians their own religious education, an opinion which modern science has not confirmed. In like manner they claimed the Egyptians as their metaphysical instructors, and here, also, assertion does not appear to be corroborated by fact. All the details borrowed by Plato from Egypt, are limited to an anecdote on Thoth, inventor of writing,* and to that famous *History of the Atlantis*, which, he says, was related to Solon by an Egyptian priest,† but which seems to be a fable of his own invention. As for the idea of the metempsychosis, he had received it from the Pythagoricians. Had Pythagoras, in his turn, borrowed it from Egypt? The affirmative is just possible, but we must remark that the same theory existed amongst the Hindus and the Celts, who did not receive it from the Egyptians. It may be deduced from the religion of the mysteries, and as the Pythagoricians are not very accurately distinguishable from the Orphic sages, we cannot decide whether religion acted upon philosophy or *vice versa*. According to Proclus, Pythagoras was initiated by Aglaophemus to the mysteries which Orpheus brought back

* See *Philebus*, Bekker's edit., 1817, Pars ii., vol. iii., p. 146.

† See *Timæus*.

from Egypt. So Egyptian influence is transported beyond historical times.

The action of Egypt on Greek philosophy before the age of Alexander, although less improbable than that of Judæa, is very uncertain. The utmost that can be ascribed to it is the predilection of philosophers for theocracy or monarchy; and even this fact can likewise, and with quite as much probability, be attributed to the natural tendency which philosophy has of reacting against the circumstances amidst which it is placed. In a polytheist and republican society this reaction could not but produce a longing after unity in religion and authority in the sphere of politics, because these two ideas are correlative.

In Greece, philosophers, who from the beginning had devoted all their attention to an inquiry into the first principle of all things, conceived unity under an abstract form. The Jews gave it a more tangible appearance; for them the world was a monarchy, and their religion is the most complete expression of Monotheism in antiquity. For the Egyptians, the divine unity has never been considered apart from the unity of the world. The great river which renders Egypt fruitful, the sun which sheds light over all things, were types of an inward force at the same time one and multiple, variously manifested by regular vicissitudes, and ever reproducing itself. M. de Rougé makes us notice that almost all the glosses of the Egyptian ritual for the dead, ascribe the qualities of a supreme god to *Ra*, which, in the Egyptian language, is none else but the sun. That luminary which seems every day to give to itself a new birth, was an emblem of the perpetual divine generation; although symbolic forms are as varied in Egypt as they are in India, it does not require much effort of abstraction to reduce these symbols to Pantheism.

“J’ai eu occasion de faire voir,” says M. de Rougé, “que la croyance à l’unité de l’être suprême ne fut jamais complètement étouffée en Egypte par le Polythéisme. Une stèle de Berlin de la XIX^e dynastie le nomme *le seul vivant en substance*. Une autre stèle du même musée et de la même époque l’appelle *la seule substance éternelle*, et plus loin, *le seul générateur dans le ciel et sur la terre qui ne soit pas engendré*. La doctrine d’un seul Dieu dans le double personnage de père et de fils était également conservée à Thèbes et à Memphis. La même stèle de Berlin, provenant de Memphis, le nomme *Dieu se faisant Dieu, existant par lui-même, l’être double, générateur dès le commencement*. La leçon thébaine s’exprime dans des termes presque identiques sur le compte d’Ammon dans le papyrus de M. Harris: *être double, générateur dès le commencement, Dieu se faisant Dieu, s’engendrant lui-même*. L’action spéciale attribuée au personnage du fils ne détruisait pas l’unité; c’est

dans ce sens évidemment que a Dieu est appelé *ua en ua*, le un de un, ce que Jamblique traduira plus tard assez fidèlement par les termes de *πρῶτος τοῦ πρῶτου Θεοῦ*, qu'il applique à la seconde hypostase divine."^s

When the philosophical doctrines of Greece and the religious systems of Egypt and of Judæa met at Alexandria, they had so many points in common that an amalgamation took place, and various schools were formed, each of which brought out prominently the tenets or doctrines which struck it most forcibly; it was a kind of eclecticism, or rather syncretism, in which every possible notion respecting the world, man, and man's destiny found admission. The first of these schools is that of Philo, who, by a system of allegorical interpretation, succeeded in deducing Platonism from every page in the Bible. Next to him we may place the remarkable ramifications of Gnosticism; then comes the celebrated school of Ammonius Saccas and of Plotinus, who, whilst borrowing largely from Asia and from Egypt, applied themselves especially to the task of fusing into one harmonious whole the different shades of Hellenic thought. During the latter days of ancient Polytheism, a man was no longer exclusively a Stoic, an Epicurean, a Peripatetician, or even a Platonist; all these sects had contributed their share to the common stock of ideas; all were represented by some feature in the metaphysical structure of the times.

Side by side with these schools, and as a connecting link between them, we find another one which is not identified with any great name, but which has its exponent in the Hermetic books. These writings are the only monuments we know of what may be called Egyptian philosophy. They have reached us, it is true, in a Greek dress, and it is highly probable that there is no *Egyptian* original of them; but Philo writes in Greek, and yet he is a true Jew. In the same manner, the Hermetic books may be considered as belonging to Egypt, but to Egypt deeply modified by Hellenism and on the eve of becoming Christian. No Greek writer would have owned that outpouring of ecstatic piety of which the following is a specimen, and which runs through the whole collection :—

“Sanctus deus, pater universorum; sanctus deus, cujus consilium ad finem deducitur a propriis potentiis; sanctus deus, qui cognosci vult et cognoscitur a suis;^a sanctus es qui verbo constituisti entia omnia;^b

^s De Rougé, *Etude sur le Rituel funéraire des Egyptiens.*

^a ὅς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται καὶ γινώσκεται τοῖς ἰδίοις. . . . Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 4, ὅς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει . . . εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

^b . . . ὁ λόγῳ συστησάμενος τὰ ὄντα. . . . Cf. Heb. i. 3, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

sanctus es, cujus universa natura imago nata est; sanctus es, quem natura non formavit; sanctus es, qui omni potentia es fortior; sanctus es, qui omni excellentia es major; sanctus es, qui omnes superas laudes. Suscipe loquelæ sacrificium purum ab animo et corde ad te intentis, O indicibilis, ineffabilis, silentio vocate. Petenti mihi ut non aberrem a cognitione nostræ essentiæ annue, meque corrobora, et gratia hac illumines eos, qui sunt in ignorantia generis mei fratres, filios vero tuos. Ideo credo tibi, et testimonium do, in vitam et lucem transeo; benedictus es pater; tuus homo sanctificari tecum vult, prout ei tradidisti omnem potestatem.”^e

Another idea, essentially opposed to Greek traditions, is that kind of apotheosis of royalty which we find in the Hermetic books, reminding us of the pompous titles given to the Pharaohs and, at a later period, to the Ptolemies. These works are always written in the form of dialogues; sometimes Hermes instructs his disciple Asclepios or his son Tat. Sometimes Hermes becomes the pupil, and his teacher is the intellect (*νοῦς*) or Poimandrès.

The question now suggests itself, Who was Hermes? Who was that Mercurius Termaximus under whose name the books we are examining have been handed down to us? Was he a god? was he a man? For most commentators he participated in both natures. In order to avoid confusion a kind of genealogical tree has been invented, and a succession of Hermes was devised. According to Manetho, *Thoth*, the primitive Hermes, had engraved, himself, on columns in hieroglyphic characters and in the sacred language, the elements of all knowledge. After the flood, these first sacred books were translated into the usual idiom by the son of Agathodemon, the second Hermes, father of Tat. *Thôout*, *Thoyth*, or *Thoth* twice great, incarnation of Hermes Trismegistus, was the councillor and friend of Osiris and of Isis, whom he followed upon earth: he invented language, for it is said that he gave names to all objects; he was the author of writing, of grammar, of astronomy, of geometry, of arithmetic, of music, and of medicine; to him are to be traced the forms of religion and all the ceremonies of the ritual; gymnastics and dancing were also introduced by him; in fact, he taught all the arts which give to society happiness and comfort, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, etc. It was he who constructed the lyre, which originally had but three strings. He organized the sacerdotal caste, of which he was considered the father and the mystic head; and he gave to it the keeping of the numerous sacred writings which were ascribed

^e *Ποιμάνδρης*, cap. i., edit. Parthey, p. 18. I quote M. Parthey's Latin translations.

to him as to the divine source of all knowledge.^d “Deus eloquentiæ,” says Jamblichus, “præses Mercurius olim recte existimatus est sacerdotibus omnibus esse communis; quique ad veram de diis scientiam præit; unus idemque est in universis.”^e Hence the immense quantity of works ascribed to Hermes. Jamblichus speaks of twenty thousand, but does not give us the name of a single one.^f The forty-two books enumerated by Clemens Alexandrinus constituted a complete theological cyclopædia.^g According to Galen, the priests used to write upon columns, anonymously, what was found by one of them, and sanctioned by the whole college.^h These columns or obelisks served as books before the papyrus was used as a medium of intellectual communication; if we may believe Jablonski, *Thoth* is the Egyptian word for a column.ⁱ We must regret that instead of the curious books which Clemens Alexandrinus and Plutarch allude to, the Hermetic writings now accessible to us are only the exponents of a subtle and obscured system of philosophy; they are not, however, without their importance, for they bring before us the religious aspirations and belief of expiring heathenism. Let us now look a little into their contents.

The first of the fourteen dialogues published by M. Parthey is entitled *Ποιμάνδρης*,^j and embodies a system of cosmogony presented under the form of a revelation made to the author by Poimandrès, who is the *νοῦς* of Greek philosophy, the supreme God. The chapter opens as follows:—

“Cum aliquando cogitarem circa entia, et valde elevata esset mens, sopitique mei corporis sensus, veluti qui somno gravati sunt ex satietate et luxuria vel corporis labore,—visus sum videre quendam permagnum mensura indefinita vocare meum nomen et mihi dicere: quid vis audire et inspicere, et quid mente conspiciens discere et cognoscere? Aio ego: tu vero quis es? Ego equidem, inquit, sum Pœmander, mens ejus qui dominus est, novi quid velis, et tecum sum ubique. Dico ego: discere volo entia et intelligere eorum naturam, et cognoscere deum. Hoc, dixi,

^d Guigniaut, notes to his French translation of *Creuzer*. Tome i., part ii., pp. 856, 862.

^e *De Myst.*, cap. i.

^f *Tὰς μὲν οὖν ὅλας Ἑρμῆς ἐν ταῖς διαμυρίας βίβλοις, ὡς Ἀέλευκος ἀπεγράφει*, κ.τ.λ. *De Myst.*, sect. viii., cap. i.

^g Clem. Alexand., *Strom.*, vi., 4.

^h *Apolog. Aphorism. Hippocrat. contra Julian.* See the passage in Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.*, edit. Harles., i. 82.

ⁱ Observasse juvabit stilas illas, quæ doctrinam Ægyptiorum quondam omnem, sacram et profanam, complectebantur, à *Thoth* vel *Mercurio*, nomen accepisse. Jablonski, *Panth. Ægypt.*, pars. iii., p. 177.

^j This should be translated into Latin as *Poimandrès*, and not as *Pimander*, or *Pœmander*.

audire volo. Inquit mihi rursus: habe mente tua quæcunque vis discere; ego te docebo."^k

As in the Timæus, God is above matter, but he does not create it *ex nihilo*:—"Lux illa, inquit, ego sum mens, tuus deus, qui est ante humidam naturam, quæ ex tenebris apparuit."^l

The *νοῦς* orders the world according to an ideal pattern, which is his reason or his word, the *Λόγος* of Plato or of Zeno; by that word God produces another creative intelligence, the God of fire and of the spirit:—

"Itaque cum in stupore essem, ait ad me rursus: vidistin' in mente archetypam formam, quæ ante principium est principii interminati? Hæc Poemander mihi. Inquam ego: elementa naturæ unde sunt constituta? rursus ille ad hæc: ex voluntate dei, quæ accipiens verbum et videns pulchrum mundum, imitata est mundum efficiens per ejus elementa et germina animarum. Mens vero deus mas femina existens, vita et lux cum sit; parturit verbo aliam mentem opificem, quæ deus ignis et spiritus existens efficit rectores quosdam septem, in circulis continentes sensibilem mundum. Et regimen illorum fatum vocatur."^m

We might have, before quoting this passage, alluded likewise to the one in which the anonymous author of the Poimandrès describes chaos; we might have noticed a reminiscence of the Book of Genesis in the following passage: *γῆ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ . . . κινούμενα ἦν διὰ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον πνευματικὸν λόγον . . .*; but time presses us, and we go on at once to remark on the similarity which the theory of creation given in the Hermetic book offers to that of Plotinus. The great Neo-Platonist recognizes, it is well known, three principal hypostases (*τρῆς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις*), that is to say, three divine principles which from all eternity have emanated from one another. The Poimandrès corresponds exactly to the *τὸ πρῶτον* of Plotinus, whilst the *Λόγος* is the *νοῦς* of the Enneads, and the *Θεὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος*ⁿ in the Neo-Platonist school has become the *ψυχὴ τοῦ κόσμου*. In both cases the various beings of which the world consists are only emanations, or an extension of the divine substance, continually issuing forth from the bosom of the Deity without imparting or weakening it. Here, as in other similar systems, the idea of creation is associated with that of light and of fire, and we can thus trace to a certain extent the influence of Sabeism. But, as we have already remarked, the Hermetic writings are the result of several trains of thought which, far

^k Parthey's edition, pp. 1, 2.

^l Parthey, p. 3.

^m *Ibid.*, p. 4.

ⁿ Cf. Luke iii. 16, *αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ*.

from blending harmoniously together, form a contrast which is not always very pleasant. Man is represented as created in the image of God :—

“Omnium vero pater mens, cum esset vita et lux, procreavit hominem sibi similem, quem adamavit ut proprium partum; perpulcher enim erat, patris imaginem habens. Revera enim etiam deus dilexit propriam formam, ei que tradidit omnia sua opificia. Cumque mente comprehendisset opificis facturam in patre, voluit et ipse condere. Et segregatus est a patre, relictus in opificali sphaera. Habens verò omnem potestatem consideravit fratrum opificia. Ipsi verò eum dilexerunt, et singuli participem sui ordinis fecerunt. Cumque intellexisset horum essentiam, et particeps esset factus eorum naturæ, voluit perrumpere circumferentiam circularum, et potentiam ejus qui igni insidet superare.”^o

We have in this passage not only an account of the creation of man, but of his fall. Let us remark that according to Philo the angels shared in that creation, and if we admit his system of hermeneutics, the use of the plural in the verse of Genesis, *Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον*, is thus explained. In like manner the Poimandrès represents the typical man created by God traversing the seven spheres, the presiding rulers of which make him participate in their nature. The same idea is expressed by Macrobius in his well-known work. As for the body, man creates it himself by contemplating his own reflection in the water, and his shadow on the earth; he becomes enamoured of his own image; matter returns to him his love, and form springs from this union :—

“Quique mortalium mundi animalium et irrationalium omnem potestatem habuerat, per harmoniam emersit, irrumpens potentiam circularum, et ostendit deorsum latæ naturæ pulchram dei imaginem, quam cum conspexisset, insatiabilem pulchritudinem et omnem efficaciam in se habentem septem rectorum, et imaginem dei, subrisit præ amore, ut pote pulcherrimæ imaginis hominis formam quasi in aqua vidisset; umbram vero in terra. Ille vero videns similem sibi imaginem in se ipso existentem, in aqua, dilexit et voluit ei cohabitare. Effectus e vestigio secutus est voluntatem, formamque carentem ratione progenuit. Natura vero suscipiens amatum circumplexa ei est tota et commisti sunt. Sese enim amabant, et ob id præter omnia terrena animalia duplex est homo, mortalis quidem corpore, immortalis vero ob substantialem hominem. Nam cum immortalis sit et omnium potestatem habeat, mortalia tamen patitur subjecta fato, et cum sit harmonia superior, harmonicus fuit servus; et cum sit masfemina ex mari femina patre, et insomnia ab insomnia dominatur.”^p

There is evidently here an allusion to the fable of Narcissus, which some commentators have connected with the teaching of

^o Parthey, p. 6.

^p Parthey, pp. 7, 8.

religious mysteries. The life of the body is the death of the soul; hurried on under the impulse of desire, our spiritual principle falls a slave to matter; that is an idea common to all religious or metaphysical mysticism, and it is developed by Plotinus in the following passage, which may be quoted as an exact parallel to the extract from the *Poimandrès*:—

“Qui itaque modus? quæ machina? quæ ratio qua quis inexistentem pulchritudinem contempletur? pulchritudinem, inquam, in sacris adytis constitutam, neque prodeuntem foras, ne quis profanus inspiciat. Ingrediatur ergo atque progrediatur, quicumque potest, in intima, extra relinquens intuitum oculorum, neque solita spectacula sensuum ulterius a tergo respiciens. Oportet enim hanc intuentem nihil penitus corporeæ pulchritudinis ultra spectare, sed, cognoscentem corporea hæc esse imagines vestigiaque et umbras, ad illud omnino confugere, cujus hæc simulacra sunt. Si quis enim ad hæc proruat, quasi vera capessens, quæ tamen velut formosæ imagines apparent in aqua, idem proculdubio patietur, quod (ut fabula tradit) ille perpessus est, qui umbram captare contendens in aquam sese mersit atque disperiit. Simili namque pacto, qui formas corporum amplexatur, neque inde discedit, non tam corpore quam animo in profundum tenebrosum mentique horrendum præcipitatur, ubi et apud inferos cæcus, et hic manens utrobique versabitur inter umbras. Hic igitur verius admodum aliquis proclamabit: abeamus hinc, amici, in patriam dulcem confugientes. Quænum igitur fugiendi ratio? Haud sane pedibus est fugiendum. Pedes enim ab alia passim ad aliam ferunt terram. Neque rursus equos ad vehendum, neque naves ad navigandum hujus gratia parare debemus: imo vero hæc cuncta dimittere, neque prospicere quidem, sed visu corporis clauso alterum pro hoc visum assumere atque suscitare; quem habent quidem omnes, utuntur verò perpauci.”²

We see thus Pantheism manifesting itself in the Hermetic writings with the characters which distinguish that system at all times and in all countries. An intense longing after unity leads metaphysicians who endorsed it to sacrifice even man's personality for the purpose of reaching the desired end, and nothing else will satisfy them but the absorption of all things in the bosom of the Deity. Matter has a kind of relative goodness, estimated as such according to our notions of superiority and inferiority; but, when regarded with spiritual eyes, it must be considered as really bad, since perfection alone is really good, and all imperfection more or less opened to objection. Perfection, therefore, is the grand aim of every devotee; he longs to throw off this mortal body, and to be reabsorbed in the Supreme Being, who alone is perfect. “Nisi prius tuum corpus odio

¹ Plotin, *Ennead.*, i., 6, 8, pp. 35, 36, edit. Didot.

² Thomson's translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Introd.* Cf. *Ποιμάνδρης*: *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέτακται. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ λίαν*

habueris, O fili, te ipsum amare non potes; te ipsum vero cum amaveris, mentem habebis, et mentem habens scientiam quoque adipisceris.” It is curious now to compare the descriptions of the great τὸ πᾶν as given in the Poimandrès with that which the Bhagavad-Gítá presents to us:—

“Iste deus nomine præstantior est, hic immanifestus, hic manifestissimus, mente contemplandus, oculis visibilis, incorporeus et multorum corporum, imo omnium corporum. Nihil est quod non sit iste. Omnia enim solus iste est. Et ob hoc ipse nomina habet omnia, quia unus est pater; et ob hoc ipse nomen non habet, quoniam omnium est pater. Quis igitur de te aut ad te benedicere queat? quoniam respiciens laudabo te, sursum, deorsum, intra, extra? Non enim modus, non locus est circa te, neque aliud entium quidquam; omnia vero in te, omnia a te, omnia das et nihil accipis, omnia enim habes, et nihil quod non habes. Quando vero, O pater, te laudabo? neque enim hora tua neque tempus comprehendi potest; de quo etiam te laudabo? de iisne quæ fecisti, vel de iisquæ non fecisti? de iis quæ manifestasti, vel de iis quæ abscondisti? sed cur te laudabo? tamquamne mei sim? tamquam habens aliquid proprium? vel ut alius sim? Tu enim es quod sum, tu es quod facio, tu es quod dico. Tu enim omnia es, neque quidquam aliud est quod non sis tu. Tu es omne quod gignitur, tu omne quod non generatur. Mens quidem intelligens, pater efficiens, deus operans, omen quidem et omnia faciens. Materiæ namque tenuissima pars ær est, æris vero anima, animæ autem mens, mentis autem deus.”

Thus far Hermes. We turn next to the Bhagavad-Gítá, and find the same ideas clothed in all the splendour of Eastern style:—

“The universe, O Krishna! is justly delighted with thy glory, and devoted to thee. The Ráksharas¹ flee, affrighted, to the divers quarters of heaven, and all the multitudes of the Siddhas² salute thee. And, indeed, why should they not adore thee, O great one! thee, the first creator, more important even than Brahma himself? O infinite king of gods, habitation of the universe! Thou art the one indivisible, the existing and not existing, that which is supreme. Thou art the first of the gods, the most ancient person. Thou art the supreme receptacle of this universe. Thou knowest all, and mayest be known, and art the supreme mansion. By thee is this universe caused to emanate, O thou of endless forms! Air, Yama,³ Fire, Varuna,⁴ the moon, the progenitor, and the great grandfather (of the world) art thou. Hail! hail to thee! hail to thee a thousand times! and again, yet again, hail! hail to thee!

κακὸν ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν μόνιον τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας. Κακοῦνται γὰρ ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν. Κακούμενον δὲ οὐκέτι ἀγαθὸν μένει, μὴ μεῖναν δὲ κακὸν γίνεται.—Parthey, p. 50.

¹ Parthey, p. 37.

² Evil spirits, creatures of darkness.

³ A kind of demigods.

⁴ The sun, and also the king of justice.

⁵ The god of the ocean and waters.

Hail to thee from before ! hail to thee from behind ! hail to thee from all sides too ! Thou all ! of infinite power and immense might, thou comprehendest all ; therefore thou art all.”^z

As complete absorption in the bosom of the Deity is the great object to be pursued, it naturally follows that those men who have led a bad life on earth cannot be thus absorbed ; and in proportion to their vices, crimes or sins, the period of trial will be extended which is to intervene between their bodily existence and their identification with the Supreme Being. Hence the doctrine of the transmigration of souls :—

“Non audisti in genericis, ab una anima universi omnes animas esse, per omnem mundum tamquam distributas circumcurrentes ? harum animarum multæ mutationes, partim sane in feliciorem, partim autem in contrarium statum. Nam quæ reptiles sunt in aquatilia mutantur, aquatiliæ vero in terrestria, terrestres autem in volatilia, aeræ vero in homines, humanæ vero immortalitatis initium habent in dæmones migrantes. Dein ita in deorum inerrantium chorum transeunt ; chori veri duo sunt deorum, alius errantium, alius inerrantium ; et hæc et animæ perfectissima gloria. Anima in corpus hominis ingressa, si mala perseverat, neque gustat immortalitatem neque boni fit particeps ; sed retrogradiens viam revertitur in reptilia. Et hæc condemnatio est animæ malæ ; nequitia vero anima est ignoratio.”^v

It would be impossible to determine from what source the Hermetic writings borrowed the doctrine illustrated in the above passage ; we know that belief in metempsychosis was general amongst the heathens ; nay, even the Jews held it,^a and if we may believe the authority of Saint Jerome, it was also proposed to the early Christians as an esoteric and traditional doctrine which was entrusted to the select few.^a

The androgynous nature of the primitive man is another idea for which *Ποιμάνδρης* is indebted to the Jews. Let us quote from Dr. Ginsburg’s work on the Kabbalah :—

“As has already been remarked, the human soul, before it descends into the world, is androgynous, or in other words, consists of two com-

^a *Bhagavad-Gītā*, chap. ii. Thomson’s transl.

^v Parthey, p. 72.

^z “All souls are subject to transmigration, and men do not know the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He ; they do not know that they are brought before the tribunal, both before they enter into this world, and after they quit it ; they are ignorant of the many transmigrations and secret probations which they have to undergo, and of the number of souls and spirits which enter into this world, and do not return to the palace of the heavenly King. Men do not know how the souls revolve like a stone which is thrown from a sling ; as it is written : ‘And the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.’ (1 Sām. xxv. 29.) But the time is at hand when these mysteries will be disclosed.”—*Sohar*, ii., 99 b.

^a Cf. *Epist. ad Demetriadem*. See also Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, 1, 1, cap. viii. ; *Adv. Celsum*, 1, 3.

ponent parts, each of which comprises all the elements of our spiritual nature. Thus the *Sohar* tells us: 'Each soul and spirit, prior to its entering into this world, consists of a male and female united into one being. When it descends on this earth the two parts separate, and animate two different bodies. At the time of marriage, the Holy One, blessed be He, who knows all souls and spirits, unites them again as they were before, and they again constitute one body and one soul, forming as it were the right and left of one individual: therefore 'there is nothing new under the sun' (Eccl. i. 9). . . . This union, however, is influenced by the deeds of the man, and by the way in which he walks. If the man is pure, and his conduct is pleasing in the sight of God, he is united with that female part of his soul which was his component part prior to his birth." (*Sohar*, i., 91 b.)^b

Time will not allow us to stop and examine the various fragments addressed to Tat, to Asclepios, and to Ammon; we may merely say here that they are psychological analyses rather obscure in their style, theories on God, the soul, and the world. Among these fragments several are collected together, oddly enough, under the title of *definitions*, and purport to be the work of Asclepios, a disciple of Hermes.^c The author complains that the Greeks have translated his master's books into their own language, and he abuses terribly the Greek philosophy, which he calls a vain sound of words.^d This is perhaps an artifice intended to make the reader believe in the authenticity of the book as a genuine monument of Egyptian wisdom. The form, however, is modern, and we find an allusion to the chariot races so popular in Greece.^e The sun is compared to a charioteer—image borrowed from Hellenic mythology, for in Egypt that luminary was described as borne along on a boat. Nevertheless the importance ascribed to the sun in the work of creation lead us to think that the author was an Egyptian. To quote again from M. de Rougé: "Le soleil est le plus ancien objet du culte Egyptien que nous trouvons sur les monuments Ce qui sans doute n'avait d'abord été qu'un symbole est devenu sur les monuments Egyptiens que nous connaissons le fond même de la religion. C'est le soleil lui-même qu'on y trouve habituellement invoqué comme l'être suprême."^f The same ideas are found developed in the *Definitions* of Asclepios: "Sic etenim cœlum et terram agit operator, sol inquam, essentiam quidem deorsum

^b Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah, its Doctrines, Development, and Literature*, p. 84.

^c The *Definitiones* for the sixteenth chapter in the Bourdeaux edition of 1574.

^d Αὐτὴ ἐστὶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφία, λόγων ψόφος.

^e Μέσος γὰρ ἵδρυται στεφανηφορῶν τὸν κόσμον· καὶ καθάπερ ἡνίοχος ἀγαθὸς τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρμα ἀσφαλίστατος καὶ ἀναδήσας εἰς ἑαυτὸν, μήπως ἀτάκτως φέροιτο. Εἰς δὲ αἱ ἡνίαί, ζωὴ, καὶ ψυχὴ, καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀθανασία, καὶ γένεσις.

^f *Etude sur le Rituel.*

agens, materiam autem attollens, ac circa se et in se omnia rapiens, et a seipso cuncta tribuens, lumen omnibus affatim largitur."

The doctrine of the divine unity is so presented that we cannot suppose, in this part at least, any Jewish influence to have been exerted: "Idcirco sermonem hinc auspicator: Deum omnium, factorem, patrum et septum implorans, ac omnium unum existentia, et unum omnia existentem. Nam omnium plenitudo unum est, et in uno." These ideas remind us of Plato's *Timæus*, but still more of the self-generating Egyptian god. What Asclepios says of the demons or subaltern deities may be connected with Greek as well as with Egyptian teaching.

Another fragment contains an allusion to Phidias, and an anecdote on the musician Eunomios. Patrizzi, who considers Hermes as the contemporary of Moses, takes a great deal of trouble to explain these passages. He acknowledges that the piece is rather insignificant, and he hesitates to ascribe it to the disciple of so great a man. The same doubts exactly might be applied to the next chapter. We cannot find it in us to admire the cold bombast of a mere rhetorician who simulates enthusiasm, and who confounds the praises of kings with those which are due to God. In this exaggerated apotheosis of royalty, together with a few expressions reminding us of certain sentences to be found on the ancient monuments of Egypt, we see an etymological explanation of the Greek word *Βασιλεύς*, and even phrases which seem an allusion to the name of Ptolemy. "It is the virtue of the king, it is his name which preserves peace. The name alone of the king often suffices to drive back his enemies. It is a light-house in the midst of tempest. The mere image of the king produces victory, gives security to all, and renders men invulnerable." Under a modern form we have here the same expressions of degraded servility as in the inscriptions of ancient Egypt: "The king of Egypt, the ruler of the desert, the supreme sovereign, master of the barbarians, was scarcely born when his orders directed armies. As soon as he had come out of the egg, like a stout-hearted bull, he pushed on everything before him."

In other fragments, traces of Egyptian ideas appear, mixed up with metaphysical subtleties. One passage quoted by Suidas, and having a Gnostic colouring, ends by an invocation in which orphic verses may be recognized under a modified form. The fragments preserved by Cyril are rather short; we must not forget two curious *morceaux* on cosmogony, entitled respectively the *Sacred Book* and the *Sacred Discourse*. The style of the latter is extremely incorrect, and might lead us to suppose that the piece itself is only a translation. The ideas are Egyptian,

and the form Jewish. We find the deities of the various heavenly bodies taking a share in the work of creation; their action is even more immediate than that of the Supreme God, whose character is strictly impersonal, and who appears as a mere abstraction. Plutarch and Ælian tell us that in the Egyptian cosmogony darkness precedes light. The same idea occurs here: "Erant enim tenebræ infinitæ in abyssu et aqua et spiritus tenuis intellectualis, potentia divina existentia in chao. Exiit lux sancta, et concreta sunt ab arena elementa ex humida substantia, et dii omnes distribuunt aliquid natura seminalis."^s This passage reminds us of the first verses of the Book of Genesis, but it offers still greater similarity with the cosmogony of the Egyptians, which, if we may believe Damascius, admitted as first principles darkness, water, and sand. The influence of the constellations on human destiny is also clearly stated: "Incipit eorum vita et scientia ad portionem cursus circularium deorum, et resolvi in id, et erunt magna commentaria artificiorum in terra, relinquentes, in renovatione temporum deletionem."^a

Traces of Egyptian ideas can likewise be found in the *Discourse of Initiation*, usually known under the name of *Asclepius*. This work, of which we have only a Latin translation, falsely ascribed to Apuleius, belongs both by its subject-matter and by its form to the philosophy of the Alexandrine school; it has nothing of the hieratic or inspired tone which stamps the *Sacred Book* and the *Sacred Discourse*. We shall quote from it a passage of a most curious description, where Hermes announces through the medium of a kind of prophecy, the triumph of Christianity, the apostacy of Egypt, and the persecution exercised against the last faithful followers of the national religion. This piece, remarkable by its style of impassioned eloquence, is the supreme and mournful protest of dying heathenism against the faith of the Cross.

"... Tamen, quoniam præscire cuncta prudentes decet, istud vos ignorare fas non est, futurum tempus est, quum appareat Ægyptios incassum pia mente divinitatem servasse sedula religione, et omnis eorum sancta veneratio in irritum casura frustrabitur. E terris enim ad cælum est recursura divinitas. Linquetur Ægyptus, terraque, quæ fuit divinitatis sedes, religione viduata, numinum præsentia destituetur. Alienigenis enim regionem istam, terramque complentibus, non solum neglectius religionem, sed (quod est durius) quasi de legibus, a religione, pietate, cultuque statuetur. Proscripta pœna, prohibitio erit. Tunc terra ista, sanctissima sedes delubrorum, atque templorum, sepulchrorum erit, mortuorumque plenissima. O Ægypte, Ægypte, religionum tuarum solæ supererunt fabulæ, et æque incredibiles posteris suis; solaque supere-

^s Parthey, p. 31.^a Ibid., p. 33.

runt verba lapidibus incisa, tua pia facta narrantibus; et inhabitabit Ægyptum Scythes aut Indus, aut aliquis talis, id est vicinia barbara. Divinitas enim repetet cœlum, deserti homines toti morientur, atque ita Ægyptus deo et homine viduata deseretur. Te vero appello, Sanctissimum flumen, tibi que futura prædico. Torrenti sanguine plenus, ad ripas usque erumpes, undæque divinæ non solum proluentur sanguine, sed totæ rumpentur, et vivis multo major erit numerus sepulcorum. Superstes vero qui fuerit, lingua sola cognoscetur Ægyptius, actibus vero videbitur alienus. Quid fles, O Asclepi? et his amplius, multoque deterius, ipsa Ægyptus suadebitur, imbueturque majoribus malis, quæ sancta quondam, et divinitatis amantissima deorum in terra religionis suæ merito, sola seductio sanctitatis, et pietatis magistra, erit maximæ crudelitatis exemplum, et tunc tædio hominum, non admirandus videbitur mundus, neque adorandus: hoc totum bonum quo melius nec est, nec fuit, nec erit quod videri possit, periclitabitur, eritque grave hominibus, ac per hoc contemnetur, nec diligetur totus hic mundus, dei opus immutabile, gloriosa constructio, bonum multiformi imaginum varietate compositum, machina voluntatis dei, in suo opere sine invidia suffragantis in unum omnia, quæ venerari, laudari, amari denique a videntibus possunt, multiformis adunata congestio. Nam et tenebræ præponentur lumini, et mors vita utilior judicabitur. Nemo suscipiet cœlum; religiosus pro insano, irreligiosus putabitur prudens. Furiosus fortis, pro bono habebitur pessimus; anima enim, et omnia circa eam, quibus aut mortalis nata est, aut immortalitatem se consecuturam esse præsumit, secundum quod vobis exposui, non solum risus, sed etiam putabitur vanitas. Sed mihi credite, etiam periculum capitale constituetur in cura qui se mentis religioni dederit. Nova constituentur jura, lex nova. Nihil sanctum, nihil religiosum; nec cœlo, nec cœlestibus dignum audietur, aut mente credetur; fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio, soli nocentes angeli remanent, qui humanitati commixti, ad omnia audaciæ mala miseros (manu injecta) compellent in bella, in rapinas, in fraudes, et in omnia quæ sunt animarum naturæ contraria. Tunc nec terra constabit, nec navigabitur mare, nec cœlum astrorum cursibus, nec siderum cursus constabit in cœlo. Omnis vox divina, necessaria taciturnitate mutescet. Fructus terræ corruptentur, nec fœcunda erit tellus: et aer ipse mæsto torpore languescet. Hæc, et talis senectus veniet, mundi irreligio, et inordinatio, et irrationalitas bonorum omnium.”¹

The apology we must make for quoting so long an extract is its importance with relation to the state of heathenism under the first Christian Emperor. We have here, as has already been hinted, the funeral oration of the old religious beliefs. As Virgil sang of a new golden age, and of a kind of earthly paradise during the reign of Augustus, so Hermes associates with the decay of pagan institutions, the dissolution of all things, the increase of moral corruption, and the complete breaking up of the laws of nature. His idea is evident; his train of thought,

¹ Mercurii Trismeg. Asclepius, edit. Genev. 1507.

one would suppose, could hardly be mistaken. The Asclepios must have been composed under one of the Christian emperors, and as Lactantius, who was the contemporary of Constantine, quotes several fragments of it,^j we may, perhaps, be allowed to assign that epoch as the date of its composition. The most extraordinary circumstance in connection with this part of our subject is, that Lactantius should have seriously believed in the authenticity of a book which is full of the clearest allusions to current facts, and that he should have so egregiously mistaken the drift of the whole composition. In his eyes, the pseudo Hermetic writings are the most valuable remains of primitive antiquity, and their authority is particularly venerable. "Hermes," he says, "has discovered nearly the whole truth, I know not how." The fragment we have just transcribed is considered by him as a kind of prediction of the end of the world,^k uncanonical indeed, but yet worthy to be taken into serious account.

At the same time, we must not forget that the exalted idea entertained respecting the Hermetic works by Lactantius was not shared by all the fathers of the Church. The very chapter from which we have made our last quotation is vehemently criticized in Augustine's *de Civitate Dei*,^l who certainly understood much better than Lactantius the real meaning of the wailings and lamentations contained in the Asclepios. After transcribing part of the passage we have ourselves given, he adds:^m "Deinde multis verbis Hermes hunc locum exequitur, in quo videtur hoc tempus predicere, quo Christiana religio, quanto est veracior atque sanctior, tanto vehementius et liberius cuncta fallacia figmenta subvertit, ut gratia verissimi salvatoris liberet hominem ab iis diis, quos fecit homo et ei deo subdata quo factus est homo."

Enough has been said to show what is the character of the Hermetic writings. An endeavour to modify heathenism by an admixture of notions borrowed from Christian and Jewish teaching, a combination of pantheism, quietism, and fatalism—such is the result which an impartial investigation of the *Ποιμάνδρης* has brought before us. In that grand intellectual workshop of Alexandria, where all the religious creeds of the world had established their rendezvous, Hermes Trismegistus

^j Firm. Lactant., *Divin. Inst.*, edit. Migne, vol. i., columns 730, 777, 778, 795, 796.

^k Col. 795.

^l Caput nonum hoc universum, profanum est, quod et recte coarguit Augustinus in libro de civitate Dei. *Comment. in Merc. Trism. Asclep.*, cap. 9, p. 508, edit. Genev.

^m *De Civ. Dei.*, viii., 23, p. 800, vol. i., edit. 1661. Francof.

took his place, side by side with Amelius, Numenius of Apamea, Plotinus, and Philo.

But before we conclude this short essay, we must point out to the reader one or two parallels which have suggested themselves to us in the course of this inquiry. The dissolution of society towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the wonderful movement which marked the conclusion of the eighteenth, both produced an intellectual ferment which reminds us very much of the state of things at Alexandria when Christianity established its claims against the decaying institutions of the old world. We have already said a few words about the singular attempt made during the *Renaissance* period by some enthusiastic scholars for the purpose of substituting a metaphysical kind of paganism in the stead of Christianity. Such an idea would almost seem beyond the verge of possibility had we not, in Gemisthus Pletho's writings*, a proof that its carrying out had actually been contemplated. The *Treatise on Laws* by this author may be considered as a complete programme of the new religion, and to it we would call the student's attention for a few minutes, on account of the points of resemblance it offers with the writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus.

The great idea which runs throughout the *Περὶ Νόμων* as well as through the *Ποιμάνδρης* is that of a supreme God communicating his essence, in a manner more or less mediate, and by degrees always descending, first to inferior duties, then to the other immaterial substances, and finally to physical objects. Here again we find the *Eons* of Gnosticism, the *Sephiroth* of the Kabbalah, and in fact the numberless attempts made by philosophers to fill the immense chasm which exists between God and man, by the medium of certain secondary beings which emanate from the great τὸ πᾶν as rays from the sun. The catalogue of Pletho's Olympus is more complicated than that of Hermes; but the idea which has suggested it is exactly the same, and originates from the desire of explaining those questions as to man's destiny and origin for which Christianity alone has a satisfactory solution. The account given of the creation of man is ingenious. Pletho supposes that Persephone (the human soul) has been carried away by Pluto (the body), and that man, a complex substance, is the result of this union. Here we find a striking parallel to the doctrine already pointed out as developed by the anonymous author of the *Ποιμάνδρης* on the

* See the *ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ*, published by M. Alexandre, with notes, and a French translation. Paris: Didot. 8vo.

presence of the two sexes in the primitive man.^o Pletho's system of cosmogony is ingenious, elaborate, carefully constructed; but it is a work of imagination, not of philosophy. His psychology, although offering here and there some remarkable passages and some true ideas, could not be but unsound in the main, because it is deduced from wrong axioms. According to him, the soul is immortal, spiritual, though habitually associated with matter; enlightened, but limited, and consequently fallible; submitted to fatality like everything else, it is, nevertheless, free to a certain degree, and therefore it is capable of sinning.^p What becomes then of the soul after its separation from the body? A fixed interval of repose first takes place, then it returns into a body, and recommences the career of life.^q We have here the system of the metempsychosis, that dream common to Brahminism, Pythagorism, Platonism,—in fact to all the systems which have borrowed some of their elements from Indian sources; once more *Ποιμάνδρης* gives the right hand of fellowship to Pletho, and after the interval of centuries he returns also to life, through a kind of intellectual transmigration, in the *Περὶ Νόμων*.^r

Without carrying this comparative study any further, we may remark here a difference between the two works we have been examining. Hermes Trismegistus aims at constructing not a religious edifice, but a metaphysical one; he is a philosopher, not a priest; hence there is no allusion in his dialogues to worship, liturgical ceremonies, prayers, etc. Pletho, on the contrary, is professedly a member of the Christian church; he finds around him an imposing ecclesiastical society at the head of civilization, and he wishes to replace it by a religious establishment of his own creation. He aims merely at transferring the power of the keys from a Christian pope to a heathen hierophant; his work, accordingly, is not only a book of philosophy, but a breviary, a catechism, and a ritual.

Ages roll on, and a fresh intellectual dissolution brings on the scene another manifestation of mysticism. Atheists and doubters may proclaim their empire over the multitude, but absolute scepticism is impossible, and man must believe in some one or some thing. A reaction soon takes place against incre-

^o See the *Περὶ Νόμων*, book i., chap. v.; iii., 15, the allocutions, hymns, and *Ἐπινομίαι*. St. Martin (*de l'Esprit des Choses*) has some curious remarks on this supposed androgynism of the first man.

^p See pp. 70—73.

^q *Εἰ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἕνεκα ἐν ἡμῖν κοινωνίας, κ.τ.λ.*, pp. 196—199; also pp. 250-2; 439, comp. with *Ποιμάνδρης*, Parthey's edition, p. 31.

^r Compare the hymns of Pletho, pp. 201 and following, with the *Ποιμάνδρης*, pp. 17 and 47.

dulity and irreligion; disgusted by the gross fallacies of Diderot and Condillac, many serious thinkers rush immediately to the opposite pole of metaphysical speculation. Instead of accepting Christianity, they will be satisfied with nothing but theurgy and mystic vagaries. Saint Martin, the *philosophe inconnu*, revives the dreams of the Alexandrines, and endeavours to reconcile the Bible with Kabbalistic notions.

For him, as for all mystic dreamers, there is no creation properly so called, but merely a series of emanations. Power, mind, and love, are God's three great attributes; but as these attributes must always be in a state of activity (for otherwise they would not exist), we may say that God is constantly creating himself, by exercising upon himself his thought, his power, and his love; in other words, the divine consciousness is the *locus* and the witness of an eternal process of generation.

Now what else does the *Ποιμάνδρης* say when it describes ὁ πάντων πατήρ ὁ νοῦς as ὦν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς,¹ and when further on it represents the world as ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐποτε ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ γίνεται?² Creation, Saint Martin goes on, is like a series of lenses or images which reflect *ad infinitum*, and allow God to contemplate, the sublime features of his existence. Created beings are all framed from the Divine essence; only, instead of representing that essence in its infinite proportions, they are merely portions of it, ever weaker and weaker, but capable of receiving an increase of fruitfulness and energy by fresh communication with the original principle which produced them. Thus Hermès: ὁ γὰρ μακάριος Θεός, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ψυχὴν μὲν ἐν σώματι ἔφη εἶναι, νοῦν δὲ ἐν ψυχῇ, λόγον δὲ ἐν τῷ νῷ, τὸν νοῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τούτων πατέρα.³

The fable or myth of Narcissus, which we have seen reproduced in the Hermetic writings and in Plotinus as a kind of sacred allegory, receives fresh illustration from Saint Martin's works. As God is reflected in man, so man is reflected in nature, for we must not forget that, according to the systems we are now examining, nature and matter are two distinct things. Nature is a spiritual principle, the spirit of the universe of which matter and the elements are the body. Nature is sensible, capable of pain and of pleasure, whilst matter can feel nothing. Nature is not only active, living, and sensible, it is, in creation, the source of all activity, of all life, of all sensibility. In the beginning man reigned over nature as a king; nature was his mirror and his domain, so long as he was the mirror and domain of God. It returned to him in forms and in colours

¹ Parthey, p. 6.² Ibid., p. 57.³ Ibid., p. 107.

the power which he exerted over it, and the virtues which he developed in its bosom, thus giving him a visible evidence of the dominion he enjoyed over all things. This theory immediately recalls to our mind the following striking passage in the *Ποιμάνδρης*: *Καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος, ὡς Ἀσκληπιέ, αἰσθησιν ἰδὲν καὶ νόησιν ἔχει, οὐχ ὁμοίαν τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ, οὐδὲ ὡς ποικίλην, ἀλλ' ὡς κρείττω καὶ ἀπλουστέραν.*"

St. Martin's views on sin and on death must also be noticed briefly here. For the man who has constantly lived in the fear of God and in the practice of virtue, death is properly the beginning of life, the introduction to our normal state, to our true home. "*Les amimaux,*" says he, "*ne connaissent point la mort, par la raison qu'ils ne connaissent par la vie.*" But as for the individuals and the nations of the *torrent*, that is to say, those who are carried away by their passions and their wicked propensities, they are abandoned, through a necessary consequence of their spiritual blindness, to that power which assumes the place of God whenever we separate ourselves from him. For man cannot be his own end; if he leaves the service of God, he must become the servant of the devil. Anguish then takes hold of us, vain allusions carry us on; we commit iniquity with delight, unceasingly; and sin, bringing along with it its own punishment, transforms our conscience into a real hell. Now this is exactly what Hermes tells us: *Τοῖς δὲ ἀνοήτοις καὶ κακοῖς καὶ πονηροῖς καὶ φθονεροῖς καὶ πλεονέκταις καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ ἀσεβέσι πόρρωθέν εἰμι, τῷ τιμωρῷ ἐκχωρήσας δαίμονι, ὅστις τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ Πυρὸς προσβάλλων θρώσκει αὐτοῖς αἰσθητικῶς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦς ὀπλίζει, ἵνα τύχωσι μελζονος τιμωρίας.*"

The parallel we have thus endeavoured to institute between three eminent representatives of mysticism might be easily continued, and points of similarity brought out still more curious perhaps than those to which we have drawn the reader's attention, but time warns us to stop. As a conclusion to the foregoing remarks, we would just say that the singular writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus deserve to be studied by all those who are interested in the history of metaphysical speculation, and we sincerely hope that Dr. Parthey will redeem the promise he made twelve years ago, of publishing all the Hermetic fragments which remain at present scattered throughout the voluminous collections of Suidas, Cyril, Stobæus, and other authors.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

* Parthey, pp. 63, 64.

" *De l'Esprit des Choses.*

* Parthey, p. 13.

THE ABUSE OF CRITICISM IN RELIGION.*

“Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat.”

FATHER Laubrussel, an author of little note, and less merit, published a work which has been long since forgotten, with the same title that this bears. His aim was to revenge religion of those impotent attacks which infidelity and heresy have made against it. The enterprise was very laudable, and it is to be lamented that he was not more happy in the execution of it; and that he has so frequently substituted declamation and abuse in the room of reasonings. However, without approving his logic, we may reckon something to the account of his zeal, if zeal ought to cover a multitude of trifles, as charity a multitude of sins. The object we have in view is very different from this, but not less useful, and we shall endeavour to execute it better. It is to vindicate philosophers from the reproach of impiety with which they have often been unjustly charged, by ascribing to them sentiments not their own; giving forced interpretations to their words; drawing from their principles odious and false consequences which they disavow; in a word, by stigmatizing as criminal, or dangerous, opinions which Christianity has not forbid. Among the innumerable abuses with which criticism may be reproached, there is none more pernicious than that we are complaining of: it is highly necessary therefore we should pull off the mask, and discountenance it.

The importance of this subject, perhaps, would require a considerable work; the reflections I am going to lay before the reader are but a plan or sketch; may they meet with the approbation of those sages who equally understand the rights of faith and reason; may this scheme of an apology be esteemed and adopted by some of our celebrated writers, more worthy and more capable of executing it than myself.

II. The first duty either in defending truth or enquiring after it, is to be just: we will begin with acknowledging that the advocates for Christianity have some reason to be apprehensive for it, at least as far as they ought to be for that which is not the production of man. It is not to be dissembled that Christianity is now-a-days indecently attacked in a great number of writings. It is true the manner in which it is commonly done is sufficient to satisfy those who might be alarmed by the attack. The desire to lay aside all restraint of passion, and the vanity of thinking different from the multitude, have made more un-

* The above is extracted from *Miscellaneous Pieces in Literature, History, and Philosophy*. By M. d'Alembert London. 1764.

believers than the illusions of sophism, if indeed we are to include in the number of unbelievers all those impious persons who only wish to appear so, and, as Montaigne says, "would fain be worse than they are able." Such a shower of arrows shot from all sides against Christianity, has thrown some of our most pious writers into consternation. Engaged to sustain the cause and honour of religion, which they believe to be in danger, because they see it outrageously beset, they lie in 'ambush, if I may so speak, to surprise infidelity in every new book, and it must be confessed that they have found out a sad and plentiful crop: but some among them, like soldiers transported by impetuosity of courage and ardour beyond their rank, expose themselves to be attacked in flank; and in the vehemence of their zeal and their researches, betray an indiscretion dangerous to their cause. When they have not been able to find real impieties, they have been obliged to forge imaginary ones, to have the honour of combating them. They have supposed intentions when crimes have been wanting, and have gone so far as to accuse silence itself.

"Socrates," said a Roman, "I am attacked on account of my words, because I am innocent in my actions." So might one of our philosophers say, I am attacked on account of my thoughts, because I am irreproachable in my words. Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, put to death one of his subjects who had conspired against him in a dream. There is seldom wanting a false zeal to carry injustice still further than credit or power. The tyrant punished dreams; the enemies of philosophy suppose them, demand the blood of the guilty, and it is but rare that they have not obtained it, to the shame of reason and humanity.

III. Nothing has been more common than the charge of irreligion brought against learned men by those who have no pretensions to philosophy. Pericles had scarce credit enough to save Anaxagoras, accused of Atheism by the Athenian priests for having pretended that the universe was governed by one Supreme Intelligence, according to general and invariable laws. The ashes of Socrates were still smoking, when Aristotle, being cited by fanatical enemies before the same judges, was forced to shun persecution by flight. "We must not expose," says he, "philosophy to a second injury." The superstitious Athenians, who applauded the impiety of Aristophanes, and suffered him to turn the objects of their worship into ridicule, would not suffer any other to be substituted in their stead. Nobody was forbidden to speak of the Divinity among the Greeks, but those only who were capable of doing it worthily. But without rising so high

as the age of Anaxagoras, Socrates and Aristotle, let us confine ourselves to what is passing in our own.

IV. The famous Jesuit Harduin, one of the first men of his age for the depth of his erudition, and one of the last for the ridiculous use he made of it, had once the extravagance to compose a piece on purpose to put under the ban of Atheism, without shame or remorse, respectable authors, many of whom had solidly proved the existence of God in their writings; an absurdity well worthy of a visionary, who pretended that most of the best works of antiquity were composed by monks of the thirteenth century. This pious sceptic in attacking, as he did, the certainty of almost all historical monuments, deserved more than any man the name of an enemy to religion, if his opinions had not been too stupid to have any followers. "His folly," says a celebrated writer, "takes away the heinousness of his calumny; but those who repeat this calumny in our age are not always reckoned fools, and they are often very dangerous." Naturally intolerant in their opinions, however indifferent they are in themselves, these men seize with eagerness everything which may serve for a pretext to render their opinions respectable. They want to connect with Christianity the most contentious metaphysical questions, and the most arbitrary systems of philosophy. In vain does religion, so simple and precise as it is in its doctrines, reject constantly an alliance which dishonours it; it is on account of this imaginary alliance that it has been imagined to be attacked in those works where there is not the least suspicion. Let us enter into detail with relation to this point, and shew with what injustice the wisest and most respectable philosophers have been treated on a subject of such importance.

V. "Give me matter and motion, and I will make a world," said Descartes once, and after him one of his followers. This proposition, which has been regarded as injurious to God, is, perhaps, the sublimest thing which philosophy has pronounced of the glory of the Supreme Being; a thought so profound and so great could only come from a great genius who, on one side, perceived the necessity of an Almighty Intelligence to give existence and impulse to matter, and who perceived, on the other, the simplicity and the variety not less to be admired of the laws of motion; laws, by virtue of which the Creator has included all events in the first, as their seed, and needs nothing to produce them but a *word*, according to the sublime language of Scripture. This is all that the proposition of Descartes can mean, to one who is disposed to understand it; but the enemies of reason, who only perceive the works of the Supreme Being in miniature,

and who offer Him a worship that is rigid, pusillanimous, and bounded like themselves, discern nothing in the purer and sublimer homage of philosophy, but a proud fabricator of systems, who seems to wish to put himself in the place of the Divinity.

VI. The Newtonians admitted a vacuum and attraction; this was very near the *physic* of Epicurus; now this philosopher was an Atheist, and therefore the Newtonians must be the same; such is the logic of one of their adversaries. Notwithstanding, it is true that no philosophy is more favourable to the belief of the being of a God than Newton's. For how should the particles of matter, which have no action themselves, be able to tend towards one another, unless this tendency was excited by the Omnipotent will of a Sovereign Mover? A Cartesian Atheist is one who is mistaken in his principles; a Newtonian Atheist would be something worse,—a philosopher who draws false conclusions.

VII. "When I lift up my eyes to heaven," said an impious man, "I believe I see traces of the Divinity; but when I look around me—" Look within you, one might answer, and woe be to you if that proof is not sufficient. Indeed, nothing else is necessary but to descend into ourselves to discover the workmanship of a Sovereign Intelligence which has given us existence, and has preserved us in it. That existence is a prodigy which cannot strike us too much, because it is a continual one. It brings back to our mind every instance of a Supreme Power on which we depend. But the more sensible the impression of His acting is upon ourselves and all surrounding objects, the more inexcusable are we in seeking it in minute and frivolous objects. A learned man of modern times, who was so persuaded of the existence of God, that he has investigated and given new proofs of it, nevertheless thought it his duty to attack certain puerile, and even indecent arguments, by which certain authors have attempted to establish this great truth, but in reality have only injured and degraded it. This philosopher took those weapons out of the hands of Atheists, which the weakness of these authors lent them: would one expect he should be charged with furnishing them? Yet this is what those ignorant or treacherous censors have been so scandalous as to reproach him with. Thus the illustrious Boerhaave was once accused of Spinozism, because having heard that this system was badly attacked by some unknown person more orthodox, he asked him if he had read what he was going to confute.

VIII. The same philosopher, too easily moved by the differences of certain scholastics about the arguments for the existence of God, has pretended that the proofs on which it rests are not,

properly speaking, demonstrations; that they turn only upon very great probabilities, and that they derive their invincible force from their multitude and their union. We are far from believing that no proof of the being of God is rigorously demonstrative, but we are not the more disposed therefore to tax with Atheism those who think otherwise. The existence of Cæsar is not demonstrated like the theorems of geometry: is that a reason for entertaining the least doubt about it? In an infinity of matters, many arguments may form in the mind, by their concurrence, a conviction as strong as that which springs from demonstration, though each particular in itself is only probable, as a concurrence of testimonies in the support of a fact produces a certainty as irreversible as that of geometry, though of a different kind. This is what Pascal has before remarked on the proof of the Being of God; and was Pascal ever suspected of doubting this truth? The enemies of that great man have said, that it was a sufficient answer to his eighteen *Provincial Letters* to repeat eighteen times that he was a heretic, but they never once dared to say that he was an atheist.

IX. Some writers have maintained that the explicit and distinct notion of the creation is not to be found in either the Old or New Testament. This assertion has been attacked as impious; it would have been more natural to have discussed this point by an examination of the passages themselves, and this examination would not have been difficult; but whatever side we take, it seems to me that faith has nothing to fear:—this needs some explication. The creation, as the theologians themselves confess, is a truth which reason itself teaches, a necessary effect of the existence of a first Being. This notion then is of the number of those which revelation supposes, and upon which there is no occasion for it to speak in an express and particular manner. It is sufficient that the sacred books affirm nothing in contradiction to it. It is on this account we do not accuse them; and when some of the ancient Christian fathers, as it is pretended, did not express themselves with sufficient clearness on the subject of creation, is it a reason for believing they thought matter to be eternal?

X. The opinion which has been attributed to two or three fathers upon the nature of the soul has raised the same clamour, and deserves the same answer. If we may believe different critics, those fathers had not very distinct ideas about the spirituality of the thinking principle, and seemed to have made it material. The pretension, however, of these critics, whether well or ill-founded, has furnished a handle to accuse them of that materialism they attribute to others; for now-a-days mate-

rialism, which we see everywhere the hydra, has seven heads to combat; but if two or three ecclesiastical writers have been in an error, which we do not pretend to determine, what has this mistake to do with religion? Are the philosophical proofs for the spirituality of the soul less convincing? Cannot we allow the full force to these proofs which Descartes first investigated and explained, and believe that some of the fathers of the Church were not acquainted with them? "But," say they, "those who maintain that the distinct idea of creation is not to be found in the Scripture, nor the spirituality of the soul in the ancient doctors, do it only because they pretend that the world is eternal, and the soul matter." If they pretend this, they ought to be convinced of the contrary, nothing is more necessary or more just; but it should seem not to be the likeliest way that can be chosen to misrepresent them, especially when they acknowledge, as many have done in the most express terms, those two truths which they are charged with calling in question.

XI. It is not enough to stand up against impiety; we must not be mistaken in the kind of impiety we attack. "I am accused," said a Pyrrhonian one day, "of materialism. This is just as if a constitutionary should be accused of Jansenism. If I were to doubt, it would rather be upon the existence of matter than of thought. I know nothing of the former but from the equivocal report of my senses; and I know the other by the infallible testimony of interior sentiment; my own thought assures me of the existence of a thinking principle. The idea which I have of body and extension is much more uncertain and obscure, and upon this object I only entertain a reasonable scepticism. Thus instead of being a materialist, I am inclined to deny the existence of matter, at least such as my senses represent to me; but it appears to me wiser to be silent and to doubt."

The name of materialist (I cannot help repeating it) is become now-a-days a kind of war-whoop; it is a qualification which is indiscriminately applied to all kinds of unbelievers, and even to those whom we want to stigmatize as such. In all religions, and in all times, fanaticism has not plumed itself either upon equity or justice: it has given to those whom it wanted to damn, not the names they deserved, but those which would do them the most hurt. Thus, in the primitive times, the Pagans gave all Christians the name of Jews.

XII. During the reign of the Aristotelian philosophy, that is, for many ages, it was believed, that all our ideas came from the senses; and it could not be imagined, that an opinion so conformable to reason and experience, should ever be regarded as dangerous. It was even forbidden, on pain of death, to teach a

contrary doctrine. The punishment was, it must be confessed, a little hard, whether our ideas are derived from sense or not. It is right all the world should live; but the prohibition and the penalty prove the religious attachment of our fathers to an ancient opinion, "that sensation is the source of all knowledge." Descartes came, and said, "The soul is spiritual: now, what is a spiritual being without ideas? The soul therefore has ideas from the instant its existence commences, that is, it has innate ideas." This reasoning, joined to the attraction of a new opinion, seduced many schools; but they went farther than their master. From the spirituality of the soul, Descartes concluded innate ideas; one of his disciples concluded more, that to deny innate ideas was to deny the spirituality of the soul; perhaps they would have made innate ideas an article of faith, if they could have dissembled that this pretended truth was only discovered in the seventeenth century. We have seen theologians carry their extravagance so far, as to maintain that the opinion which unites our ideas to our sensations, endangers the mystery of original sin and the grace of baptism. It is thus that the most incontestible maxims in philosophy and the mathematics have been attacked, under pretence of their seeming opposition with some doctrine of faith: besides, is it impossible to combat innate ideas by the same weapons of religion which established it? Must not an infant, who has the idea of God, as the Cartesians pretend, from the breast, and even from the womb, also know the duties owing to God, which is contrary to the first principles of religion and common sense? Will any one say, the idea of God exists in infants, without being developed? But what are ideas which the soul possesses without knowing them, and the things which it knows without thought, and yet is obliged to learn afterwards, as much as if it had never known them? A spiritual being, some may say, must necessarily have ideas from the moment it exists. It is easy to answer, that this being, in the first moments of its existence, may be confined to sensation; that a capacity of thinking is sufficient to constitute it immaterial, since that power, by the confession of all divines, belongs only to a spiritual substance. But further, how decide in what spirituality consists, and whether it be the nature of a spiritual being to think, or even to perceive always, what distinct idea have we of the nature of the soul? Let us ask Malebranche, who will not be suspected of confounding mind with matter. In fine, it is by our senses that we have the knowledge of corporeal substance: it is therefore through their means that we have been taught to regard it as incapable of will and sensation, and

consequently of thought: from thence result two consequences; the first, that we owe to our sensations and reflections the knowledge we have of the immateriality of the soul; in the second place, that the idea we have of spirituality is negative, which teaches what a spiritual being is not, without informing us what it is; it would be presumption to think otherwise, and weakness to believe we must think otherwise to be orthodox.

The soul is neither matter nor extension, and yet it is something; though gross prejudice, fortified by habitude, leads us to judge that what is not matter is nothing. See where philosophy conducts us, and where it leaves us!

XIII. That strange madness, of wishing to convert into doctrines the most groundless opinions concerning the soul, is not peculiar to our age. We will relate only a single example. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who got Gottscalc so well scourged at the Council of Quercy, while it was proving that Gottscalc was blameable, procured the condemnation of one John Scot Erigenes, who, among many real errors, maintained that the soul was not in the body. It is difficult to conceive in what this pretended heresy could consist; for it is the property of the body only to be in one place rather than in another; and, if they had been as vigilant against materialism in the ninth century as at present, John Scot would have had a good chance for accusing his adversary. The soul is united to the body in a manner altogether unknown to us, and inexplicable by all the dark metaphysics of the schools; but, in the time of Hincmar, they were too ignorant to know how to doubt.

XIV. If the philosopher, always obliged to express himself clearly, ought not to allow himself any improper expressions on so delicate a subject, he ought not to condemn too lightly, and without explication, equivocal expressions on a subject which is likewise so obscure, and which gives us such little hold to reasoning and to language: for example, an author, who should say now-a-days that the soul "is essentially the substantial form of the human body," would at least be suspected of materialism. Nevertheless, whoever should advance such a proposition, would only repeat the first canon of the general Council of Vienne.* The truth is, the word *form* is a vague term, to which the fathers of the Council undoubtedly applied

* *Animam rationalem esse corporis forma.*—Ac præcludatur universis erroribus aditus, ne subintrent, quod quisquis deinceps asserere, defendere, seu tenere pertinaciter præsumpserit, quod anima rationalis, seu intellectiva non sit forma corporis humani per se, et essentialiter, tanquam hæreticus sit censendus. Ceneil Vienn. General. An., 1311. Breviatio Can. Concil. in *Clementina*, vide lib. 1.

a Catholic sense, and, consequently, we may be permitted to use it, if we fix the same sense to it.

In a modern work, this canon is mentioned and explained, to prevent the abuse the materialists of our days might make of it. This apologist might repent him of his zeal, if a good action should be repented of; for, notwithstanding the serious and simple tone of his defence, he has been foolishly accused of an intention to turn into ridicule the doctrine of the œcumenic Council.

XV. This is not the only example of equivocal expressions used differently in the schools, or even adopted now-a-days by whole sects of philosophers. Malebranche, and his disciples, called God the Universal Being. The Spinozists would not express themselves otherwise. The Scotists allow God to be extended, eternal, immense, immovable, indivisible; and it is only by involving themselves in an obscure jargon, that they defend their making him corporeal, or at least extended: nevertheless, it would be unjust to accuse Malebranche of Spinozism, or the Scotists of confounding God with space. Why should not the same indulgence be shewn to men as little inclined to deceive as they? And it is the more equitable, as there is no subject where an intention to injure finds more plausible pretences of exerting itself, than religion. Expressions that are innocent in themselves, or in the sense affixed to them by their author, are often made susceptible of an erroneous or dangerous sense, especially when separated from that which goes before, and that which follows. To convince us of this, it is sufficient to cast our eyes upon the innumerable abuses which error has made of Scripture expressions.

XVI. The metaphysical opinions of the philosophers have not been the object of a thousand declamations only; their systems too, concerning the formation and arrangement of the universe, have met with the same fate. Matter is not eternal; it must have begun, therefore, to exist; here is a point where we may differ: did God range in order the different particles of matter from the time that he created them, or was it a greater or lesser time that chaos continued, before the separation of the particles? Here philosophers may be divided. Indeed, if there be nothing in body but figure and motion, as sound philosophy intimates, what difficulty is there in supposing that the Supreme Being, after creating matter, and forming it instantly into a single, homogeneous mass, apparently shapeless, should impress upon its different particles that movement which is necessary to separate or bring them to one another, and produce by this means different bodies; and that light, stars,

animals, and plants, sprang from this great operation, the work of the eternal Geometrican, in that succession and time the Creator prescribed? This grand and noble idea, so far from being a contradiction to divine power and goodness, serves to display them before our eyes. Besides, the existence of chaos, before the separation of its particles, is an hypothesis necessary to the physical explanation of the formation of the terrestrial globe.

The Supreme Being had power, at the same instant, to create and arrange the world, without forbidding the philosopher from inquiring in what manner he might have produced it in a longer time, and by virtue of laws of motion established by the Author of nature. The system of this philosopher may be more or less consistent with phenomena, but the naturalist, not the theologian, must judge him. Thus the Newtonians, to explain the figure of the earth, supposed that it was originally a fluid. Thus Descartes thought it once a sun, obscured by a thick crust which covered it; an hypothesis which has occasioned as much pitiable chicanery among divines, as solid objections among philosophers.

XVII. No natural philosopher now-a-days doubts, that the sea has covered a great part of the earth. It appears impossible to attribute solely to the deluge all the vestiges which remain of so ancient an inundation; this opinion has been attacked as contrary to Scripture: we need only open the book of Genesis, to see how unjust such an imputation is: "On the third day God said, Let the waters assemble together in one place; and there was dry land." Has this passage any need of a commentary? Perhaps we might find, in the same chapter, proofs of the existence of chaos before the formation of the world, if we had not already observed it is of no consequence to religion, provided that we do not maintain the eternity of chaos. But we cannot omit, without censure, on this occasion, the bad judgment of a modern critic. The illustrious historian of the Academy of Sciences, in one of his extracts, said that fish were the first inhabitants of our globe: the censor inveighs with all his might against the impiety, not believing that he had Scripture for his voucher. Consult Genesis, and we find that he either wants honesty or memory, for we there read that fish were in reality the first animals that were created.

XVIII. No person is ignorant that the passage in the book of Joshua which has been both injudiciously attacked and defended, was the cause of Galileo's misfortunes. "Wherefore say your quick geniuses, did Joshua order the sun to stand still, instead of commanding the earth? What difficulty could there

be for an author, who pretends to be inspired, to describe things as they really are? Why should the Holy Spirit, which dictated the Scriptures, lead us into a physical error, while it clears up our duty?" "You ought to believe, answer the inquisitors on the other hand, that the sun turns round the earth; the Holy Spirit, which ought to know, assures you of it, and it cannot deceive you." One might reply to them both, that, in indifferent matters, the Scripture makes use of the language of the people. But this answer is not sufficient; it seems to me, that, in order to confound the impiety of one side, and the weakness of the other, we should add, that the Scripture must speak the language of the people, in order to be understood; that a missionary, preaching among savages in this manner, "I announce to you that God, who makes the earth we inhabit roll round the sun," would engage no attention to his discourse. It is necessary for us to hold another kind of language to induce them to hear us; we must imitate, in some measure, the example of him who had recourse to a fable to dispose the Athenians to listen to him. In a word, we should first of all make them Christians; and afterwards, if we please, or if we can, make them astronomers. When they are such, they will not seek for systems of the world in ill-understood passages of Scripture; and, in forming their opinions, they will prefer the observatory to the Holy Office. They will be like the King of Spain, who, as Pascal informs us, chose rather to believe the antipodes on the authority of Columbus, who came from thence, than reject them, on account of Pope Zechariah, who never had been there. Let us respect Scripture so as never to use it profanely; and let us leave Madame Dacier to justify the talking of Achilles's horses in Homer, by the discourse of Balaam's ass.

XIX. Opinions purely metaphysical, and systems concerning the formation of the world, have not furnished the only pretences for arraigning philosophers; calumny has neglected nothing that might conduce to the same purpose. Can one refrain from sentiments of pity or indignation, to see one of our most celebrated writers accused of impiety by journalists, for having said that Jordan is but a small river, that Palestine was, at the time of the Crusades, what it is now, one of the most barren countries of Asia?

Critics accumulate passages of Scripture to prove that it was very fertile in Joshua's days: but what do all these passages prove of this place in the time of Saladin, or of its present state? Why may not God have avenged the death of Christ, by turning its riches and abundance into sterility? Or rather (for the simplest explanations are always the best), why may

not a country, enslaved and unpeopled, become barren by that very depopulation? But when they are determined to make a writer suspected, everything is impiety in his lips; his proofs of the being of God are treated as sophisms, his arguments in favour of religion, as pleasantries levelled against it. Let him write against superstition and fanaticism, it is Christianity he aims at: does he plead for the civil toleration of every religion, it is only to shew his indifference to all.

XX. Give me, said Fontenelle, in his *History of Oracles*, but half a dozen men who are capable of being persuaded that it is not the sun which makes the day, and I will not despair of bringing all nations, by their means, into the same belief. If anything in the world is incontestible, it is assuredly this proposition, of which the absurd religions of Asia and Africa furnish but too melancholy and striking a proof. What have the censors of the *History of Oracles* made of this? "Why, it only wanted half a dozen more, say they, to make it an impious assertion." The impiety, however, is entirely their own; for, if half a dozen were capable of seducing mankind into error, does it follow that twelve different persons could not lead them into truth? In what respects can the many just and solid observations, which have been made in modern times, upon prejudice, credulity, false prophecies, and false miracles, affect those invincible arguments by which true religion is supported?

XXI. The Fathers of the Church, the first defenders of Christianity, did not distrust in this manner the goodness of their cause. They were not afraid of objections, nor open day; they were ignorant of false attacks, and pusillanimous precautions. Many writers of our days, worthy to follow them in so noble a career, have imitated their example; but if the respectable cause of the Gospel has had its Pascals and Bossuets, it has likewise had its Chaumeiux and its Garaffes.

XXII. The abuse of criticism in religious matters is pernicious to religion itself on many accounts;—for the disingenuity and trifling with which a good cause is sometimes defended,—for the consequences drawn by the multitude from the vague charge of irreligion brought against the philosophers,—for the motives which have induced men, pretendedly good, to declare war against reason; in short, from the little union and reciprocal animosity of its adversaries; each of these objects merits a separate article, and we will devote a few moments to them.

XXIII. The *Encyclopædia* will furnish us with the subject of the first article. Under substantial forms we mentioned the arguments of the Cartesians against the souls of beasts, drawn from this principle of St. Austin, that, "under a just God, no

creature could suffer who had not deserved it;" an argument well known in the schools, which Malebranche has availed himself of with much force; and which sensible philosophers and divines have always looked upon as very difficult to confute. In explaining this argument, it was remarked at the same time, that this was at most an objection which ought not to hurt those proofs there are of the spirituality of the soul, of its immortality, and of Divine justice and providence.

What has one of the adversaries of the *Encyclopædia* made of this? He has pretended, that the only design of this article was to ridicule this principle of St. Austin; and to prove it, they have concluded from the principle that he looked upon brutes as machines, an opinion very far from the good doctor's thoughts, and the honour of which solely belongs to his pretended apologist. Thus it is not the *Encyclopædia*, but its ridiculous adversary, who accuses one of the most respectable Fathers of the Church of absurdities and false conclusions, and in this manner it is that religion is defended. According to this new apostle, it is not possible to be Christians without believing brutes to be machines. Thus, from St. Peter to Descartes, there have been no Christians. But this writer astonishes us with equal absurdities, when he pretends, that moral duties are not known by reason, and that the existence of the body is a truth of revelation, and maintains, in short, against unbelievers, that the soul is of its own nature immortal; a proposition which is blasphemous, since it robs the Supreme Intelligence of one of his most essential attributes. The uncreated Being alone is of his essence immortal. Our soul exists only by the will of this Being, who thinks proper to give it an eternal existence, which it receives every instant by a continual creation. It is not by the dissolution of the parts that the soul ceases to be as the body does; it is in relapsing into that nonentity, from whence the author of nature drew it, and to which it is liable every instant to return. These are the first elements of Christian metaphysics, which the author ought to have been instructed in before he wrote. It must be a sad and humbling circumstance to be obliged to learn this doctrine of those very persons whom he taxes with denying them.

XXIV. Those who exercise their critical talents with most violence, and consequently with indiscretion, assume sometimes the air of moderation, when they are sure of attacking with advantage. I know not by what fatality the Champions of Christianity have acted otherwise, and supported the interest of God with injurious malignity. They have this disadvantage, that they prejudice the reader against the advocates of religion,

they exasperate, and consequently alienate, those minds which would be reconciled by moderation; in short, they hinder the critic from bestowing upon the arguments all the regard and attention that is due to them. When they content themselves, for example, as enthusiasts sometimes do, with saying of atheists that they are not honest, and that atheism has its source only in libertinism, this undoubtedly may be true in general; but have they any reason to expect to make proselytes by these means? Although the interest we have in denying a truth may render our unbelief suspected, this interest is not a sufficient reason for being condemned, when better proofs may be offered. The more a wise man examines the evidence of God's existence, the more intelligence will he derive from thence, and the more ought he to be in a disposition to offer him a reasonable worship, the only one which truly honours him, and which is one of the first of his precepts.

The best method of maintaining that atheists cannot be honest, is to prove, with the greatest clearness, the truth they oppose. Let us not imitate a modern writer, who began with advancing that there were no infidels, and ended with refuting them; besides, of what signification to truth are the motives of those who deny it? what does it contribute towards conviction to dissallow our adversaries probity and good faith? This is imitating the schoolmaster in the fable, who scolded the boy for drowning himself, and made an harangue before he would save him. Can it be denied, in short, that many philosophers, ancient and modern, accused of atheism or scepticism, have been, in appearance at least, irreproachable in their conduct, and shewn themselves as regular in their manners, as blind and inconclusive in their opinions? "Strike, but hear," said Themistocles to Eurebiades; one might say to these pretended champions of religion, "Strike, but reason." Alas! it is to be feared such wise and prudent advice as this might be repeated a long while without effect. Excess in everything is the element of man; his nature is to be passionate upon all subjects which engage him; moderation is to him a state of violence; it is only through constraint or reflection that he submits, and when the importance of the cause he defends serves for a pretext to his animosity, he abandons himself to it without decency or remorse. His false zeal then forgets that the Gospel has two precepts equally indispensable, the love of God, and our neighbour; and does it imagine that the best way of keeping the first is by violating the second?

XXV. The defence of Christianity has not only been prejudiced by aspersions, but by the nature of the accusations, and

the character of the accused. The more heinous it is to propagate irreligion, the more criminal it is to accuse others of so doing who are innocent; in this case particularly, it is more necessary that we judge of men by what they have written, than by what they are unjustly suspected of having thought, or intended to say. Faith is the gift of God, which is not to be procured of ourselves,^b and all that society ordains is to respect this precious gift in those who have the happiness to enjoy it; it belongs to men to judge of discourse, and to God, of the heart. Thus the charge of irreligion, especially when brought before the public, cannot be supported by proofs too convincing and notorious. But this precaution, so equitable in itself, is still more necessary when a celebrated writer is attacked, whose name is sufficient to give weight to his opinions, even to those he is falsely accused of. What advantage did religion derive from the imputations and invectives so often cast upon the illustrious author of the *Spirit of Laws*? On the one hand, they have not been able to convict him of having meant the least injury to the Gospel, of which he speaks with the greatest respect throughout his work: on the other, the infidels have gloried in a chief so generously given them; they have accepted with gratitude this present, and the name of Montesquieu has been more serviceable to them than the pretended blows he is accused of levelling against Christianity. Authority is the great argument of the multitude; and infidelity, said a man of genius, is the faith of libertines. After so many writings and pious railings against the author of the *Spirit of Laws*, the sensible defenders of religion, who at first kept silence, at length broke it (perhaps a little too late) to vindicate this philosopher themselves. They felt the weight of a name which they had opposed, and did not forget to blot it out of the list of miscreants, where it had been rashly placed.

XXVI. Should we wish to know one of the principal causes of this declared war against philosophers, the divines of France are divided into two parties, who have long detested and tore one another in pieces for the glory of God and the good of the Church and State. The weakest of the two, after exhausting all that malice or calumny could invent to defeat their adversaries, concluded with taxing them of indifference towards the doctrines of the Gospel, attacked every day in innumerable

^b If he means by faith the belief of the Christian religion in general, it is to be procured of ourselves by the exercise of common candour, like the belief of any historical event or moral truth; but if he means the belief of some doctrines of human invention, falsely ascribed to Christianity, he may call it supernatural, if he pleases.

writings. Sensible of this reproach, and piqued in honour, they seem to have united with the weaker to fall foul upon all infidels indiscriminately, whether real or supposed. This offensive alliance ought naturally to have put a stop to the war that has been kindled in the bosom of the Gallican Church above these one hundred years, but, unhappily for religion, it does not produce this effect, and one cannot say, on this occasion, "*facti sunt amici ex ipsa die*;" on the contrary, this declared war against the common enemy has only furnished the two parties with a new pretext for reviling one another with the more fury and scandal. A late striking example will be a sad proof of what we now advance: there appeared last year (1763) a work famous for a great number of editions, and criticisms that were made upon it, which we condemn, with the author, as far as they are found worthy of censure. The journalists of Trevoux, who have enjoyed the privilege of abusing everything under the name of irreligion, whether it mentioned it or no, made a very brisk attack upon this work in their vulgar dogmatical style, and have endeavoured even to lessen the talents of this author; but in this last respect, indeed, they must permit us to be of a different opinion from them; matters of taste and philosophy are a profane sort of knowledge, in which they dare not pique themselves with being infallible. Divinity is their forte, and yet it is a province which good men now contest with them. However, these journalists enjoyed their victory peaceably, till a concealed periodical writer, a more declared enemy to them than even to the infidel, came to make his charge in his turn against the same book, which had been so zealously and largely attacked already. But it happened that the blows of this new bruiser fell much heavier upon the journalists than the work itself. "Behold," says he, "the effects of the abominable morality of the Casuists, behold the doctrine of the Casnedis, the Tamborins, the Berruyers and their brethren, consecrated in this pernicious production." The reasonable men, on the other hand, exclaim in their turn: "See the brethren of the Casnedis, the Tamborins, and the Berruyers, well recompensed for their zeal and religion, avenged in a very edifying manner." Indeed, if these critics accuse one another of being in the principles of the author condemned, one of them must necessarily be dishonest; let us not think of taxing them in common, and deciding their quarrel like the process of the wolf and the fox before the ape.

XXVII. When we see the author of a libel, twenty times disgraced by the magistrate, declaim against infidels, we cannot help thinking of Calvin, who burnt Servetus. But fanatics are always austere; in accusing the person who differs from them

in opinion of irreligion, they give themselves an air of zeal, which is always agreeable to party men; they have the satisfaction of calumniating Government, which is indifferent to them, in comparison of what they call the cause of God, which is in reality their own. However, this may be said with confidence, if those are to be punished who do most harm to Christianity, fanatics ought much rather to be suppressed than infidels. What idea must the people form of religion when they see its ministers anathematizing each other, till authority forces them to that silence which charity itself ought to prescribe? Don't we believe, that the scandalous disputes of divines of our days, upon matters often futile, and always unintelligible, have done more mischief to Christianity than the feeble reasonings of the impious? Why shall they not produce the same effect upon the Deists, which the quarrels of the Dominicans did upon the Emperor of China? "These men," says he, "are come 5,000 leagues to preach to us a doctrine upon which they are not agreed themselves." In fine, what can have a greater tendency to stumble the weak, and make irreligion triumph, than so many contradictory works as we have seen accumulated in these later times upon grace, the character of the true Church, and miracles? The public, at last, has contented itself with being ignorant of these works, and despising their authors; and they, in revenge for not being read, have attacked those who are.

XXVIII. Let us plead, as much as lies in our power, in favour of humanity and philosophy, against their unjust complaints. Facts will suffice without reasonings, and, perhaps, will have greater force. Open ecclesiastical history, which is always so useful to the Christian and the philosopher; to the Christian, to animate him by examples of virtue, and the accomplishments of the Divine promises, in spite of the opposition of all the powers of the earth; to the philosopher, by the incredible and numberless monuments it presents to him of human extravagance, and the evils which fanaticism has produced. We might shew, by a detail of these evils, how Government has interested itself in defending and supporting men of letters, who, being convinced of the true doctrines of the faith, have had the justice and the equity to separate what did not belong to it. It is, indeed, to them that sovereigns owe the confirmation of their power, and the destruction of a tribe of absurd opinions, hurtful to the State; on the contrary, it is by confounding those objects with religion, which are foreign to it, that the people have groaned so long under the temporal power of ecclesiastics, that excommunications, those respectable arms

of the Church, have been lavished to support rights purely human, and often ill-founded; that the son of Charlemagne, as a slave rather than a Christian, underwent ten times, successively, the ignominy of a public penitence, which some bishop had the assurance to command him, and which he merited only by the baseness of submitting to it;^c that an œcumenical council, in the age of servitude and ignorance, durst not openly protest against the designs of an audacious pontiff, who imagined he had a right to deprive an emperor of his patrimony;^d that one of our kings, to expiate the crime of burning 1,300 ecclesiastics, took the resolution of killing 100,000 persons in Syria to shew his penitence;^e that fools have plundered their own families to enrich ignorant and useless monks; that the ridiculous controversies of the Greeks upon

^c In 822 and 823, Lewis, who was called the Debonnair, but who much better deserved the appellation of the Weak, submitted to a public penance at Attigny and Soissons; the first time, for putting to death his nephew who had revolted against him; the second time, for not receiving the law from his children. "The bishops, who imposed this penance, pretended that it was not lawful for him to resume the royal dignity. St. Ambrose did not draw such consequences from the penitence of Theodosius; will any one say, that that great Saint wanted courage to avail himself of the authority of the Church, or that he was less wise than the bishops of the ninth century? These bishops, much more hardened, declared themselves against Lewis the Debonnair, in favour of his children, and stirred up that civil war which ruined the empire of France. Specious pretexts were not wanting; Lewis was a weak prince, governed by his second wife; the empire was in disorder; but they should have had some regard to consequences, and not pretend to expose a monarch to the same penance as a simple monk." The two penances of this prince, especially the last, which he deserved the least, were attended with the most mortifying circumstances. Ebbon, Archbishop of Rheims, who had dared to degrade his master, was indeed deposed the year after, but the Emperor was dishonoured.

^d In 1245, at the first general Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent IV. publicly deposed, in the presence of the Council, Frederick II., all the fathers holding a lighted candle, which he regarded as a tacit approbation, but very unjustly; for it is evident, as M. Fleury observes, that this deposition was not made with the approbation of the Council, as other decrees. But, say the Protestants, why the candle and their silence? To this objection it is answered, that the greatest part of the ecclesiastics were, in general, of the opinion, that the Popes had power over the temporal kings, but that God did not permit that this opinion should be confirmed by a positive suffrage of the œcumenic Council; and the silence of the church assembled is not always a mark of approbation, especially in matters not expressly relative to the faith.

^e It is well known that the Abbé Suger, as great a statesman as the Abbé de la Clarivaux was an orator, opposed this unfortunate crusade, which Lewis the Young undertook by the advice of St. Bernard. The event justified the fears of the Minister, and confuted the promises of the preacher. Lewis took up the cross to conquer Palestine, and drive out the Saracens; his expedition ended in divorcing his wife at his return, and losing, by that means, Poitou and Guienne. In vain did St. Bernard wish to justify himself, by imputing to the sins of the warrior the miscarriage of that enterprise; he forgot that the first crusade was more successful, though its champions were not more worthy of success, and he did not see, says M. Fleury, that a proof is never conclusive, which is not always so.

absurdities, have hastened the destruction of their empire ;^f that uncertain and cruel proofs were regarded as the judgments of God, the consequence of which was often the condemnation of the innocent, and the acquittal of the guilty ;^g that one of the richest parts of the world has been depopulated by monsters, who put the inhabitants to death by punishing them into conversion ; that one-half of our nation has been bathed in the blood of the other ; in fine, that the standard of rebellion has been put into the hands of subjects against their sovereigns, and a sword into the hands of sovereigns against their subjects.^h It is by the light of philosophy that we have been delivered from so many evils. A few intrepid men have sometimes dared, at

^f About the middle of the fourteenth century, certain weak monks of Mount Athos, whose brains were turned by long and frequent fastings, imagined they saw upon their navel the light of Mount Tabor, and spent their time in contemplating it: a most deplorable heresy! They pretended further, that this light was uncreated, being no other than God himself. Barlaam, their adversary, still more ridiculous than they in giving them a serious answer, had credit to get an assembly convened at Constantinople against these visionaries, little aware that he himself should be condemned there; however, this was the consequence.—The Emperor Andronicus Paleologus harangued the pretended council with so much vehemence that he died a few hours afterwards, an exit worthy an emperor. It was this Andronicus Paleologus who abandoned the seacoast of his dominion to ruin, because he was assured that God was so well satisfied with his zeal for the Church, that his enemies durst not attack him. The same emperor regretted the time which the management of his affairs stole from theological debates. The quarrel of the Greeks about the light of Tabor lasted till the destruction of the empire, and continued with violence while Bajazet was besieging Constantinople. All these ridiculous controversies, in which the emperors took part, hastened their downfall, in making them neglect the government.

^g One may read in a great number of works a detail of these sort of proofs, and the reasons why they were abolished; all sorts of questions were generally decided in this manner: they went so far as to throw two missals into the fire, to try which was the best; the most extraordinary event, and the least expected by them, happened on this occasion, they were both burnt. A Clerk of Provence submitted himself to the fiery trial, to prove a revelation which he said he had of the discovery of the holy spear. The priest died. The event would always have been equally uniform in all trials, if they had been honestly managed; but in ages of ignorance, as well as others, there are men who know how to cheat.

^h We cannot conclude these notes better than by a passage of M. Fleury. "It is melancholy, I am very sensible, to relate these unedifying facts,—but the foundation of history is truth. There are two sorts of persons who are displeased with the relation of these things; the first are the profane politicians, who, not knowing true religion, confound it with false; they are afraid of diminishing its respect in the minds of the people, that is to say, according to them, of undeceiving them. I will not dispute with these politicians. One ought to begin with instructing and converting them; but I ought to satisfy, if possible, those scrupulous good men who, through a mistaken zeal, fall into the same misfortune of shuddering where there is no danger to be apprehended. What are you afraid of, I would say? of finding out the truth? Do you love then to remain in error, at least in ignorance? and can you stay there with safety, you who ought to instruct others?"

the peril of their liberty, their fortunes, and their lives, to open the eyes of subjects and kings. The gratitude which they have a right to demand of our age ought to be estimated by the importance of the services they have rendered, and the most real effect of this gratitude is in the protection which ought to be given to their successors. This protection, we can say with pleasure, finds fewer obstacles every day, in proportion as the spirit of philosophy, which spreads continually, communicates itself to the more sound and wise part of the divines, and renders them more indulgent, or more equitable in matters which are not their object. We do not live in those times, when it was a crime to teach any other philosophy than Aristotle; with a little more ignorance and authority it had been made a law of the State, as it is still among our neighbouring nations.ⁱ

XXIX. We need but cast our eyes upon those unhappy nations who are victims to so ridiculous a law, to convince us of the sad effects which arise from fear, and the impossibility of being instructed. Will posterity believe it of our days, that there was printed, in one of the capital cities of Europe, a work with this title, *Systema Aristotelicum de formis substantialibus et accedentibus absolutis*, 1750? will they not imagine it was a mistake of the press, and that it ought to be read 1550? Such, however, in the midst of the eighteenth century, is the deplorable state of reason in one of the finest regions of the earth, in a nation otherwise refined and polite; while the sciences are making such progress in England, France, and the Protestant part of Germany. I say the Protestant part; for we must acknowledge, with sorrow, the present superiority of the universities of that party to the Catholic schools. It is so striking, that strangers, travelling in those places, and passing from a Catholic university to a neighbouring Protestant one, cannot help thinking they have removed 400 leagues or lived 400 years; that they have got from Salamanca to Cambridge, or from the age of Scotus to that of Newton. We make this remark with the more freedom, as the difference of light and knowledge in these regions cannot be ascribed to their different religions.

ⁱ Our fathers saw but little more in 1624, when, at the request of the University, and especially of the Sorbonne, it was forbid by an Arret of Parliament, "on pain of death to hold or teach any maxim contrary to ancient and approved authors, or to enter into any debate but such as should be approved by the doctors of the faculty of theology." By the same decree several persons who had composed and published theses against the doctrine of Aristotle, were either reprimanded or banished.

In France, where the Catholic doctrine is followed and respected, the sciences are cultivated with great success. In Italy itself they are not neglected; doubtless for this reason, because the sovereign pontiffs, for the most part sensible and wise, and knowing the abuses which spring from ignorance, can more readily suppress in Italy the tyranny of subaltern inquisitors, where it is necessary; for every thing serves as a pretext to these contemptible and mischievous wretches to extinguish light, and obstruct the progress of the mind.

XXX. It seems to me, that one way of reducing their dominion in those unfortunate countries where they happen still to rule, is to encourage, as much as possible, the study of the demonstrative sciences. Princes who govern these people, and would have them shake off the yoke of superstition and ignorance, encourage the increase of mathematicians among them. This will produce philosophers in time. The most delicate orthodoxy has no contention with geometry. Those who believe they have an interest in keeping the mind in darkness, should they be foresighted enough to know the effect of the progress of this science, would want a pretext for hindering its spreading. The study of geometry will soon lead to that of sound physics, and this to true philosophy, which, by the light it will diffuse all around, will soon rise superior to all the efforts of superstition; for these efforts, however great, become quite useless when a nation is once enlightened.

XXXI. It is doing injury to religion, to endeavour to support it by ignorance. The provinces of philosophers and divines are like those of the spiritual and temporal powers; nothing can be better distinguished than the respective rights of each; but as sometimes the spiritual power, having shook off the temporal yoke which oppressed it, is willing to oppress in its turn: so some ministers of religion, after emerging from the darkness which an insolent philosophy endeavoured to throw over them, have been willing, in their turn, to lock in this philosophy within the bounds which religion prescribes. Their several rights appear, at this time of day, too well fixed, too well understood and determined, to have anything to fear from each other's attacks. It is their interest to be united, as it is for two powerful princes to be upon amicable terms; and if, on the one hand, Christianity, being supported by divine and human laws, be established on the most durable foundation; on the other, there is room to believe, that the philosophers of the eighteenth century, while they justly respect the doctrines of faith, will defend their interests with more force

and advantage than the princes of the twelfth century defended their crowns.

XXXII. This is the substance of the reflections which seemed proper to be made at this time of day, upon criticism in points of religion. I doubt not but they will be approved, when they are examined without prejudice, and with the light of sound philosophy. I believe I am sufficiently fortified against the attacks of weak and hypocritical fanatics; but with regard to persons who are prejudiced against me out of a sincere, but mistaken, zeal, I shall respect the cause, without dreading or approving the effect of it; and content myself with replying in the words of Cicero, "*Istos homines sine contumelia dimitamus, sunt enim et boni viri et quoniam ita ipsi sibi videntur, beati.*"

Spikenard.—The true nature of spikenard has been at all times the subject of much controversy. Ptolemy mentions it as an odoriferous plant, the best of which grew at Rangamati and on the borders of the country now called Bootan. Pliny says there are twelve varieties of it—the best being the Indian, the next in quality the Syriac, then the Gallic, and, in the fourth place, that of Crete. He thus describes the Indian spikenard: "It is a shrub with a heavy thick root, but short, black, brittle, and yet unctuous as well; it has a musty smell, too, very much like that of the cyperus, with a sharp acrid taste, the leaves being small and growing in tufts. The heads of the nard spread out into ears; hence it is that nard is so famous for its two fold production, the spike or ear, and the leaf." The price of genuine spikenard was then one hundred denarii per pound, and all the other sorts, which were merely herbs, were infinitely cheaper, some being only worth three denarii per pound. Galen and Dioscorides give a somewhat similar account of spikenard or *nardostachys*, but the latter pretends that the so-called Syrian nard came in reality from India, whence it was brought to Syria for shipment. The ancients appear to have confounded spikenard with some of the fragrant grasses of India, which would account for the report that Alexander the Great, when he invaded Gedrosia, could smell from the back of his elephant the fragrance of the nard as it was trod upon by the horses' feet. This error was shared by Linnæus, who did not attempt to classify it, but was inclined to think it was the same as the *Andropogon nardus*, commonly called ginger-grass. Sir William Jones, the learned orientalist, turned his serious attention to this question, and after a laborious investigation succeeded in establishing, beyond doubt, that the spikenard of the ancients was a plant of the valerianic order, called by the Arabs *sumbul*, which means "spike," and by the Hindús *jatamansi*, which signifies "locks of hair," both appellations being derived from its having a stem which somewhat resembles the tail of an ermine or of a small weasel. He consequently gave it the name of "*Valeriana Jatamansi*," under which it is now generally classed by botanists. It is found in the mountainous regions of India, principally in Bootan and Nepaul. Its name appears to be derived from the Tamil language, in which the syllable *nár* denotes anything possessing fragrance, such as *nártum pillu*, "lemon-grass;" *nárum panai*, "Indian jasmine;" *nárta manum*, "wild orange," etc. It is highly probable, however, that the word spikenard was often applied by the ancients as a generic name for every sort of perfume, as the Chinese now designate all their scents by the name of *hëang*, which properly means *incense*, it being for them the type of all perfumes.

DR. ROWLAND WILLIAMS AND THE PROPHETS.

It is simply our duty to attempt to estimate, in the best way we can, the new translations of Holy Scripture which come under our notice ; we are therefore quite in our sphere in setting forth our views concerning the volume of Dr. Rowland Williams, now in our hands. As this volume is but the first of a series, it has two titles, which are given below.^a The work will be more than a translation,—it will be expository in the ordinary sense of the term. The opening sentence of the preface is to this effect: “The object of this work is not to inculcate any especial theory, but to place that numerous class of readers who are intelligent and thoughtful, but not scholastic, in possession of the mind of the Prophets, commencing with those who wrote under the Assyrian empire.” This sentence should be borne in mind by those who read either the book or our observations upon it. Dr. Williams does not intend to inculcate any especial theory, but he is the upholder of certain special theories, and if he does not go to establish them at every turn, he too often assumes their correctness, and quite often enough says a word in their favour. While, then, he disclaims the idea of a propaganda, he is practically a propagandist, for he intimates that his aim is to place “that numerous class of readers who are intelligent and thoughtful, but not scholastic, in possession of the mind of the Prophets.” A very laudable object truly, and one which has our sincere concurrence. We believe with the Vicar of Broad Chalke, that the class of readers he describes as intelligent and thoughtful, but not scholastic, is a numerous one; but in all probability it is far less numerous than it professes to be. There are few men who do not wish to be considered intelligent and thoughtful, and yet when we see how readily so many adopt with all haste the crudest theories and the hollowest fancies, we are compelled to think that really thoughtful and intelligent men are a meagre minority. Minds may be quick and active, and yet so controlled by improper influences as to be in truth neither intelligent nor thoughtful. Those who are not scholastic, as we understand the term, are all too plentiful, and we are by no means sure that such will be able to appreciate aright a good deal of the book under notice: Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and no small measure of learned lore, must be possessed by those

^a *The Hebrew Prophets translated afresh from the original, with regard to the Anglican Version, and with Illustrations for English Readers.—The Prophets of Israel and Judah during the Assyrian Empire.* By Rowland Williams, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate. The last is the actual title of the volume already published.

who would fully understand it. The notes which have the appearance of erudition are to be found on almost every page, and it is quite certain that the merits of the translation, and of its accompanying analysis or summary, can be judged of only by those who are masters of the original. It seems to us that the minor notes are chiefly addressed to scholars, and that the remainder of the contents exhibits to the English reader what Dr. Williams believes to be the sense of the Hebrew text. It is but fair to the author, however, to quote a short passage, in which he expresses an opinion on one or two important points: "Let me here say, no view of inspiration appears to me dangerous, but such as, taking its stand on a point attained, opposes itself to any fresh accession of knowledge. No estimate of the Bible can be too high, which does not disparage sanctities, or violate charities." We consider these sentences as rather enigmatical, but they indicate a spirit of tolerance, and a disposition to allow the Bible a very exalted position. In our days we must permit some considerable divergences of opinion, and must always admit on such questions as that of inspiration, that we have possibly not acquired every particle of truth relating to it. And however exalted our estimate of the Bible may be, we must not suffer the honour we pay to the book to interfere with our reverence for other holy things, and with our charity towards men. Indeed, we never exalt the Scriptures so much as when we yield unquestioning obedience to their ascertained injunctions. A reverence for the sacred volume unallied with such obedience is an inconsistency and a contradiction, like that which talks of "the holy ten commandments," and is careless about observing them.

There are other items in the preface of Dr. Williams upon which we might comment, but we proceed to notice the principle which he has followed in his translation. Speaking of Lowth, he says, "I seldom imitate his freedom of conjecture (except in the margin, where it can do no harm), but translate almost always the original characters: for the most part I follow the Masoretic punctuation, so far as it vocalises the consonants; but so far as it interpunctuates sentences, I depart from it frequently without scruple." We believe the only safe *rule* is to translate the text as we have it, resorting occasionally only to conjectural emendation, but not overlooking important varieties of reading. As to conjectural emendation, it is a delicate process, and one which requires a deeper *consciousness* of the Hebrew idiom than most of us possess. Perhaps a good service would be rendered to the cause of Biblical interpretation by one who should make a collection of judicious conjectures from the best critics. For the actual emendation of the sacred text by the combined aid of

manuscripts and versions we have nothing so convenient and generally useful as the admirable volume of Dr. S. Davidson.^b If conjectural emendation of the text is a delicate process, so also is frequent departure from the Masoretic interpunction. Occasionally, we admit, it is manifestly wrong; more frequently it is doubtful; but most often it is substantially correct. We are afraid that Dr. Williams has not been sufficiently reserved in this matter; and we say the same of certain cases in which, from "internal evidence alone," he has doubted the genuineness of texts. Interpolations in the form of explanatory glosses appear to have found their place most often in the historical books. Actual omissions of words and clauses may also be assumed to have taken place. Transpositions too, and other errors of copyists, must be admitted. But when we consider all the circumstances, we are bound to own that the text is in general singularly pure and accurate. On the whole, and with certain notable exceptions,—as the order of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and a few more,—we see no reason to doubt the substantive integrity of the prophetic books.

Far more serious, in our view, than the important topics just touched upon is the author's admission that "In result, though not in design, this work militates against Messianic theories." And yet, so wide is the field opened up to us by this avowal, that we cannot discuss it, but must simply declare our unfeigned regret that it is so. We are the more earnest in this, because such a result as the elimination of the Messianic element from the prophets leads to very grave consequences in reference to the New Testament writers. These last unquestionably found such an element in the prophetic books, and based many of their doctrinal statements and practical appeals upon it. If they were in error here, we shall find it very difficult to rely upon them in a variety of other matters. Besides, the conclusions arrived at by the first disciples of our Lord were not merely confirmed by the words of the Lord himself to the very end (Luke xxiv. 44), but they agreed in substance (though not in application) with the prevailing opinions of the Jews. To this we may add that the Messianic element in prophecy has always been admitted since then both by Jews and Christians. The casual and incidental rejection of it, in modern times for the most part, and on critical grounds, does not overbalance what we may call the religious instinct of so many ages. That our Saviour rejected certain forms of Messianic theory is plain enough from the Gospels. For example, there was a Messianic

^b *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, revised from Critical Sources, etc.* London: Bagster and Son.

theory of a temporal king and deliverer, but surely Dr. Williams does not mean to allude to this as a leading cause of Christ's death when he says, "If it should turn out that those theories are what the Scribes held, and what Christ rejected, his rejection of them in harmony with his inversion of Judaic sentiments being one leading cause of the death, with which, at the cost of his precious life's blood, he ransomed men's souls into freedom, such a result need not be deplored." The result is, nevertheless, that our author's book militates against Messianic theories of interpretation; and it often 'militates' against the Messianic interpretation of particular texts in so direct a manner, that it wears a controversial and polemical face.

Dr. Williams mentions, not "prophecies" but "theories." It is very plain, however, that his book tends to the rejection of all inspired prophecies, using the phrase in its common Christian sense. He admits nothing of the kind that is not extorted from him, and then with a reservation. This being the case we shall, we hope, serve both piety and truth by discussing a very few items selected from the many pages before us. To discuss all, or even to name all we object to, is out of the question; we shall therefore avowedly confine ourselves to specimens, and chiefly to familiar passages, commencing with Is. vii. 14, which is exhibited in this form:—

"Therefore giveth the Lord himself to you a sign; Behold the girl conceiving, and bearing a son, and calling his name WITH US IS GOD [or Immanuel]."

The structure of the sentence is positively painful. But here is the synopsis of it: "See then, says Isaiah, this girl, (whether his first wife, and therefore called the prophetess, verse 23, or a second, whom he was about to espouse;) before a child can be born of her," etc. It is manifest that the translator is perplexed; the Hebrew עַלְמָה, rendered "girl" in his text, may either mean a married woman (Isaiah's first wife), or one about to be married. If so, it is as vague as our word "woman," and Dr. Williams is very inconsistent when he renders it "girl," because not even the prophets were accustomed to call their wives "girls." He is aware that the Vulgate of Jerome translates the Hebrew by *virgo*, and that the LXX. have the corresponding word *παρθένος*; he adds, "so most divines against most philologists;" and he might have added that the Syriac has ܐܠܡܢܐ. We note this, because this Syriac word agrees with the Hebrew בְּתוּלָה, which all confess means a virgin. Apart from all questions as to the person indicated, we must adhere to the opinion that "virgin" is the preferable rendering of the word. The passages in which it occurs are few, and will all

bear this sense. They are Gen. xxiv. 43; Ex. ii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 25; Prov. xxx. 19; Song of Sol. i. 3; vi. 8; and Is. vii. 14. There is but one which even seems to favour a wider significance, namely, Prov. xxx. 19, to which Dr. Williams appeals, but he must own that it is not at all conclusive in his favour. With respect to the masculine form of the word **עַלְלָה**, we believe it is found but twice (1 Sam. xvii. 56; xx. 22), and on each occasion it denotes a youth. If it is insisted that "maid," or "maiden," would be an allowable rendering we shall not object, but we prefer that which appears in the Authorized Version. That it signifies a woman who has been some time married, we cannot possibly admit.

There is another recognized Messianic passage which we will quote, hoping that the reader will compare it with the Authorized Version. We refer to Is. iv. 6, 7, thus set forth in the volume before us:—"For a child is born to us, a son is given to us: and the principality shall be upon his shoulder: and *men* shall call his name Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty Hero, Father of the Age, Prince of Peace. To the increase of his principality and peace is no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to set it fast, and to establish it in judgment and in righteousness from henceforth, even for ever. The zeal of the Eternal of Hosts will perform this."

Dr. Williams understands this passage of Hezekiah, who was quite young at the time it was written. The title, which in our translation is "Mighty God," he renders "Mighty Hero," following therein, among others, Mr. Oxlee, whose eccentricities are not unknown to Hebrew students. Now the Hebrew words **אֱלֹהִים גִּבּוֹר** are common enough apart. In the singular, **אֱלֹהִים** perhaps always without exception means God, although in the plural the sense is sometimes so far enlarged as to include men. An apparent exception to the first remark is Ezek. xxxi. 11, where **אֱלֹהִים גִּבּוֹרִים** is translated "mighty one of the heathen" in the Authorized Version. Is this an exception? If the reference is to the fall of Babylon, why should its conqueror be designated "the God of the heathen?" In any case, we cannot accept the translation of **אֱלֹהִים** in Is. ix. 6 as a simple adjective, "mighty," though the next word **גִּבּוֹר** signifies a "mighty one." But if "hero" is meant as a rendering of **אֱלֹהִים** it is altogether objectionable, and not even plausibly supported. Fürst, in his article on **אֱלֹהִים**, says the word has not properly the sense of "hero," which belongs to **אֱלֹהִים**, and says it is to be trans-

lated "God" in the text of Isaiah;^c and in his article on גִּבּוֹר he gives that word the sense of mighty or almighty in the text under our notice. His remarks upon El remind us that it was long since affirmed that that word in the singular always means God, and that in Ezek. xxxi. 11, some copies correctly read אֱלִיל, which properly denotes a mighty one. We ought to ask whether the two words elsewhere come together, and if so, what they mean in such cases? Now we read in Deut. x. 17, "For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible," etc. We could render this "the *God*, the great, the mighty, and the terrible;" but we should render ourselves ridiculous if we translated it "the *Hero*, the great, the mighty, and the terrible," (or, "the great, mighty, and terrible Hero"). The same applies to Neh. ix. 32, where the same phrase is to be read. It so happens that in Is. x. 21, we have the phrase *El Gibbor* again, and again translated "Mighty God" in our version. Now, no common reader would question this rendering for a moment, harmonizing as the expression does with the many places in which the return of the remnant of the Jews to God is spoken of. But what is the translation of Dr. Williams? "In truth shall a remnant turn, a remnant of Jacob to the mighty Hero." This venturesome rendering is the natural sequence of the other, and is defended as most in accordance with the sequence of ideas. The apostle Paul put a very different construction upon this whole passage (Rom. ix. 27), and had no conception of a mere loyal remnant coming over to Hezekiah. Another text to be noticed in this connection is Jer. xxxii. 18, "The Great, the *Mighty God*, the Lord of Hosts is his name" (so A. V.). In the Hebrew we have again the combination הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר, "The God, the great, the mighty." We know of no other places where this phrase occurs, and until others are found we shall reject the new translation as wrong. In Is. ix. 6, the Vulgate has *Deus fortis*; the LXX. offers no consistent rendering, and its readings vary; and the Syriac (combining two clauses) may be rendered, "The

^c We give here two passages from Dr. Davidson's version of Fürst:—"אֵל גִּבּוֹר as an epithet of the Messiah, Is. ix. 5, according to Aquila, Symm., Theod., and Sa'adja, *mighty hero* (therefore אֵל is not God). In the passages in Ezekiel many MSS. (see Norzi) have אֱלִיל; in the passage in Isaiah the interpretation usually adheres to אֵל, and even in Job xli. 17 אֱלִיל *heroes* is already the reading." "Hence the signification *hero* does not belong to אֵל, but only to אֱלִיל, constr. אֱלִיל, plur. אֱלִילִים, constr. אֱלִילִי; and in Is. ix. 5 even by virtue of the orthography אֵל is to be translated *God*."

mighty God of Ages," or more precisely, "God the mighty one of Ages."

We cannot yet leave Is. ix. 6, but must say a word of another of the titles, translated "Father of the Age," (A. V. "Everlasting Father"). The Hebrew is אָבִי עַד, and neither word has the article. It may be translated "Father of Age" (i. e. of duration), or "Father of Eternity." Dr. Williams adopts a veritable ambiguity, because "Father of the Age" suggests the idea of one whose overflowing benevolence, justice, etc., render him a father to the age in which he lives. The Hebrew text suggests no such idea, but simply that of prolonged existence or duration and continuance. This is shewn very well by Hab.

iii. 6, in the parallelism of הַרְרֵי-עַד with גְּבָעוֹת עוֹלָם ("everlasting mountains" and "perpetual hills").

Now if one thing be more desirable than another, it is that a translator and expositor of the Holy Scriptures should not employ language which may mislead his readers. If he is himself in doubt about the sense of his document he should say so, and set it forth as best he can. What we mean is illustrated by Fürst, who tells us in his article on אָבִי that the Messianic title of honour in Is. ix. 5 is to be translated Father, that is, God of Eternity, the Eternal; but in his article on עַד he says the meaning of the word in Is. ix. 5 is doubtful; the Targum and the ancients regard it as an epithet of God, and translate "Father of Eternity;" while others give the sense of "spoil," which, however, is unnecessary. Dr. Williams mentions no doubt; and not only so, his prefixing the definite article to one of the words in the clause under consideration, makes it something very different by this artifice, and is no more than "Father of the Age." We are not privileged to know what treatment our new translator will adopt for Is. xlv. 17, and lvii. 15, but we may safely predict that he will not easily conform to the pattern supplied by Is. ix. 6. The reader will not forget the words of the *Te Deum*:—*Te æternum Patrem*: omnis terra veneratur.

Another rendering, above referred to, is noticed with apparent favour by Dr. Williams, at any rate no objection is taken to it: "Father of the age; or, *Father of spoil*. Hezekiah being conceived as the Prince in whose reign the *spoils* of invading hosts, as of Sennacherib, should be taken, as well as *the reunited kingdoms* flourish under David's dynasty." (The italics are ours.) As to this and other proposed renderings, we cannot do better than cite a few words from Professor J. Addison Alexander's work on Isaiah. He says, "אָבִי עַד

is explained to mean *a father of spoil*, a plunderer, a victor (Abarbanel, Hitzig, Knobel); or a *perpetual father*, i.e., benefactor of the people (Hensler, Döderlein, Gesenius, Maurer, Hendewerk, Ewald); or, at most, the *founder of a new* or everlasting *age* (Lowth), or the *father of a numerous offspring* (Grotius). All this is to discredit or evade the obvious meaning of the phrase, which either signifies a *father* (or possessor) *of eternity*, i.e., an eternal being, or an author and bestower of eternal life. The necessity of such explanations is sufficient to condemn the exegetical hypothesis involving it (them?), and shews that this hypothesis has only been adopted to avoid the natural and striking application of the words to Jesus Christ."

Dr. Williams speaks of the re-united kingdoms flourishing under David's dynasty, as if it were an expectation of the prophet. Now if this was in the prophet's mind, it was never realized, and we might point with confidence to the fact as evidence of a disappointed prediction. Inasmuch, however, as such a supposition is perfectly gratuitous, we simply mention it as a rash insinuation.

Although the entire passage (Is. xi. 1—7) is understood of contemporary events and persons, it is felt that some apology is needed for such a limited application; recourse is, therefore, had to an ingenious speculation. "Something of ideal exaltation tinges the passage poetically, as in Jacob's blessing on his sons, Virgil's eclogue on the child of Augustan hope, Shakespeare's anticipation for the infant Elizabeth, or, returning to a more sacred (yet hardly more blest) instance, as in the prayer for some infant prince in Psalm lxxii." What could Dr. Williams mean by such a sentence as the foregoing, and illustrations so heterogenous as are supplied by Moses and Virgil, Shakespeare and the Psalmist? The allusion to "Shakespeare's *anticipation* for the infant Elizabeth," is positively ludicrous. The play of *Henry VIII.* was not published till 1623, and it is the opinion of Knight and other critics that it was not written until after Elizabeth's death. But, be this as it may, it is absurd to call the speech which Shakespeare puts in Cranmer's mouth an anticipation. Such dealings with Scripture are little better than reckless, however serious their author may be. But we proceed with our extract: "We should delude ourselves, if because Isaiah paints in glowing terms the good time coming under an heir of David's throne, while he had a definite prince in his eye, we were to intrude upon him the notion of a formal Messiah, which arose gradually out of applications of the words of ancient presentiment to each new object of homage, or creation of desire, of generations yet

unborn." We do not altogether understand this sentence, but it seems to regard the expectation of a Messiah as wholly human in its origin, and based upon simply human presentiments. But where and how did these presentiments originate? It is owned that they were "ancient," and that they were recorded in words, and so far we can realize the author's notion; but when he goes on to speak of the "applications of the words of ancient presentiment to each new object of homage, or creation of desire, of generations yet unborn," we are almost hopeful that we do not understand. Does Dr. Williams seriously mean to tell us that "the notion of a formal Messiah" gradually developed itself out of mere human applications of high-flown poetic eulogies of men, so that what the Hebrew poets intended to be limited to persons whom they knew, came in course of time to be looked upon as inspired revelations of an ideal deliverer? We may call this ideal personage Messiah, but if the expectation and formal notion of a Messiah grew up in this way, we cannot believe that there was any divinely ordained type and prefiguration, or any divinely revealed prediction of Jesus Christ. Under the circumstances, we must believe that the Old Testament really contains **NOTHING ABOUT JESUS**, whose conformity to preceding notions and hopes is to be explained on other principles than those which He and His apostles declared. Let us, however, give the remainder of the paragraph on which we are commenting: "Messianic, if it must, let the passage be; it only is so in a sense widely removed from the common. If any devout metaphysician can justify the grandest of later applications, by making the eternal mind of God foresee a remote object, to which the sketch drawn by man for the range of his vision should become ultimately applicable, I have no desire to contravene such a view, provided it can be made probable by reasoning, and proceed upon fair statement as its preliminary." No one can deny that the eternal mind of God could foresee a remote object; and if He could foresee a remote object, why could He not declare and foreshadow it? We have good proof that He not only foresaw but foreshadowed Christ; and that this foreshadowing was so precise, that we can identify its realization in Jesus Christ. We are not required to suppose that the foreshadowing was so distinct and defined to the ancient Jew, before Christ came, as it is to us, but we must regard it as having been distinct enough to awaken and to nourish the expectations of ancient Israel. The Messianic predictions of the Old Testament will not be nullified by such reasonings as those of Dr. Williams. And we say the same of his attempts to destroy the reality of other prophecies, his

position in relation to which is indicated clearly enough in his introduction to Isaiah, where he says, "ANYTHING LIKE DEFINITE PREDICTION OF EVENT FOLLOWED BY REALIZATION, in those countries which the prophets describe, any more than in others which they do not describe—at least such as might serve as a basis for demonstration of extra-natural intervention, IS PROBABLY IMPOSSIBLE TO SUBSTANTIATE." Our object is not to prove the reality of prophetic announcements in the Old Testament, but to shew that Dr. Williams questions them, or at any rate the reality of proper evidence of their existence. At the same time we beg to express our most cordial dissent from his conclusions, and our conviction that he has been misled by unsound principles of criticism and interpretation. It was altogether superfluous for him, *after* the declaration just quoted, to discuss, as he does, the question—how far Jesus of Nazareth appears personally predicted as the Messiah of Israel and of mankind.

The preceding observations, the length of which is excused by their importance, will suffice to indicate that the book under consideration militates against other things than Messianic theories. It will be almost needless for us to express our opinion, that in some cases of unusual interest the author has failed to realize, and therefore has failed to exhibit, the mind of the prophets. A careful examination of a number of places has satisfied us that the translations and interpretations are not always to be added to the things of which the Sicilian proverb says:—

" Matrimoni e Viscuvati,
Di lu celu su calati."

In what remains, we shall endeavour to study brevity.

The prophetic Books included in the volume appear in the following order: Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah i.—xxxix. and Nahum. To each of the books an introduction is prefixed, and the translation is accompanied by annotations, and a sort of paraphrase with explanatory remarks. A new division of chapters and verses is adopted for the text, but, for convenience, we make our references to the common arrangement.

The introductions follow the usual routine of such articles, so far as outward form is concerned, but they have marked peculiarities of sentiment and of minor features. The terminology may, properly enough, be included in the last-mentioned reference. Readers of the old schools will perfectly understand what we mean, when we repeat the view presented of the plan of the Book of Joel: "A plague of locusts, drought, and death;

a day of public repentance and supplication; a happy change appearing, as the answer of Jehovah to his people's prayers; followed by *prophetic anticipation*, first of spiritual renewal among the people, and lastly of a triumphant conflict of the nation with its spoilers, are the features which distribute the book naturally into four parts, or, still better, into five." In the next sentence, the "prophetic anticipation" becomes simply "anticipation," and elsewhere "the prophet forebodes." The introduction to Amos supplies further examples, as where a prophetic denunciation is traced to a "profound presentiment;" hence prophecy "is not a delegation of the divine omniscience, but a foreboding from trust in the divine justice, tinged possibly by passion, limited certainly by circumstance." Hence, again, "Amos's denunciation was fulfilled, though neither in the time nor by the instruments which he expected." But while this realization, modified as it is, is admitted, the suspicion is thrown out that the original text may have been subsequently altered. This suspicion of altered texts is common, although not always insisted on. It is prominent in the introduction to Obadiah, where we find the repulsive statement, that "by retaining Jehovah always" in translation, "one would merge that true and metaphysical idea of Deity in *the mere national God of the Hebrews*." Does Dr. Williams mean all his words convey? If so, he is contradicted by the host of texts which represent the God of the Hebrews as the only and eternal God.

We pass on to Hosea, and there also we find a renewed repudiation of prophecy in its ordinary sense: "No proof can be given, that any event absolutely future when the writing was published is therein foretold." "The moral certainty of this conclusion" is spoken of. In the introduction to Micah special notice is taken of chap. iv. 10, where the captivity of Babylon is predicted, but as actual prediction is to be repudiated at all cost, the verse is suggested to be "one of the signs of fresh editing and arranging," and we are assured that such insertions may have been and often are consistent with good faith. It is amazing how intelligent readers of Scripture, who are aware of its profound hostility to all deceit and lies, can be induced to accept such a rubbishing theory. It is admitted that God could have foretold the captivity a century beforehand; why is it not admitted that he may have seen fit to do so? Simply because this is contrary to a pre-conceived opinion. We are forced to expect after this, to hear that Micah v. 2 is no real prediction of the Messiah, but an expectation concerning Hezekiah. A note on the rendering of the passage ends with the disparaging remark that "an adaptation by a Galilean pea-

sant (!!) whether intended to be cited as predictive, or only as allusive to familiar phrase, must not bias our rendering of the prophet." This is Dr. Williams's rendering:—"But thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, little to be (*counted*) among the families of Judah, out of thee cometh forth unto me to be ruler in Israel, whose descent is from antiquity, from the days of old." If the reader will turn to the E. V. he will perceive that the grammatical structure is complete, which it is not here. The Jewish version of Dr. Benisch also supplies the ellipses: "But thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, *destined* to be little (marg., 'young') among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall he go forth unto me to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth *have been* from of old, from the days of antiquity" (marg., "ever"). The literal *ordo verborum* of the Hebrew is: "And thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, little to be in (the) thousands of Judah, from thee to me he shall proceed (or 'go forth') to be ruler in Israel, and his goings forth (are) from of old from days of yore." The question is, what do these words mean? Not what is their general sense, but how can the text be fairly represented in an idiomatic English sentence? As quoted by the chief priests and scribes in Matt. ii. 6 it is: "And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my people Israel." It is very apparent that this only retains what is essential to the speakers' purpose, viz., that Bethlehem should be the source of the coming ruler of Israel. Perhaps we might express the sense of the Hebrew thus: "And thou Bethlehem-Ephratah, who art a little one among the thousands of Judah, from thee shall he go forth to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth are from of old from days of yore." When it is said that his "goings forth are of old," etc., it appears to denote not so much his pre-existence as the pre-ordination and pre-arrangement in accordance with which this shall take place. The form ^ל probably adds the notion of a divine sending forth of the promised ruler. The limitation of this to Hezekiah is fanciful, and we can discover no fact which connects it with him at all.

Quite in harmony with the trenchant criticism of our author, Isaiah is regarded as terminating with chap. xxxix., and not free from numerous interpolations before this limit is attained: "Resembling so far Shakespeare and Homer, if there was an archetypal Homer, his renown absorbed into its vortex writings without a name, not inferior in sublimity to his own." Thus we find the fragmentary hypothesis resorted to in various forms as a convenient mode of removing difficulties. We

cannot wonder that the interpretations adopted are often of a very unsatisfactory character. Perhaps it is worth noting that Dr. Williams places "the probable end of the primary Isaiah" at the close of chap. xxxiii.; and imagines that chap. xxxiv. introduces a composition two centuries later. In this way the dates of the sections of Isaiah are shifted *ad libitum*. Isaiah is to be henceforth viewed as a "thing of shreds and patches," a sort of cento, compounded under the name of this prophet, because he wrote a part, and because his name was great and famous. We are not misrepresenting. We read for example in the note prefixed to Isa. xxxiv. and xxxv.: "There is no proof, hardly probability, of these two chapters being written by Isaiah. A more natural conclusion is, that the arrangers of the sacred poems of the nation, at an undefined time between Ezra and the Asmonean princes, associated with the works of their greatest prophet this fragment and others, left without names, but aspiring to a day of deliverance and retribution such as he had dared to ask of God against Assyria." Not only did these "arrangers of the sacred poems" place under the name of Isaiah various pieces which he never wrote, but they committed sundry mistakes in the order which they adopted.

The many misgivings which such criticism is fitted to provoke in minds of a certain cast and calibre it is needless to enumerate, but we wish for the author's own sake that he had chosen "a more excellent way." He manifestly believes he has made discoveries of value and importance, and that he is simply fulfilling the duty of a courageous and candid friend of truth in proposing his views for men's consideration. His personal right to do as he has done we wish not to challenge, and yet we regret to see one who is in many ways so richly endowed, so indiscreet in his utterances. There are no limits to human fancy, and it is scarcely more erratic in any domain than in that of sacred criticism. Learning, zeal, and even piety itself, in such cases, are all made to minister to it. Nor is there any cure, so far as we know, for affections of this sort. Their developments are in every possible direction, and in one form or another few of us are quite free from their influence. This consolation, however, remains to us, that "the word of the Lord endureth for ever;" and this, that some good comes out of all forms of criticism; and this, that notwithstanding eddies and troublings of the waters, the great mind of Christianity will still prefer the pure and genuine stream, and drink of it alone.

It is by no means our wish to detract from the real merits of Dr. Williams's work, and if what we regard as drawbacks had not been so numerous and conspicuous, it would have been our grateful task to praise it. As it is, we have a less agreeable

work to do. Many of the renderings of the version are open to critical objections, and perhaps the style is even more so; indeed, in the matter of style, the author has done injustice both to himself and to his originals. The lesser notes are of very miscellaneous value; and the same is to be said of the larger notes and summaries at the foot of the page. The author's theological and critical opinions and tendencies influence him unfavourably, and mar his work. We have already illustrated most of these points, but with reference to the last, that there may be no misunderstanding, we quote the following from p. 280: "The Assyrian reckons Jehovah no better than the idol-deities of the nations. The only true God may ever be expected to act according to the highest conception man can form of him. In this sense the God of the Hebrews is mightier than the gods of the nations, that the eternal Being towards whom both aspire is more worthily conceived under spiritual than under sensual figures." The structure of the passage is loose enough to allow a reader who is not very attentive to imagine that the God of the Hebrews and the Gods of the nations aspire towards an eternal Being who is above them both. This, however, cannot be the meaning, but that the Hebrews and the nations both aspire to that eternal Being. But is it correct to say so? We can quite understand that the devout Hebrew aspired towards God in the sense of understanding, loving, trusting, serving, and honouring Him more perfectly, and in that of having more intimate spiritual communion with Him. Thus the Psalmist: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God. When shall I come and appear before God?" etc. Job also, or rather, Eliphaz, in the book of Job: "Acquaint thyself with him, and be at peace, thereby shall good come unto thee." There are many other passages which illustrate the same fact in a variety of forms. But as it respects ancient heathen notions, it is far otherwise. A few isolated individuals may have had, and confessedly had, very lofty aspirations, but if we except these select souls, it is by no means as Dr. Williams says. St. Paul probably knew as much of them as we do, and he paints a very different picture. We prefer to rely on his authority when he tells us that "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." And again, "As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient:" (see the entire passage, Rom. i. 20—32). If these witnesses are to be depended upon, it is

little better than recklessness to speak as Dr. Williams does. We do not believe he would speak in this way but for the combined inference of his peculiar theological and critical opinions. He will tell us that he has adopted this language after careful thought and much inquiry, and we shall admit that it is so, but we must venture to think his judgment has been warped, and turned to a wrong conclusion.

We should like to know what definition our author would have us accept of the personal inspiration of the prophets? He frequently compares them and their oracles to George Fox and the early Quakers, to the Friar, the Dervish, the Puritan, etc. But whatever the character of the prophetic impulse, we do not remember any clear and satisfactory account of it. One thing is scarcely to be doubted, and that is, that prophetic inspiration is regarded as having been by no means that supernatural power and light *ab-extra* which most of us have supposed. Meanwhile, the uniform repudiation of a really predictive element by the author indicates unmistakeably his position. The indirect or direct questioning of the integrity of the books translated is another clue to the undefined notions of inspirations which underlie the work. A variety of other matters point in the same direction. It is perhaps but natural that his own experience, and his sympathy with others who have suffered annoyance for their views, should lead to a number of incidental accusations which we need not quote, but which can hardly be misunderstood. With them we have nothing to do beyond this, that they suggest a mind which is chafed, smarting, or irritated. But is a mind thus wrought upon in the best condition for such an undertaking as this?

Returning for a moment to the question of inspiration, we wish to add, that Dr. Williams does not deny it in all senses, but that he even believes it to extend much beyond the limits ordinarily assigned to it in one respect. Hear his own words: "Since we have no Gods but one, and since his Spirit, not superseding his providential instrumentalities, is that by which he teaches men, we are brought back to inspiration in some sense, and with whatever limits, as the source of our knowledge of things human and divine," (p. 376). This may correspond with the saying in Job, "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding;" but it leaves untouched the enquiry respecting the inspiration of the prophets and sacred writers, and does not reach so far even as the spiritual influences mentioned in the New Testament as the peculiar prerogative of true believers. When we speak of divine inspiration as the common heritage of our race, we

speak of a glorious privilege, but we must be careful not to lose sight of those other special modes of divine influence which the Scriptures and all true teachings distinguish. Such a distinction is most salutary and important. The upholding of positive opinions respecting the inspiration of the prophets and sacred penmen will be a preservative against depreciating the Book and its authority; and will keep before our minds its differences from all other books. In like manner, to exhibit prominently before men's eyes the doctrine of the Spirit's influences in the Church and people of God, will be fraught with immense benefits. Dr. Williams may think otherwise, and tell us of disquisitions on the supernatural devised as barriers against inquiry (p. 437), but we do not care for that. We desire to encourage enquiry by all lawful means, but God have mercy on us when the supernatural is forgotten, in a religion which is supernatural from its Alpha to its Omega.

The whole of the paragraph from which we take the allusion to disquisitions on the supernatural, deserves consideration. The book of Nahum supplies the occasion. Nahum's perception of the truth that God governs the world is the basis of his inspiration; but the truth itself is expressed harshly, from local and national impulses. Such books have an historical value in congregational reading, but their devotional use may generate a crooked interpretation, where that which is revealed is treated as absolute and final. From such thoughts it is easy to wander away to liturgies, and subscription, and disquisitions on the supernatural; and this is done.

We admit that Nahum contains terrible passages, but there is a grandeur and a glory about some of them which is truly magnificent and divine. Reference is made to later books of higher inspiration, but we do not know which are meant, and therefore can institute no comparison. But why demur to the tone and style of the prophecy? It is well known that avowed infidels do this, and that one of their stock texts is Nahum i. 2—6, always ignoring or snarling at every expression indicative of divine love and mercy. Dr. Williams has no wish to fraternize with the execrable caitiffs who are most truthfully sketched by St. Paul in Rom. iii. 13—18. There is no falsehood too black, no mischief too atrocious, no audacity too shameless, for the nefarious traitors to whom we refer. If they cannot attract attention, and push themselves into notoriety by fair means, they will try the foul. These miserable demagogues go up and down like roaring lions seeking whom they may devour, and whether as political orators sowing discontent and sedition, or as atheistic wranglers, their souls' dear wish is prominence and influence. So little do they care about the kind

of prominence and influence, that we may truly say of them what Pope asserted of a really great but eccentric man,—

“Earless on high stood unabashed Defoe.”

Not only would they be unabashed in the pillory and lose their ears without shame, they would glory in it, so long as their hearers kept theirs; and the only martyrdom they do not covet is to be put to silence. Leave them their tongues to revile dignities, civil and sacred, and to provoke persecution, if they can, and they will bear a good deal. These are the men who rail against God and the Bible, and slander and malign the Church; and these are they who specially delight in calumniating Nahum. Dr. Williams should be on his guard against playing into their hands. He already has their good word, and is referred to by them publicly and with approval. If he reads these lines he will regret the fact—perhaps he will doubt it; but it is a fact, and should make him careful to avoid everything which can foster the delusion that he favours them in any way.

He claims the right of inquiry, and he does well; but it is well also to distinguish between inquiry and dogmatic assertion, or what looks like denunciation. So far as inquiry is concerned we thoroughly agree with him, and shall maintain the right of every man to search after truth, and to make it known when he has discovered it. With profoundest satisfaction we adopt his own noble words: “We may look for an after-time of days, when the two things most sacred in the world, the fear of God and the love of truth, shall not be put asunder, so that a pure mind cannot take a step in either direction without a sense of perplexity or of sin; when reason shall not lift up sword against faith, nor faith against reason; but the churches turn their cursings into blessings: neither in the name of charity shall they learn hatred any more. The forces which create religion are as permanent as those which destroy it. The ladder set upon the earth, and reaching into heaven, is not fallen; but he who thinks so, dreams.”

Many like fine sentiments are scattered up and down in the book, and their presence has rendered it a somewhat ungracious task to make the observations which our own loyalty to God and truth has imposed upon us. We have wished again and again that he had been less positive in some of his statements, and milder in some of his reflections, because the statements are often questionable, and the reflections might have been dispensed with. We have wished it too, because such things will prevent some, many perhaps, from duly appreciating the good which, like a golden thread, runs through the book.

B. H. C.

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

JOHN v. 27.

In the Authorized Version we find the words *κρίσιν ποιεῖν* translated 'to execute judgment.' "And hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man." It is worth while perhaps to remark, that the distinction between *ποιεῖν* and *ποιεῖσθαι* in periphrasis with a substantive is lost sight of in the New Testament. *Ποιεῖν κρίσιν* simply = what in classical Greek would have been *ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν* = *κρίνειν* = to 'judge' or 'act as judge.' Evidently the peculiar fitness of our Lord for the office of judge is identical with his peculiar fitness for the office of high priest, as explained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, because, being not only the Son of God, but also the Son of Man, he is able to sympathize with us. But, so far as appears, the execution of the sentences of our Judge is likely to be entrusted to inferior agents.

ROMANS xv. 13.

The Authorized Version here runs, "Let every one of us please his neighbour *for his good to edification.*" *Εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν* appears to us to convey rather a more stringent limitation on the injunction to 'please' our neighbours than is expressed in the Authorized Version, or is usually brought out by commentators. We should be inclined to translate these words '*so far as is good for spiritual improvement,*' which is the practical meaning of the word 'edification.' Thus 'that which is good for spiritual improvement' would not be so much the aim and scope as the limitation of 'pleasing' our neighbours. The preposition *εἰς* is not unfrequently used in this sense of limitation. In Phil. iii. 6, we have *εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν*, which clearly means '*so far as we have attained,*' and in Thucyd., iii. 66, 2, *μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν*, "The Lacedæmonians, *so far as they remembered,* were never so terrified as on this occasion."

TITUS iii. 3 and 14.

In these two passages we have the expression *καλῶν ἔργων προῖτασθαι*, which is translated in the text of the Authorized Version 'to maintain good works,' and in the margin 'to profess honest trades.' The commentators generally favour the rendering of the text, and, indeed, we are not acquainted with one

who recommends that of the margin. For our own part, however, both from the context of these passages and also from examining *at first hand* some of the principal authorities for the use of the word *προϊστασθαι*, we are about to contend that the rendering of the margin is the only one that is really admissible.

In the first place, let us consider the context of the passages in which the above expressions occur. In Tit. iii. 8, translating literally we have: "Trusty is the saying, and about these things I wish thee to be positive, in order that those who have believed God may be heedful *καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι*; these are *καλὰ* and beneficial to mankind." What are *καλὰ* and beneficial to mankind? Surely these *ἔργα*, and the real meaning is "that is *ἔργα* that are *καλά* and beneficial to mankind." The inferior reading *τὰ καλὰ, κ.τ.λ.*, would perhaps strengthen our case, but we neglect it on account of its weakness in MS. testimony. Thus, this latter clause becomes a *bond fide* epexegetis of the former, describing what *καλὰ ἔργα* are, *i. e.*, such as are in fair repute and beneficial to mankind. But *all* 'good works' in the ordinary sense of the words are such; and in this sense the clause *ταῦτά ἐστι καλὰ, κ.τ.λ.*, would be simply a piece of useless tautology. We are, therefore, fairly driven by the context of verse 8 to the rendering of the margin, and must translate *καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι* 'to profess (or rather practise) respectable occupations,' if we can find elsewhere proper authority for such a use of the words *προϊστασθαι* and *ἔργων*. And without denying that *καλὸς* is in late Greek frequently used for *ἀγαθὸς*, we may safely assert, that *primâ facie* we should always consider *καλὸς* distinct from *ἀγαθὸς* and applicable to external beauty or respectability rather than intrinsic goodness.

Let us now proceed to verse 14: "And let our people also learn *καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι* for the necessary requirements, that they may not be unfruitful." Here it is much more natural to consider the article *τὰς* in *εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας* as having a subjective meaning, and referring to the subject of the sentence in the sense 'for *their* necessary requirements,' than to make up the sentence 'for the necessary requirements of the individuals in the community.' Undoubtedly the more ordinary usage of the article in such cases is in favour of the rendering which we are endeavouring to support. Or, better still, let us have recourse to the general meaning of the article, and translate *εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας* 'for necessary requirements' in general, which would imply a direction to Christians living amongst heathens to confine themselves to reputable and necessary employments, avoiding such as were unnecessary, and the mere handmaids of luxury.

Secondly, let us consider the usage of the words *προστασθαι* and *ἔργον* in other passages. With regard to the latter word we need do no more than refer to 1 Tim. iii. 1, *εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ*. "If any one is anxious for a bishop's (= priest's) office, he desires an honourable occupation." In Xen., *De Vectigalibus*, iv. 6, we have: *ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαίνεται, τοσούτῳ πλείονες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἔρχονται*. "The more silver-ore appears, the more persons come to this occupation." This sense of *ἔργον* needs no further illustration. With regard to the former word, our business will be simply to verify the references of the lexicons, which will not bear out their and the usual interpretation of it, but will be decidedly in favour of ours. Let us go to Athenæus, 612 A. Here we find that the art of a perfume manufacturer was not considered reputable, *Σόλωνος τοῦ νομοθέτου οὐδ' ἐπιτρέποντος ἀνδρὶ τοιαύτης προστασθαι τέχνης*, 'Solon, the lawgiver, not even allowing a man to *profess*, or rather *practise, such an art*.' This gives us exactly the meaning for which we are contending. The other references given by Wahl are utterly alien to the matter. It is most necessary to verify references on any disputed point. One can never with safety take a reference for granted. References are copied from commentator to commentator, and lexicon to lexicon, and often, like the above, originate in a simple mistake.

A. H. W.

Locusts in the Holy Land.—The Holy Land is again visited this year with a plague of locusts. A letter in a Manchester paper says: "The valley of Urtas was first attacked, and has now become a desolate wilderness. The olive-yards of Bethlehem, Beitjalah, and Jerusalem, were next covered until the trees became a dull red colour. They are now barked white. But yesterday (June 1) will be a day long remembered. From early morning till near sunset the locusts passed over the city in countless hosts, as though all the swarms in the world were let loose, and the whirl of their wings was as the sound of chariots. At times they appeared in the air like some great snowdrift, obscuring the sun, and casting a shadow upon the earth. Men stood in the streets and looked up, and their faces 'gathered blackness.' At intervals those which were tired or hungry descended on the little gardens in the city, and in an incredibly short time all that was green disappeared. They ran up the walls, they sought out every blade of grass or weed growing between the stones, and after eating to satiety, they gathered in their ranks along the ground or on the tops of the houses. It is no marvel that as Pharaoh looked at them he called them 'this death.' To-day (June 2) the locusts still continue their work of destruction. One locust has been found near Bethlehem measuring more than five inches in length. It is covered with a hard shell, and has a tail like a scorpion."

PANTHEISM.—II. PANTHEISM IN PARTICULAR.

By W. H. GILLESPIE.

To pass from considerations on Pantheism in general, let us direct our attention to some one particular phase of Pantheism, or Pantheism as exhibited in the writings of a single author. The work which comes to our hand is entitled, *Man and his Dwelling Place, an Essay towards the Interpretation of Nature*. The author is a Mr. James Hinton, a dissenter, resident in London; the son, too, of a Baptist dissenting minister. The volume in question, as it lies before us, went into a second edition in 1861.

This is a most singular work. Many passages are written in an ardent, elevated style. The heart and feelings are sought to be addressed, as well as the faculties of the head. It would write *Ichabod* on all our religious attitudes and conditions, and supersede all our religion, as well as top all our science, by something superior; and yet, what the superior element is, it is next to impossible to say. It is not from the book itself one can learn what the superiority consists in. The book cannot be the *cause* of the information,—it can, at most, be only the *occasion*. A man, if he considers long and well, may reach the truth of the matter by making a system for the book, in lieu of a system to be found in the book.

What, then, is the system which underlies the pages of this singular performance? There is no doubt about the initial step in the complex and compound scheme. Man is inert—unspiritual—dead. Nature, on the other hand, is non-inert—spiritual or active—alive. Man thinks, however, that he is alive, and that Nature is dead, although it is the reverse which is true. Such may be said to be the first step, and, in some language or other, this initial statement is to be found repeated again, and again, and again, throughout the volume. Every page witnesses the changes rung in *Man is dead: Nature is alive*: and the rest of it. In fact, the endless repetitions become quite nauseous. The author says—and, indeed, never tires saying—that that proposition, or those propositions, constitute his basis, his foundation stone, his groundwork.

If it be asked, What is Man, and what is Nature, as distinguished from each other? the answer is not so obvious or easy. In the first place, there is evidently a great preliminary difficulty in the way of deciding, that man can be quite dead, and yet be the person that the Hintonian system is to set upon

his legs, as a truly living existent. Again, to accede to the position that Nature is alive while Man is dead, it seems necessary to believe that life can be objective to, and can come to be perceived by, a dead thing, a non-existing personal percipient.

Nature is alive, and man is to become alive, by coming to perceive that, while he is dead, nature is living; this seems to be almost an impossibility. How can such a difficulty be got over? This question will occur again, and receive our more explicit attention.

What is this Nature as contradistinguished from Man, when we say—Nature only is alive? The two are here distinguished, and set in opposition to each other. Man is unnatural—out of nature. Yet how, except through the powers and faculties of man—inert, unspiritual, dead man—could there be any appreciation of nature at all? But, in short, whatever be meant by the two, as in mutual antithesis to each other, *they are two*.

What, then, is Nature—not now as distinguished from Man, but in itself? Is Nature that which we perceive—that great whole which is made up of so many parts, objective to our subjective, lying all around us as objects of all our senses and powers? By no means; such is not Mr. Hinton's Nature. The Hintonian Nature is something very different. What other philosophers—materialistic and pantheistic, as well as theistic—call *Nature*, is but the sign of the Hintonian Nature. True nature lies at the back of other people's nature. The one (the Hintonian) is substratum to the other. Nature as consisting of the aggregate of phenomena, is as unreal and dead as man himself. The nature, which is spiritual and alive, not inert, but brisk and active, lies behind the scenes. Hidden, this nature is the real, the spiritual, the holy, that which is. You swallow a seidlitz powder. You, *quà* man, are dead that swallow, and the seidlitz powder which is swallowed is, *quà* phenomenon, dead, in spite of the briskness and semblance of activity in the particles, which the powder has. But though the seidlitz powder be dead, as dead as the druggist, *quà* man, who sells, or the patient, *quà* man, who buys it—there is behind, under yon, a substratal seidlitz powder, a something which is: because it is alive, non-inert, spiritual.

Should it, now, be asked, does the hidden substratal cause of seidlitz powder stand in a relation to the powder, the same as that borne by Platonic ideas, exemplars, archetypes, to their earthly phenomenal representatives? The answer would be—By no means; nothing of the kind. No two things can be

more unlike, than the system of the Platonic ideas, or patterns of things in the heavens, and the system to be extracted from Mr. Hinton's book.*

Should it next be asked—Is the Hintonian Nature akin to that Great Spirit which the Theist believes to pervade Nature, as well as to cause, and overrule, and direct Nature and every atom of it? the answer, in like manner, is—By no means; nothing of the kind. Because in place of identifying his Nature with the God of Monotheism, Mr. Hinton's system distinguishes, in an ineradicable manner, the God of true Theism from that God which (not whom) his system absolutely identifies with his nature; although, no doubt, the author generally takes care to keep from the appearance of saying so, in so many words.

What, after all, is the Hintonian Nature? This is the problem, a problem at which a man may work long enough without ever being able to produce a very satisfactory reply.

The length, then, which we have got is this:—Man is dead; Nature is alive. Man and Nature are distinguished from each other as exclusive of each other. Nature is not the Nature that was, or the Nature of other people. The Hintonian nature lies under the other nature, as the ghost in Hamlet, down in the cellar, is under the interlocutors above-board.

The next question should be—If man is dead, is he irrecoverably dead? If not, how is he to be made alive? This is now the important question, and yet we must rest satisfied with scant information: by the reception of the doctrine contained in this book, man becomes alive. Dead before, man reads, understands, and passes from death to life.

Man has deadness—Nature has spirituality, or life. Our present question is, How does man cease to partake of deadness and become alive? The answer is, man becomes alive by

* "R. When you say that the spiritual world is the fact which causes me to perceive a physical one, I must neither suppose you to mean that chairs and tables are spiritual; nor that there are spiritual chairs and tables, of which these are the images, as perhaps some Neo-Platonists meant; but simply that my perception of these phenomena is due to the existence and action of Being that is different from them, and of which we can know that it is certainly spiritual—that the inertness we perceive cannot belong to it—but respecting which you do not pretend to say why it should cause us to perceive as we do. We must, in a word, leave the particular relation of the phenomenal to the absolute to be investigated, if it be found capable of investigation.

"W. *Precisely so.*"—Pages 333—4.

And in the introduction, the following position had been laid down:—"There is not a physical world, and a spiritual world besides, but the spiritual world which alone is, is physical to man: the physical being the mode in which man, by his defectiveness, perceives the spiritual. We feel a physical world to be; that which is, is the spiritual world."—Page 17.

knowing that, while nature is alive, he is dead. But how is man to become possessed of the knowledge? how is he to pass from the state of deadness, consisting in his deeming that he is alive, to the state of non-inertness, spirituality, life, which consists in the knowledge of man's deadness?

The answer to this question is by no means quite clear. Shortly, the answer must be given, as we have already given it: Read Mr. Hinton's book—he converted—and become alive. But to search for the particulars in the book in question, throwing light upon the subject, we may gather that science has been nearing the goal of the discovery that nature is alive. Each science contributing its part to the wonderful and valuable information. Then Religion, which has been lagging far behind, is asked to make up her leeway—to run after Science in the same road, and to stretch forth her hands towards the same goal. When religion accomplishes this, she becomes of Mr. Hinton's religion, and has done a deal towards making man alive.^b

As our object, at present, is to give the best idea we can of the particulars of this complex and compound scheme of Pantheism, and as the particulars do by no means hang together in a connected way, we may pass on to mention, in the next place, another feature in the scheme in question.

This scheme, then, makes much of the distinction between reality or fact, and phenomenon; and, while the scheme exalts the one to a great altitude, it depresses the other to the lowest inferiority. If an inquirer were to suppose that there was anything real or factual in the sun, or the moon, or the stars; in the earth on which we tread, or in anything which it contains; the person imagining so, would be told that he was mightily mistaken. None of these things are facts; there is not a bit of reality about them. What, then, is this earth, and the starry sky, which are not facts, nor realities? They are phenomena. They have a sort of mean, despicable, phenomenal existence; no more. Existing as phenomena, they are but as a passing, unsubstantial, worthless piece of evanescence.^c To revert to another momentum in this scheme—Beneath these

^b Book I. treats "Of Science." Chapter iii. treats "Of the illustration from Astronomy." And the chapter in question terminates thus: "*Man* says, I am free, and nature is my slave: he does not know that this is death. Should he not rather say: In becoming one with that which Nature is, I live?"

^c "This is the phenomenon whereof the fact is holiness. Nature is holy, not in figure, not in seeming. In deed and truth the fact of Nature's life is holiness; the seeming is necessary passiveness. This is the distinction of the phenomenon from the true and essential fact, that the *Being* and therewith the action is wanting. This world is the spiritual world, not known. To be as we

phenomena, sun, moon, and stars, the heavens above and earth beneath, there is, however, a reality or fact; nay, *the Reality, the Fact*. There is, in a word, behind the scene the Hintonian nature, as we have before described it. The Hintonian nature (as before suggested) is not equal to the archetypal exemplars of all things as according to the Platonists, nor is it the pervading or permeating spirit of true Monotheism. Whatever the Hintonian nature be, it is not anything to which our philosophers and our theologians have been accustomed. It is as yet a nondescript waiting for exposition, if not for manifestation.

The author confesses that his system is incomplete—that he has not been able as yet to work it out to its ultimates; and in the face of so modest a confession, it would be unjust to be too hard upon the unfinished scheme.

Yet, as all systems of philosophy and theology must submit to be examined in the light of their *consequences*, let us apply this—so often crucial—test to the system in question.

Before, however, we do so, let us draw a distinction. Consequences are of two kinds: first, there are the consequences *said* to attach to a system, and which are drawn by inimical reasoners, by the professed or concealed opponents of the system. But, secondly, there are consequences of a scheme that are of another kind; the consequences, namely, which are drawn, not by an enemy, but by a friend. And no critic can

are, is to be in the world that truly is, but blind and unperceiving, and to have our life therefore in a world of mere phenomena, which *is not*. Thus to live is to be under illusion, and spend our days as a dream. This is the unreality, the unsubstantialness of this world, which men's inmost hearts affirm, which has so often found for itself a voice. The world is an illusion, a dream, a mockery. Life deceives us, its promises are lies; it yields no satisfaction, only hope and desire incessantly renewed, a thirst never slaked. That is true. The phenomenon must be unreal, and if we think it to be the true reality, then we are dealing with an unreal world; a world that, to be known aright, should be to us but a sign of other and higher being, that cannot disappoint."—Pages 45, 46.

"Evil pertains to the phenomenon. The feeling of evil is inseparable from the feeling of the phenomenal as real; it is inseparable, therefore, from the present state of man, the essential character of which is that phenomena are real to him. Evil, therefore, must be felt as real by us, until the defect of our being is done away: but this false feeling on our part need not deceive and mislead us; we need not act as if it were true."

"However much evil there might be in these things, it is clear that it would not be 'real' to a being to whom these things were not real, to whom they were but appearances; the evil to him would be apparent only. This is the truth: evil is apparent, not real. But it is felt as real by those who feel apparent things as real. It is real to those in whom there is defect; in whom there is such a self as ours. To be delivered from evil, we must be delivered from ourself. Then, when the fact is truly known and felt, evil is no more real; it is known and felt as love."—Pages 283, 284.

be supposed to be more friendly than the author himself. Now, it is to the latter sort of consequences that we refer, and with the former kind of consequences we shall have nothing to do.

Applying then to this special scheme of Pantheism as a test, a consequence drawn, or at least admitted, by the author, we ask the following question:—

How does the scheme stand with reference to bodily death, and a resurrection, or the life to come? Mr. Hinton raises the question as one natural to be put to an expounder of his doctrine. And what is the answer given or allowed to be given by the author? How, we say, does the scheme stand with reference to the death of the body? *I refuse to answer that question*—is Mr. Hinton's reply. But we shall furnish the proof.

The fifth and last book of Mr. Hinton's volume is made up of dialogues. Of the dialogues there are four: and the interlocutors are "R.," or the reader; and "W.," or the writer or author. In Dialogue II. the following passages occur:—

R., or the reader, asks: "What happens at the death of the body?" and the author (W.) replies: "I decline the question."—Page 357. And in the next page, W. adds: "Certain things I think: for instance, that men do not pass into the spiritual world thereby (by the death of the body), because they are in it now: that they do not come to the end of a probation for eternity, because I find that idea to be a human doctrine, and as it seems to me a mistaken one: that there is nothing in that change to remove the defect under which men are, and which causes them to feel inertness without them."—Page 358. Immediately, the reader (R.) declares himself satisfied. "Of course" (he says), "regarding this physical condition as you do, the dying of the body is a different thing from that which it is on an opposite conception. *On your view, there is no reason for entertaining a positive opinion on that subject. The change is a phenomenal one.*"—*Ibid.* Afterwards, W. proceeds: "I cannot cease to be astonished, when I think that the entire religious opinions of so many men are based upon their supposition of what happens at the death of the body." "We have, in fact, adopted ancient heathen speculations, and grafted them upon the Bible." And in the same page: "I do not feel it an urgent question. For all practical ends, I know enough: I know the Redemption." "Reading nature by the light of the Gospel, I see it there also." Upon which R. asks: "Then in order to believe that man is to be saved, we need not know what happens at death?" W. answering, "CLEARLY NOT." And the same W. soon adds: "*To sense*, bodily death seems a consummation,

an ending, a great and terrible catastrophe. It is no wonder that *men* should have associated religious ideas with it, as they have done."—Pages 359, 360. And the rest of it.

Can any fact (we are not speaking just now with an eye to Hintonian facts) be more pregnant? An anecdote is related concerning another Atheistic Pantheist, or perhaps *Pantheistic Atheist* would better describe the man. It is related, then, of the famous Spinoza, that, on one occasion, he declared, with vast emphasis, that if he could but believe a true resurrection, say, a resurrection of dead Lazarus, or of Jesus, Lazarus' master, his whole philosophical theology would vanish as an unsubstantial phantom. Spinoza admitted that the proof of the fact of the resurrection would be equal to the fullest disproof of his whole scheme of Pantheism, or Atheism, or—what you like. In like manner, Mr. Hinton sees how the alleged fact of a resurrection, or a life to come, and his scheme can hang together. He sees that both cannot be true.

And, therefore, if one were desirous of knocking on the head the Hintonian Pantheism, he has no more to do than follow the good old way of setting forth, as a fact, Jesus and the resurrection. If Christ be risen, Hinton's faith is vain, and he is yet in his sins, consisting, to a great extent, in writing such deluding fallacies in books.

This is not, of course, the place for the proof of the grand fact on which Christianity reposes. Yet we cannot pass on without glancing in the direction of that proof. But to only one line of argument shall we make reference at present. Christianity professes to be based upon the reality of Christ's resurrection from the dead. Not rising out of a trance, or swoon, or fainting-fit of any kind, but true resurrection from the dead. This is one great fact. Christianity lays down the resurrection as its foundation-stone. No one can read the New Testament writings, without perceiving that this is so. Take one of the authors of the New Testament: the references in the Epistles of St. Paul, alone, to that fact, are without number.

Then, again, there appears another great fact. A fact, than which none is better known—none of more signification. This Christianity, founded on the asserted resurrection, has been the religion of the most civilized nations of the world for more than eighteen hundred years, or since the death of the founder of the system. At present, Christianity is the sole religion of civilized and advancing man; and in this passing hour, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the depositories of the truths of the system, are circulated over the earth in greater numbers

than they ever were before. Christianity directly sways civilized man; and indirectly, it regulates the affairs of man from the Arctic to the Antarctic poles, and from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same. In short, Christianity rules supreme as the religion of the race.

Thirdly, let us see what would follow from bringing those two great facts together, if only we adjoin a supposition to the first fact—namely, that Christianity is founded upon the alleged resurrection of Jesus from the dead; the adjoined supposition being that the *allegation* and the *truth* of things *do not correspond*. Suppose, in a word, that the alleged foundation of Christianity had no existence, or that there had been no resurrection of Christ in reality; and behold what follows.

If this be so, then the mightiest circumstance in the history of our race, the matter of fact, to wit, that Christianity has existed for eighteen hundred years, and does exist, with the certain prospect of continuing to exist; the mightiest fact, we repeat, in the history of our race,—grew out of, having been founded on, nothing but a delusion. Christianity, as *de facto* existing, is based upon a fiction. The most intelligent men on the face of the earth have, for centuries, given their adhesion to a system that rests upon the allegation of a fact, which never happened. We do not ask whether this supposition be in itself credible, because our purpose is to mark this, that—whether the supposition be credible or no—the supposition of its credibility would introduce the necessity of a belief much more miraculous, much more incredible, much more unnatural and indeed impossible, than would be the alleged fact itself, supposed to be true. To do no more than go upon the low ground of resolving to accept the lesser incredibility of the two; the fact of the resurrection of Jesus was far less incredible than that Christianity, if founded upon a baseless lie, should be the system to which the most civilized hundreds of millions of the human race have, for upwards of a millennium, attached themselves, as to the system containing all their hopes through life, in death, and for after death.

We repeat it, that this is not the place to prove that Christ is risen from the dead, and has become the first-fruits of them that slept. And, if Mr. Hinton does not, in words, call in question the truth of the narrative in the New Testament, it is all the more unnecessary to give him any proof of that event. No: on the contrary, take that immensely important fact for granted, and our present purpose is satisfied, by remarking that Mr. Hinton himself, while he has his scheme in view, must refuse to say how he has reconciled therewith a resurrection.

It is enough that he refuses to say how his scheme stands affected as to the death of the body.

It may be attended with advantage to compare this special Pantheism with some other pantheistic scheme. We shall fix on the most famous of all Pantheisms. We have little doubt but that the Brahminical system, which came to be so highly developed by the learned Hindoo Pundits, was in its origin a system of pure Theism. We have in this subtle system the Great Spirit, Brahm. From Brahm proceed the three of the Hindoo Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Ultimately, there appeared an endless host of the gods many and lords many of Hindooism, when Brahminism, or at least Hindooism, had practically sunk to a gross Polytheism. Its monkey gods alone might have done for a Pantheon. But whatever inclination there may, at any time, have been in the Brahminical system towards the side of Pantheism, the inclination was mainly to be discerned, not so much as to points of contact with the gross Polytheism into which Hindooism was degraded, as at a stage nearer the commencement. It was not when monkeys and snakes were worshipped; it was at the time when prominence was most given to the doctrine of a Great Spirit, the foundation of all reality, and simultaneously of a Maya, or illusion, which was the description of matter, or phenomenal appearances.

But out of Brahminism sprang a system more mighty than even Brahminism itself. The Brahminical system reigned in the superior minds of the whole of the Indian peninsula; yet that system had hardly been able to penetrate as high as the Himalayan snows. The ridges of those everlasting hills formed, in the main, an unsurpassable barrier to the progress of Brahminism northward. No doubt, its indirect effects might be observed beyond India proper. On the whole, however, Brahminism pure and unadulterated was confined to India. But Buddhism, which grew up in its bowels, has exerted a wider influence, and from a third to a half of the inhabitants of our globe have, for many a long year, received and acknowledged the influence of the founder of this mysterious collection of doctrines, known as the Buddhistic.

Buddhism was far from originating in any theistic, far less monotheistic doctrine. It is very commonly set down as a system of blank Atheism. But, perhaps, a more correct view would see in Buddhism, not so much an Atheistic as a Pantheistic scheme. But what sort of Pantheism?

Buddhism has its Earth, and its Heaven, and its Hell. Nay, it has a multiplicity of Earths, and Heavens, and Hells.

One of the grand momenta of the system consists in its doctrine of endless, or at any rate immensely extended circuits. A thing may be this to-day and that to-morrow; and then back from that to this: and so on, for millenniums. The most degraded man on the lowest earth—yea, even the vilest demon in the lowest hell—may come to be the most exalted saint in heaven, yea, in Brahma-Loka, the highest of the celestial worlds: the most exalted saint, again, has his chance of becoming, after countless ages, a Buddha. No doubt, Nirwana, the high heaven of the Buddhists, looks very like a condition of blank non-existence; yet it would be incorrect, with the spirit of the system before us, to conceive pure annihilation with regard to anything. Nirwana should rather be conceived as final absorption into the essence of the $\tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$. The always evolving circles, in the course of the processes of existence, seem to proceed from the innate powers inherent in the universe itself.

Now what resemblance has Mr. Hinton's Pantheism to the Pantheism of Gautama-Buddha, which was established (we shall suppose) nearly a thousand years before the Christian era? This were a puzzling question, and, to those whom it concerns, it may be a very interesting question. Certain it is, the two systems have remarkable resemblances. But what we are principally concerned to remark is, that, morally speaking, the systems seem to be pretty much on a par. Intellectually speaking, it may, or it may not, be so. For no doubt there are mysteries in Buddhism. Philosophers and theologians who have studied the system in the East as well as in the West, and have sought for all the assistance to be had derivable from the light of old writings, and ancient monuments of every kind, have come to very different decisions regarding the integral fundamentals of the system. Some think Buddhism is pure Atheism. Others, again, are of a different mind. Some of those belonging to this latter class pointing to the Buddhism of Nepaul, the cradle of the originator, where Buddhistic tenets are found in conjunction with a belief in a Great Spirit. But if mysterious questions may be put to Buddhism, the previous portion of this review has been written to little purpose, if a conviction did not pass through the mind of the reader, that abundance of mysteries attach to the system of the author of the book before us.

To what does the following amount? "If our self-action be not true action, what is our self? Of what are we conscious? We are conscious of defect; man's consciousness of self is the feeling of his want of being." Thus opens the chapter (it is

chap. viii. of Book III.) which treats "Of the Self." And the rest is in unison.

"Man is defective. This we know." "Is it not an emptiness, that we are conscious of within, and call it Self?" "We constantly distinguish, in our language, between the man and the self." "We are deeply conscious that the self is not the true manhood." "There is the self. True: even as there is a shadow." "Does not our experience teach us that the actions of the self are the effects of want of action in man?" "Individuality does not depend upon the self." * * * "If this self be defect of being, then must all true good, all life to man, be in self-sacrifice. In the utter destruction and casting out of this self, this doing away of the defect, man's life is given him; there can be no other true life for man." "So the true relations of sin are seen; it arises from the self, and exists for its destruction. For human experience is the destruction of the self." * * * "Even God we have conceived as such a self. Scarcely can we prevent ourselves from attributing to Him intellect such as ours." "This self constitutes us physical." "In being made spiritual man is made to BE." "Thus the question of man's relation to God, how he can be distinct from the Divine Being, becomes free from the difficulties with which it has been felt to be encompassed."—pp. 258, *et seq.*

"Man's death: his self defect of being. Surely these are the same. In consciousness of this self surely man is made conscious of his death; conscious of death, because he is to be made alive. And our thought of God also loses a great part of its difficulty. Ever the battle is renewed, on one hand or the other: Is God a Person? If not, He is nothing to us. We must have a Person for our God, or we are without hope in the world. But the difficulty in maintaining this lies in our taking our self as the standard of personality. God is not such as man: surely not; no such self is in Him. Falsely we call ourselves PERSONS. We want personality. Then first are we truly personal when God fills us with Himself. And God is not A PERSON, one among many; God forbid: He is THE PERSON. Then are we personal when we are divine: when the over-mastering spirit dwells within us and acts, and we can say, 'I labour, yet not I.'

"What dream is it from which we shrink, of being absorbed in God? as if to be one with God were loss instead of gain; as if ourself were Being that we should fear to lose. To be divine is to be personal, to be in the true sense Man. Least of all should a Christian man have feared to be made one with God, for what is shewn us in Christ, but the the perfection of humanity is oneness with God? If Christ be divine and yet human, why may we not be human and yet divine? The notion of 'absorption' bears self upon its face: we think of God as physical.

"And if we say, how then can God *create*, if He be the only Being? would it not become us rather to keep reverent silence, than to suppose that creation must conform to our conceptions? Should we

not rather learn what creation is from facts, than insist upon a creation answering our ideas? Why should not creation depend upon the true infinitude and soleness of God's being? Why should we allow ourselves for a moment to think the contrary? If, moreover, we admit creation inconceivable, can there be a greater folly than to assert what its mode must be? And yet again: If man have his true life only when God dwells and acts in him, may we not well be content to believe the same of all His creatures?"—pp. 265—67.

And so on; and so on; to the end of the chapter. But our readers may be supposed to be surfeited even to the point of utter nauseousness. But one thought is ever repeated; ever turning up, in a shape more or less new: there are endless repetitions, a little varied.

If to that doctrine of absorption in God, we join the doctrine of the necessity of man's being made one with Nature, in order that Man may be made alive (as this latter doctrine is explicitly maintained in a passage quoted above); Nature being that which, in the background, stands to Phenomena in the unexplainable relation (as according to a passage cited by us elsewhere); then we have as near an approach to the key of the inner secret of the Hintonian system as can be had. Here are the elements or momenta:—To be alive, Man must be one with Nature. Man is to be absorbed in God, in order to form a One; therefore God, and Nature, and Man, as living man, are one and the same. Such is the system, or at least one of the great features thereof.

And to what does the whole amount? Is it but a peep through the door of ironical euphemisms into nothing better than the Nirwana of Gautama-Buddha? or the final absorption, into the sleeping Brahm, of the Brahmanic Pundits? Take it at its best: it is indeed but a peep into the monstrous abysses of Pantheistic endings, *where hope never comes*.

There is reason to believe that St. Paul was not without the Buddhistic scheme within the range of his horizon when he spoke of those Asiatics who were *Atheists, or without God, and without hope in the world*. And if a man imbibe the undigested chaos to be found in Mr. Hinton's book, he will not be long in finding himself, by this means, as effectually as he would be by Buddhism, "without hope, being without God in the world."

It is to be admitted without hesitation, that the fullest use is made by Mr. Hinton of the words, "God," "Christ," "New Testament," "Redemption," "Sacrifice," etc., etc., throughout his volume. And were an honest countryman sitting down to peruse *Man and his Dwelling Place*, the countryman might, in

the simplicity and fulness of his heart, think he had fallen among the pleasant places of reverence and devotion as they should be. How would our countryman be astonished at being informed that the use of all these pious terms was fallacious—a deadly moral sophism, intended to be the cover of a philosophy of vain deceit. The God, the Christ, the New Testament of Mr. Hinton's book are but phenomenal; and they are phenomena, not with an underlying reality, but without any substratum at all, except, indeed, the leaves of Mr. Hinton's volume.

It was in *the fulness of the time* that Christ appeared. The manifestation of God in the flesh was four hundred years after Plato—the master-mind, the mightiest spiritual teacher of antiquity. Plato prepared for Jesus: all succeeding ages have remarked, and discussed the connection of the Logos of St. John with the Logos of Plato. And all deep Christian philosophers know that the true doctrine of the Logos is the very kernel of Christianity. Three hundred years after Christ began to flourish the Neo-Platonists, and it need scarcely be said, that some of the most eminent momenta, in the system of these great upholders of an expiring Paganism, were entirely Pantheistic. If, therefore, the Platonic ideas, and the whole doctrine of the master, did not logically contain Pantheism *in gremio*, a most subtle Pantheism was at least to historically emerge from the bowels of the Platonic philosophy. Now, observe that Christianity appeared when the world had become fairly accustomed to a Plato, and before its full establishment throughout the Roman Empire, Platonism had, in the grand seat of learning in Egypt, and indeed in the world, degenerated into the subtilties of the Neo-Platonic doctors. The doctrine of everlasting archetypes in the heavens had, in Alexandria, been degraded; as the substitution, there appeared the $\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{o}\nu$, or $\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu$, which is above all reason, and to which no predicates can be applied. But what then? Was the progress of Christianity prevented; was it even delayed? To omit mention of Hypatia, the daughter of Theon, what did Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblicus, Proclus, the great teachers of a wondrous Eclecticism which astonished the admiring world of letters for more than two centuries—what, we ask, did these mighty men to turn Christianity aside from its path? Did they avert, for a single hour, the doom of Heathenism, by all their subtle, and super-sensible, and, in truth, super-intelligible distinctions? On the contrary, Christianity marched on unimpeded, conquering and to conquer, until the freshest and grandest races of man have enlisted under her banners, and proclaimed themselves soldiers of the

Cross;^d the Emperor himself of the Roman Empire being the first to adopt it as his military symbol of victory.

In like manner so will it be now, but only in a lesser way. To compare any one of these Neo-Platonic philosophers to Mr. James Hinton would be to put dishonour upon the memory of a great man. Therefore, the comparison is as of great things to small; still, they can be compared; if not compared, contrasted. And what shall be the consequence of Hintonian Pantheism? At the best, its fate will be no better than the fate which befell the doings of another traitor. Hintonism is full of words of adulation to Christ: it speaks fulsomely of heaven and hell, redemption and damnation; of being made alive from the dead by Christ, the Life-giver. But, after all, what does the employment of all the fulsome language amount to? "Hail, Master; and kissed him:" And the end of the scriptural traitor was,—he "went and hanged himself." No better fate awaits Mr. Hinton's system. We prophesy not concerning the amount of evil it will do to others. We are certain of the evil which, reverting to its source, it will do to the mind which fashioned it.

In conclusion, "He that believeth on me shall never die," saith Christ. He that believeth that Science has demonstrated that Nature, as opposed to Man, is holy, spiritual, active, alive—he shall die, indeed, *quoad* the death of the body, but whether that death be the death of man in every sense, *I refuse to pronounce*, says James Hinton. Such is Christianity; such is Hintonism: between them, judge ye.

^d "The lofty future which was in store for the Western Church would have been impossible without some infusion of new and healthier blood into the veins of a world drained and tainted by the influence of Rome.

"And the new blood, at the era of this story, was at hand. The great tide of those Gothic nations, of which the Norwegian and the German are the purest remaining types, though every nation of Europe, from Gibraltar to St. Petersburg, owes to them the most precious elements of strength, was sweeping onward, wave over wave, in a steady south-western current, across the whole Roman territory, and only stopping and recoiling when it reached the shores of the Mediterranean. Those wild tribes were bringing with them into the magic circle of the Western Church's influence the very materials which she required for the building up of a future Christendom, and which she could find as little in the Western Empire as in the Eastern; comparative purity of morals; sacred respect for woman, for family life, law, equal justice, individual freedom, and, above all, for honesty in word and deed; bodies untainted by the hereditary effeminacy, hearts earnest though genial, and blest with a strange willingness to learn, even from those whom they despised; a brain equal to that of the Roman in practical power, and not too far behind that of the Eastern in imaginative and speculative acuteness.

"And their strength was felt at once."—*Hypatia*. By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. Preface, pp. xi., xii.

LIMITATION OF INSPIRATION.

IN the general view which we took of the inspiration of Scripture in our last paper, we saw that it claimed to be, throughout its several parts, an inspired record. We also alluded briefly to the fact that, while Scripture thus claimed everywhere alike inspiration for itself *as a record*, it also plainly limited the inspiration of those men to whom, according to its statements, God vouchsafed revelation ; and also intimated that it gave a place within its inspired record to sayings from various sources which were not inspired. We were unable to give to this latter view anything but a passing notice ; but it appears to us of such importance, as well as interest, that we propose to devote to its consideration our present paper.

The first subject for our inquiry will be the limitation which, according to Scripture, is set to the inspiration of its inspired men : the second will refer to the extent which Scripture goes to in the insertion within its limits to matter which is not inspired. The former of these subjects will not occupy much of our time. There is little difficulty and little controversy connected with it. The latter, however, is much more complicated, and is the subject of very considerable difference of opinion. The greater part of our paper will, consequently, be occupied with it.

The promise of guiding into all truth made by Christ to his Apostles, an engagement of a similar kind with that made in the Old Testament to the prophets, had regard, at every period, to what God saw fit to reveal. Plenary inspiration, in its fullest sense, was vouchsafed to none but Christ. To the words of none other that ever spake on earth was credit to be at all times given as to the words of God. Every other inspired person had his measure of inspiration, more or less, allotted to him. To Christ only was the Spirit given without measure. The amount of revelation vouchsafed was also, in the case of the ages, an increasing amount. Each succeeding prophet, in some measure, by development or otherwise, added to the previous stock, until in the great development of the apostolic age a stop was put to this growth.

The deeply interesting anecdote of David and Nathan relative to the building of the temple lets us into the knowledge that during long intervals of time, probably during far the greater portion of their life, God's inspired messengers in the Old Testament were but as ordinary men ; and on subjects of great religious importance, and on which they were consulted

by earnest inquirers, were subject to mistake as others were (1 Chron. xvii. 1—4). We have here David consulting the prophet whether he should build a house for God. We have Nathan, in reply, arguing from God's past treatment and favour shewn to David, that there could be no doubt but that it would be agreeable to God that David should accomplish his intention. Yet all this while it was not God's wish that David should do what he purposed, and this He revealed to Nathan on the night following the conversation, when He also communicated to him a lengthened revelation of the future of David's house and throne. We have to remark on this occurrence that David in consulting Nathan, and receiving his first reply, could not have looked on the prophet as divinely inspired on that occasion; but must have consulted him as one to whom it was possible that a divine oracle might be communicated, but who, if such were withheld, was yet most likely, from his personal character, to give sound and just advice. When Nathan replied to David, the latter must have regarded him as speaking from his own judgment, however probable that that judgment coincided with the will of God. We cannot possibly think that David regarded Nathan's opinion in any other light; for we are expressly told that the prophets distinguished their inspired from their uninspired times, and that they did not attempt to pass off upon those who consulted them their own judgment as the mind of God. In conformity with this we do not find Nathan replying as when inspired, "Thus saith the Lord," but merely advising David as any uninspired man might be supposed to do. We can have little doubt that, without the subsequent prohibition, David would have acted on the advice of Nathan, though without the belief that he spake by inspiration. With respect to Nathan himself, while we know that he did not consider himself to be inspired while he sat and talked with the king, there is yet no doubt that he considered his judgment to be in perfect agreement with the mind of God. There is not in his words the smallest hesitation: "Do all that is in thine heart, for God is with thee." Neither king nor prophet seem to have expected any divine communication; and when it came it reversed the entire project, and shewed that what the prophet had fully regarded as agreeable to the divine will was quite opposite to it. This anecdote lets us exactly into the condition of the men to whom God vouchsafed inspiration in Old Testament times. On special occasions He communicated to them the revelation of his mind, but the uninspired condition was their normal state. They were, however, while uninspired, consulted as men consult wise and judicious persons, and gave

their own opinion, with a stronger or weaker conviction that it was agreeable to God's will, which they inferred, as any other men would infer, from reasoning on the bearing of the question in connection with God's general providence and conduct.

What we thus learn from this anecdote is what we also gather from every other reference to the subject in the Old Testament. The ordinary state of prophetic men was the same as the state of other men. We read throughout their writings of God's word coming to them in such a year, or in such a month, or on such a day, leaving us to suppose, necessarily, that, except upon such occasions, they had no guidance beyond other men (Isa. vi. 1; Jer. ii. 1; xxviii. 1; Ezek. xx. 1). Of Jeremiah we are expressly told that he enjoyed no revelation before the thirteenth year of King Josiah, and are told in nearly as express terms that such revelations ceased to be made to him after the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah (Jer. xxv. 3; i. 3). During a most momentous period of his own and his people's history, when the Jewish monarchy was in the throes of its dissolution, during the entire imprisonment of the prophet, which lasted a considerable period, or, at least, when a large portion of the period had elapsed, we are told that the word of the Lord only came to him twice (xxxiii. 1; xxxviii. 28). We thus find that the normal condition of the very chief of the ancient prophets was an uninspired state, during which they would, however, be consulted, as Nathan was by David, and would give their counsel as he did, with more or less persuasion of its agreement to the divine will, but always with the same possibility of error that he was exposed to. What we learn from these intimations as to time, we also gather from the usual expressions of the prophets when they are delivering to men the revelations communicated to them by God. We find such phrases as "Thus saith the Lord;" "Hear the word of the Lord;" "The word of the Lord came to me;" thus expressing their conviction that what they spoke at other times, and when they did not put forward this lofty claim to inspiration, was not to be regarded as God's word, but was their own opinion and judgment, which might, or might not, be in agreement with God's mind (Isa. xxxviii. 1; Jer. ii. 2; Isa. xxxix. 5; Ezek. vi. 1).

We need not dwell upon the fact that the revelation communicated to the prophets by inspiration was of a limited nature. This, indeed, follows as a matter of course from what we have just seen, viz., that they were not inspired at all times; and is merely the assertion that they were not omniscient

because they were inspired. But it may be of moment to remark that the knowledge vouchsafed to them in this way on certain subjects was of a limited kind. It by no means extended, even if understood to the full meaning of the revelation granted, to the full knowledge of the subject, not merely in lesser particulars, but in particulars of much consequence. The mere fact that the entire revelation of the Old Testament relative to salvation is expressly affirmed to have been very inferior in clearness and fulness to the revelation of the New Testament, is sufficient to establish this point (2 Tim. i. 10; Matt. iv. 16).

It is of consequence to remark, also, that inspired men did not always understand the revelations which they communicated (1 Pet. i. 10). We have heathen kings, as Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, seeing, and relating exactly as seen, inspired dreams, of whose bearing and sense they were utterly ignorant, and only knew that they had, beyond common dreams, a meaning which it was of the utmost consequence that they should know (Gen. xli. 1; Dan. iv. 4). We have an instance of an inspired dream seen by Nebuchadnezzar of which he retained no memory, save a fearful remembrance that he had seen it, and that it must, somehow or other, be brought back to his knowledge (Dan. ii. 5). We have the wicked high-priest, Caiaphas, communicating truly a prophecy on which he put a meaning wholly foreign to the true (John xi. 50). We have Isaac conveying the blessing in the full persuasion that he was conveying it to Esau instead of Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 33); and Daniel frankly confessing that he understood not the meaning of the prophecies which he was made the inspired channel of communicating and recording (xii. 8). Ezekiel seems to intimate, with a sad conviction, that he was himself nearly, if not as much, perplexed as his hearers to comprehend the parabolic prophecies which he uttered (xx. 49). The case of Caiaphas seems to establish this, that while an inspired man, however ignorant and wicked, must needs, by the primary requirement of inspiration, communicate truly the message he receives, he may, when the inspiration has passed, put an untrue interpretation upon it; nor does there appear to be the smallest reason why we should suppose that the same might not happen in the case of men wholly unlike Caiaphas in piety and religious knowledge. We might have Isaiah or Daniel applying, in their uninspired times, a fallible, or a mistaken, comment to their own or other prophets' infallible text.

It may be, perhaps, unnecessary to shew the very same limitations of inspiration in the case of the inspired men of the New Testament dispensation, as we have seen in those of the

Old ; for it may well be supposed that a uniform rule regulates this great gift of God at every time, and it is certain that the latter dispensation is but the carrying out of the former under a change of circumstances. We will, however, shew that such is the case.

There were, then, times when, and subjects on which, the inspired men of the New Testament received no higher inspiration than other men. The promise of inspiration which their Master made to them extended only to certain times and seasons ; nor have we the smallest reason for supposing that during the ordinary and greater portion of their life, and on the vast proportion of subjects on which their minds were engaged, the Apostles, or other men to whom inspiration was occasionally vouchsafed, differed in any respect from others (Mark xiii. 11). Such of their writings as have come down to us are, indeed, all of them inspired Scriptures, and far the greater part of their sayings recorded in those Scriptures are also inspired ; and we are often led hence to suppose that their normal state, as they are connected with us and our times, was their normal state in their own times and among their contemporaries. There is no real ground for this belief, but sufficient ground for the opposite. What they wrote and spoke under inspiration was what was of chief consequence for succeeding times, and that is what has, under divine Providence, been preserved and come down to us : what they wrote and spoke as ordinary men was, in the greater part, not of sufficient importance to warrant its preservation, especially when the character of the Bible was to be maintained as a book as brief as might consist with sufficient clearness and fulness. We have no hesitation in saying that the normal condition of the New Testament inspired men was the same as that of others.

Thus we find that Paul had no further insight into the mental state of the persons with whom he was brought into communication than any one else possessed (Acts xix. 2, 3). Of that which lay before him in the future he was ordinarily as ignorant as others (1 Cor. iv. 19 ; Acts xx. 22 ; Phil. ii. 23). Of the circumstances of his past life he was just as subject to the lapses of memory as other men (1 Cor. i. 16). On questions of interest to the Churches, and on which he was specially consulted as an Apostle, he received no divine revelation, but was left to the dictates of his own judgment (1 Cor. vii. 6, 8, 12, 25). We thus see how truly Paul included himself as standing in the same category as his fellow-believers, in that he, as much as they, "walked by faith and not by sight." The same was, beyond question, true of the other apostles and

inspired men, though, from the greater scantiness of their remains, we have not the same means for shewing such to have been the case.

As in the case of the Old Testament prophets, so in the case of the inspired men of the Gospel dispensation, the revelation communicated to them by inspiration was limited in its extent. It was fuller than under the law : it was, as was that of the law, sufficient for its object ; but it was yet limited. Connected with those doctrines which they were sent to teach to mankind were many things on which the human mind is inquisitive, and on which they were themselves inquisitive, but of which no knowledge was given them (Acts i. 7). They had boundaries set to their knowledge on these subjects, and beyond these boundaries they could not, and might not, advance with the smallest assurance of being right. Their knowledge at its fullest, and their prophecy at its fullest, were but partial (1 Cor. xiii. 9). On that which was required to declare God's revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ, and to shew the inquiring soul the way to life eternal, they were enabled, by inspiration, to throw a full clear light. Beyond and around this, on every side, were domains of knowledge which their eyes were not enlightened to look upon.

We are also warranted in concluding that the same obscurity which under the law lay upon unfulfilled prophecy even to the minds of the prophets, lay upon unfulfilled prophecy, under the Gospel, even to the minds of those who uttered it. The vision which was seen by Peter, indicative of the abolition of the distinction between Jew and Gentile, was not understood by him at the time that it was seen (Acts x. 7). Its exact meaning was, indeed, afterwards shewn him when the time for the application of the great principle set forth in this vision had arrived (Acts x. 34) ; but in cases where no such necessity for explanation existed, we have no reason to suppose that it was afforded. St. John, in his wondrous Book of Revelation, while he claims to have seen and heard clearly, and to have described as he saw and heard, yet very plainly admits that of the meaning of the visions which were passing in succession before his astonished mind he was ignorant, until he received an explanation other than the visions themselves suggested to him (Rev. vii. 13, 14). Such explanations were seldom afforded, and only on detached parts of the entire series, affording no certain clue to its greater portions (Rev. vii. 13, 14 ; xvii. 15). Of the rest we are led to suppose that the beloved disciple saw, and heard, and narrated exactly as he saw and heard, but comprehended not, in their significance and sequence, the visions that passed before

him more than they did for whom they were written. It was left to the course of events to unfold the mysteries of the Book ; but John saw not this mighty order unroll itself in his prophetic visions, and had he sat down to write a commentary on the book, it would have been as liable to error as succeeding commentaries have been.

We now come to our second subject of inquiry, viz., the extent to which Scripture goes, in its inspired insertion of matter, which is not itself entitled to be called inspired. To some extent, we believe, this is admitted by the strongest advocates for Scriptural inspiration. We do not here believe that we are contending for a *principle* with any section of Christian believers. It is in *the degree* to which the principle is, or ought to be, extended, that difference of opinion, to a greater or lesser amount, exists. The matter here to be discussed we believe to be of the highest importance, and one that will, when understood, remove from Scripture many objections urged against its perfect truth.

It is quite plain that the inspiration of inspired men might have been limited, as we have seen in the former part of this chapter, and yet that Scripture might have been solely and entirely a record of inspired sayings, with the necessary allusions to their occasions. Large portions of Scripture are, undoubtedly, of this nature. The writings of the prophets, for instance, with here and there slight exceptions, follow this rule. The same may be said, with similar reservations, of the apostolical Epistles. The Book of Revelation may be said to afford a perfect specimen of the kind. But it is certain that while Scripture omits from its pages a vast amount of inspired matter, necessary for the times when first given (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18), but not judged requisite for transmission to posterity, it is equally certain that it gives insertion, as an essential part of its great and wise plan, to much that has no claim to be called inspired.

We have in Scripture not only the record of *actions* of every shade of character, but we have also a record of *sayings* of an equally wide extent. We have no hesitation in asserting that, as Scripture would be imperfect for its object without the former, it would be equally so without the latter. Scripture is not solely the record of teaching, prefaced with the high claim of "Thus saith the Lord." It also tells us what others besides have said who made, and could make, no such claim. A record of merely inspired sayings would not be a sufficient book for the Church. All would probably allow this ; and say that, besides sayings, we should soon have some account of the lives

and actions of men, bad as well as good, when guided by God and when opposed to Him. A similar reason leads us to conclude that a record whose *sayings* were all inspired would not be sufficient. We should also have, to some extent, a record of uninspired sayings, if we would have a book suited in all respects for the Church. Such a book we have in the Bible, according to its own teaching.

The very first words narrated in Scripture, after the words of God calling the world into being, are uninspired. The entire dialogue between the serpent and Eve is of this kind. On the one side are the subtle suggestions and artful lies of Satan met with the perplexed rejoinders of the human mind overcome by a mightier intellect (Gen. iii. 1—6). No one claims for this conversation the character of inspiration, or even of ordinary truth, though the narrative of the occurrence has the same claim to inspiration that any other part of Scripture possesses. And yet the insertion of this conversation between the serpent and Eve is of essential consequence to the whole plan of the Bible, being, in fact, the starting-point of all revealed religion, as the act of creation is the starting-point in natural religion. This narrative, occurring in the very outset of Scripture, acquaints us unmistakeably with this fact, that it is a part of its plan to give some place in its inspired record to sayings which are not inspired.

What the brief dialogue of Gen. iii. shews us on a small scale the Book of Job shews us on a large scale. That book is throughout an inspired book, received as such on the same authority that has handed to us as inspired the other books of the Old Testament. But of what is it a record? It is for far the greater part a record of reasonings, and reflections, and judgments, which are merely the ideas of the human mind, and which are, in great and important respects, unsound and untrue, and pronounced so in the book itself (xxxviii. 2; xlii. 7). Whatever be the character of this noble composition, whether we are to take its conversations as having actually occurred in the very shape and form in which we find them in this book, or, as is more likely, take them as expressing truly the sentiments and language of Job's friends at the sight of his misfortunes, cast into their present shape by the author of the book, or whatever other view we take of its construction, it is, at all events, undisputed that the greater part of the sentiments contained in it are merely the reflections of the unaided human mind exercising itself upon one of the great problems of human existence. Such is the character of the long discourses of Job's three friends and of Job himself, occupying thirty-five out of the forty-two chapters of the book. To the religious

sentiments of the former, contained in their discourses, we are inclined to give a very high character, while we wholly deny to them the character of inspiration. They exhibit very lofty, and, in the main, very true, conceptions of the Godhead, and shew us the purity of that religion which was handed down from Noah ere it became debased by superstition; but mixed up with this are false deductions and untrue applications of general principles, so that the verdict passed on their entire theory of religion is that it had not spoken of God the thing that is right. Job, in his discourses, approached nearer to the exact truth than his friends did; but neither was his language inspired, and it was at times erroneous. While, therefore, the Book of Job is Scripture, and one part of it equally with any other an inspired narrative, the greater part of its contents are, beyond any question, uninspired. We should never quote any passage from this greater part as an authoritative proof of doctrine. It might be that any particular passage was as true as any other passage in the entire of Scripture, but we do not accept its teaching as true on its own authority, but because it agrees with teaching elsewhere, which we do accept on its own authority. The sayings of Job and of his friends rank in themselves no higher than the apocryphal writings whose teaching we accept, not on their own authority, but from their agreement, more or less, with the inspired and infallible teaching of Scripture. We might quote as Scripture Elihu's sentence on Job, "Thou hast fulfilled the judgment of the wicked, judgment and justice take hold on thee" (xxxvi. 17), just as we might quote as Scripture the insinuation of Satan to Eve, "Thou shalt not surely die," or the secret thought of the wicked, "There is no God;" but we should have just as little regard as true to the one as to the others.

From this book, then, we see what is, in part, the plan of Scripture. It is not merely to give us an insight into God's mind towards man, but also to lay before us the reasonings of men who, though uninspired, were good and religious men. We can have no doubt of affirming this of the four speakers who chiefly occupy the book. They fairly represented the piety, wisdom, and religious knowledge of the period and the country in which the scene is laid. And in the drawing out of this book of Scripture God manifests it to be a part of his wise plan to give full expression to the thoughts of the uninspired human mind on Him and his ways, as drawn forth by the exhibition of human suffering. But while this is done, full provision is made in the book to guard us against the idea that we are to take their opinions as inspired. With whatever degree of confidence

they advance them, they are called only the words of Eliphaz or of Job, and the sentence of fallibility and error is passed upon them.

It is quite needless to refer any further to the fact that inspired Scripture is frequently a record of the sayings of men who never, that we know of, received inspiration from God. We find such in almost every book of the Bible. We have the curses of Shimei, the plots of Haman, the boasting of Rabshakeh, the prayers and thanksgiving of Hezekiah. The record of these by an inspired pen is plainly an important part of the plan of God in writing the Scriptures for man's instruction, warning, and comfort. They are given us, not avowedly as inspired themselves, but as uninspired sayings, on which we pass such comments as God's revelations in Scripture teach us to pass.

It is another feature of Scripture, and yet one in perfect accordance in principle, as appears to us, with that which we have just spoken of, that it not only contains the sayings and opinions of men to whom God never vouchsafed inspiration or revelation, but that it also contains uninspired sayings of men to whom inspiration and revelation were at times afforded. We have already seen that inspiration did not extend to every period of any man's life, but was a gift visiting the favoured persons only at particular seasons and for certain times. To give *some expression* to their opinions and thoughts, when not under the influence of inspiration, is, beyond any question, a part of the plan of the inspired Scriptures. If it be given to a small degree, there can be no valid objection to its being given to a greater degree; and, in point of fact, Scripture alone can fix the limit to which the principle is extended. It is not our part to decide whether such a principle ought or ought not to be introduced at all, or, if introduced, to what extent it ought to be drawn. God alone can decide either as to the principle itself or its limits.

The conversation of Nathan with David relative to the building of the temple, shews us on a small scale that Scripture records the uninspired sayings of men who were occasionally inspired of God (2 Sam. vii. 1—4). Nathan was a prophet who upon several occasions received revelations from God, but we have in this instance advice of his to David on a very important religious question recorded which was not inspired, and was not agreeable to the will of God. In 1 Kings i. 11—27, we have a much longer discourse of Nathan recorded. The advice which he gave on this occasion was no doubt sound and good, and in agreement with the will of God already announced by

God to David, but it makes no claim to inspiration, and was no farther inspired than was the discourse of Bathsheba on the same occasion. What we find to be the case with Nathan was also the case with Elijah. He was selected to be a medium of divine communications to men, yet we have recorded sayings of his which were not inspired by God. We have a solemn prayer of his, whose aim was wholly inconsistent with the intentions of God respecting him (1 Kings xix. 4); a speech asserting what was not actually the case (1 Kings xix. 10). We find the same true of Elisha, several of whose sayings that are not inspired are yet recorded (1 Kings xix. 20; 2 Kings iii. 13—15). This is the case also with Jeremiah. In one place, he speaks of the predictions of the false prophets as though they might possibly be true (xiv. 13); in another, after declaring God's judgment upon Pashur (xx. 3—6), he turns to give expression to what are merely the thoughts and reflections, mixed with complainings and repinings of his own mind, which occupy the greater part of the chapter (verses 7—18). Again, after declaring God's mind, we have a record of a long prayer of his (xxxii. 17—25), which makes no other claim to inspiration than the prayer of any of God's people. In the Book of Psalms, we here and there find introduced into its texture mention of thoughts and sayings entertained at one time by the inspired Psalmist, which are mentioned either for the purpose of correction or of contrast with his present state (xxx. 22; lxxiii. 13; lxxvii. 7—10). Through inspiration the Psalmist recorded them, but he recorded them not as inspired thoughts, but as thoughts deserving of reprehension.

In the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, we have the most remarkable instance of the introduction of uninspired matter into an epistle, all of it written by inspiration, and of which far the greater part of the matter is also inspired, that is to be met with either in the Old Testament or the New. Of the epistles of the New Testament, it is quite plain that, as a general rule, their teaching of doctrine and precepts of morals are regarded as authoritative communications addressed by men inspired for the purpose of so instructing the Churches. Not only were their writers inspired to place on record certain sentiments, but the sentiments so recorded have, as inspired, the authority of divine commands. In the very remarkable instance just referred to there is, however, a striking departure from this general rule. Paul was consulted by the Corinthian Church on a variety of subjects which then agitated its members, and on which they doubtless wished, and probably expected authoritative answers. Their conduct reminds us of that of Israel

in the old times to their prophets, as when Zedekiah inquired of Jeremiah the issue of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, or Johanan sought to know from him how they should behave in the trying circumstances in which he was placed, or the elders came to Ezekiel to inquire through him of the Lord. In the same way the Corinthians sent to Paul to know his mind on certain questions. It appears from the apostle's reply, that to some of their inquiries it was not God's will to give any inspired answer, but that the apostle replied to the best of his own judgment. They appear to be in general questions which do not trench on the fundamental laws of morals, but to have had respect to the peculiar circumstances of the Corinthian Church. They were not determined by the great laws of morals already laid down by God in the Old Testament, and explained and enforced in the New by Christ himself. If they had been so determined, there would have been no occasion for consulting Paul, but both his inquirers in asking, and he in answering, treat them as questions new in character and peculiar to time and place, questions such as may not before have arisen and might not again arise (verse 26). On questions of this kind it is quite plain, beforehand, that God might not give any reply. Were we to express an opinion on the subject, we would certainly say, that we think it most agreeable to the analogy of his dealings to say that He would not. Questions of such a kind if so determined, would affect all future times, so far as their circumstances were or seemed to be similar to the times when they were given, would tie up Christian liberty, introduce fresh subjects of discussion and schism, and apparently lead to much confusion. It appears rather to be God's plan to leave such questions to the determination of the Church, or to the choice of private Christians, as they arise from time to time (Rom. xiv. 1—6; 1 Cor. xiv. 40). We may very well suppose, then, that God might not think fit to give any reply to inquiries on such subjects, as we have reason to suppose that there were many questions in the old dispensation on which he gave no oracle through the prophets. It would certainly infringe upon God's prerogative, and altogether overthrow the principle of limitation which He has always affixed to his revelations, to suppose that to every inquiry made by man on questions connected with religion, He was to give an answer. As the inspired declaration of an apostle was, in fact, an oracle of God, we are fully authorized in saying that they might be consulted upon points on which they could give no such declaration, and must reply that they had no commandment from the Lord. And it is precisely in such an epistle as the First to the Corinthians, written in part

in answer to questions put to Paul, in part originating with himself, that we should expect such to happen. Where he writes from the internal impulse, he makes no such declarations as those we find in the seventh chapter, but where he is replying to the questions of the Church he does.

Now that what we have shewn as possible, if not probable, to happen has actually happened, we have the Apostle's own word for. In language as plain as language can be, he tells the Corinthians that, while he replies to all their questions, his replies to some of them were merely the suggestions of his own mind, for which he did not and could not claim the authority of God, but spoke to the best of his judgment. A reply was required: God gave none: and therefore Paul spoke of himself. With respect, then, to the conduct of married persons towards each other, as referred to in verse 5; with respect to the continuance in a state of celibacy of the unmarried and of widows; with respect to the treatment by a believer of an unbelieving partner (verses 12, 13); and with regard to virgins (verse 25); God gave no commandment, and Paul's advice and opinion were those consequently of an uninspired person. These questions were questions which God did not see fit to determine. So Paul tells us, if we will take his own word for it. We do not see what other interpretation can be put upon his expressions. "I speak this by permission, and not by commandment;" "To the rest speak I, not the Lord;" "I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord, to be faithful;" these are expressions giving in every variety of phrase that is possible, the intimation that Paul was not here speaking as an inspired Apostle, but as an ordinary man.

We are unable to see why Paul may not, when writing under the guidance of inspiration, have been led in this or any other instance to insert uninspired advice of his own among matter which is generally inspired. We see no greater reason why he should not do so, than why he should not insert the uninspired sayings of other men. All that we can require is, that he should distinguish what he records as inspired from what he records as uninspired, and this he has done as plainly as is possible for words to do. But to lay down the rule that Paul may not do in his own case that which has been done in other similar cases, is merely making our own ideas the rule. This is inadmissible. Rather, as it appears to us, the jealous care with which Paul, an inspired man, claiming for his inspired teaching an authority equal to that of Christ, and, in the case before us, persuaded in his own mind that his judgment was in agreement

with that of the Spirit, yet separates by a clear broad mark that judgment from inspiration, confirms in the strongest way our undoubting faith in those teachings of his which he does not thus distinguish. It only remains for us to examine such objections as are grounded on the language of St. Paul to the theory we here have put, for as to objections to the principle itself, we think we have shewn beyond question that Scripture has itself admitted it. If so, the only inquiry can be, is this an instance of that principle or is it not?

In opposition to the view which supposes that the words of the 12th verse, "Speak I, not the Lord," indicate that Paul here gives his own judgment, but expressly disclaims for it any such inspiration as would make it a commandment of the Lord, it is sometimes alleged that the real distinction here intended is between those things which our Lord had already directly and expressly stated himself, and those things which Paul now first directed, while the authority for both is the same. But the Apostle's habit of speech is quite opposed to and subversive of this view. Where he utters his own inspired opinions elsewhere, he does not thus distinguish them from those of Christ. On the contrary, he expressly identifies them, and declares that the things which he writes are the commandments of Christ (1 Cor. xiv. 37). This declaration of his occurring where it does, is quite subversive of the view which we oppose. The matters spoken of in 1 Cor. xiv., were never discussed by Christ. He gave no precept concerning them, and indeed could not, for they refer to points which only came into being after his ascension. Here then, if Paul distinguished in the way that is supposed between his own injunctions when they were repetitions of commands already uttered by Christ, and his own injunctions when given on points now first mooted, we should have repetition of the formulas which occur so frequently in 1 Cor. vii. But it is not so. The injunctions of 1 Cor. xiv. were on questions then first brought forward: our Lord never spoke one word concerning any of them; yet Paul nowhere says, "I speak, not the Lord," but on the contrary, he says that what he writes about them "are the commandments of the Lord (*τοῦ Κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐντολαί*). We have, then, his own assertion, that where he utters an inspired word he does not, and would not, distinguish it from a command of Christ, even in cases where Christ had not while on earth made provision.

Stress is sometimes laid on the meaning of *ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου* where it occurs in this chapter (verse 25), as though it could not refer to the inspiration of the Spirit guiding the Apostle, but must refer to an injunction or command of Christ actually

spoken by Him while on earth. There is, however, no real force in this argument. The word, neither by its use or derivation, bears out any such extreme criticism. To us it appears that it would bear such a stress, much less than the term *ἐντολή*, which is used of apostolical precepts which had not been directly prescribed by the Lord. Sound argument for a great question can never rest satisfactorily solely on the criticism of a single word occurring too seldom in the New Testament to warrant any certainty of the confined interpretation thus put upon it, an interpretation not borne out by classical usage.

The fact that, in the 17th verse, Paul says that what he, and not the Lord, had spoken, he yet ordained (*διατάσσω*) in all Churches, is brought forward in proof that he considered his judgment on the question to be inspired, or else he would not have put it in force. This is to assume that Paul would not take any authority to arrange matters of order, save where he had received inspired direction. For such an assumption we have not the smallest grounds. We find authority entrusted to Titus, Timothy, and others to regulate matters on which we have no reason to suppose them inspired. Succeeding Church authority was uninspired, yet was binding when not opposed to truth. We have not the smallest reason then to deny that it may have been so with Paul, and that he may have enjoined rules in the Churches for which he received no revelation through the Spirit.

Reliance is also placed by some on what Paul says in the verse 40, that he thought that his judgment coincided with that of the Spirit of God. We cannot see how this verse can possibly bear out the view that Paul claims inspiration for his opinions. He gave to the questions put before him, and some at least of which seem to have attracted his attention on previous occasions, his best, most careful, and deliberate judgment. He passed in review the circumstances as brought before him, and considered their bearing on the present and the future of the Church. He then gave expression to his opinion, and says of it that *he thinks* it agreeable to the mind of the Spirit. It appears to us that any man, even one who made no claim to inspiration on any occasion, might after a similar careful investigation say what Paul has here said, and that, in point of fact, every man who has conscientiously given his whole mind to a question of the kind when brought before him, and has uttered exactly what he has concluded from such inquiry, is always of the same opinion. But we cannot think that Paul would use any word which would possibly indicate doubt in his own mind as to whether he were inspired or not. To us it

appears fatal to any satisfactory theory of inspiration, as well as totally opposed to the facts of Scripture, to suppose that an inspired man could possibly be in doubt whether he were inspired or not, or could use language to his hearers that would lead them to such a doubt. Now the word which Paul here uses (*δοκῶ*) is in its usage generally connected with some uncertainty, and we are therefore satisfied, that if Paul meant here to put forward his assured claim to inspiration, he would not and could not use a word so often associated with uncertainty, and at times with unfounded pretension to what was not really possessed. We therefore see no reason for supposing that Paul claims inspiration, and therefore unhesitatingly place those passages in this chapter, where he distinguishes between his own judgment and the commandments of the Lord, as uninspired matter, which God for a wise reason provided should find expression in this inspired epistle.

From the two facts which we have seen to be established by examination of the Scripture records, viz.: first, that inspired men were only inspired on particular occasions and to a certain extent; and second, that in those Scriptures which were all of them given by inspiration, have been recorded some sayings of inspired men which are not yet themselves inspired, it seems to follow that, in order to give us, the readers and students of Scripture, satisfaction in our study of it, the two following particulars should be established: first, that inspired men should themselves know accurately when and how far they were inspired, so as to be able themselves to distinguish, beyond any doubt, what utterances of theirs were inspired and what were not; secondly, that the readers of Scripture should have indications given them in Scripture to enable them to draw a similar distinction. We will on examination find both these points clearly asserted in Scripture.

With respect to the feeling of the men to whom God vouchsafed revelation, the plain uniform testimony of Scripture places them before us perfectly conscious when and how far they were inspired, and when and where inspiration failed. The inspired men of Scripture are never represented as losing their perfect consciousness. Whether with Daniel the supernatural vision robbed the prophet of all strength, or whether with Micaiah the presence of inspiration leaves him as cool and calm as the most unconcerned spectator in the great assembly of which he was the centre and the gaze, the perfect power of apprehension is always conceded to them (Dan. x. 8; 1 Kings xxii. 15—17). What was the manner in which the heavenly communication was made; how the favoured individuals apprehended the

divine illapse which converted them for the time and the occasion from fallible mortals into prophets possessed of unerring knowledge, we cannot tell; but that they had this power of apprehension we are plainly told. They themselves in various places represent it in ways that intimate that the testimony of it was to them as certain as the testimony which the senses afford to ordinary men in the perception and distinction of physical things. As we know when the thunder utters its voice by its reverberation on our ear; as we know sweet and bitter by their effect upon our taste; as we know when a powerful grasp is laid upon us by the response of touch; even as clearly and plainly and unmistakingly do the inspired men of Scripture tell us they have heard the voice of God or angel, distinguished the nature of the burden intrusted to them, or recognized the mighty presence of inspiring Godhead. They hear the voice of the great rushing which they cannot confound with human sound; they eat the little book whose sweet and bitter they can never mistake for corporeal taste; they feel the strong pressure of the hand whose mighty power they distinguish from all inferior strength (Ezek. iii. 12; viii. 1; Rev. x. 9; Isa. viii. 11).

Of this accurate and unhesitating perception on the part of inspired men, we find abundant proof in Scripture of every variety of kind. The prophet knows not only the year and month, but the day of his inspiration (Ezek. xxix. 1; xxvi. 1). He can not only tell us the day of this visitation, but can fix the very moment, and note the exact circumstances of the time, when the hand of the Lord God fell upon him (Ezek. viii. 1). On subjects of the deepest personal interest, where the honour of the prophetic office might seem in question, they do not imagine an inspiration which has been withheld (2 Kings iv. 27). On subjects of great interest and importance to the Churches, on which they are consulted and probably expected to return an oracular reply, where they are verily persuaded that their judgment is in exact agreement with the mind of the Spirit, they yet draw the clear distinct line between their judgment and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. vii. 6, 8, 12). They wait during long days of suspense, when their own minds are in earnest expectation of the illapse of the Spirit, when multitudes with anxious excited mind are waiting eagerly for the looked-for reply; yet they do not imagine the visitation where it has not been vouchsafed them, but can tell when it comes after the long delay (Jer. xlii. 1—7). On subjects on which early education and long habit and unbroken national tradition have filled them with the very strongest prejudices

and prepossessions, they do not yet entertain the smallest doubt that the vision and the revelation which run counter to these prejudices, and obliterate this teaching, are of God (Acts ix. 12—20; x. 34, 47). When the heat of excitement has passed away, and sober reflection has come, when stormy opposition rises against the doctrine taught by vision, the inspired person is still as satisfied of its reality and truth as when first presented to his sight (Acts xi. 1—5). When years have rolled by, and time has drawn its shadow over bygone days, the truth and reality of the long-past revelation is as undoubtingly held as ever, and proclaimed with fearless heart and unfaltering tongue in the midst of opposition and unbelief (Acts xv. 7; xxii. 6; xxvi. 13). On subjects affecting the life and liberty of the party, where a revelation of a partial kind has been made, the inspired person does not pass beyond the limits which separate what is known by revelation and what yet lies hid in the womb of time (Acts xx. 22, 23). When the dearest wish of the heart is set strongly one way, and the revelation forbids it utterly, no natural feelings or wishes cast the shade of doubt over it, or make the recipient of it, however unwilling to accept its teaching, imagine for a moment that it may have been an unreal thing, a phantom of the fancy or the brain (Acts xxii. 17—21). And hence we have the undoubting assertion of the inspired men, both of Old Testament and New, that their words are the words of God. The historian says, "These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses;" the prophet says, "I saw the visions of God," or "The word of the Lord that came to Joel," or "The word of the Lord unto Zechariah;" the apostle utters the same high language, and requires from the Churches of Christ the acknowledgement that what they write are the commandments of the Lord, that the commandment of the apostle of the Saviour is of an equal authority and from the same source as the words spoken before by God's holy prophets (Deut. xxix. 1; Ezek. i. 1; Joel i. 1; Zech. i. 1; 1 Cor. xiv. 37; 2 Pet. iii. 2). There is no doubt upon the mind of the inspired messenger as to his inspiration, no hesitation in the claim to its possession.

It is of equal necessity that the reader of Scripture now, and the hearer of inspired men when they lived and spoke, should be able to distinguish between what they claimed to speak as inspired and what they only claimed to speak as uninspired men. And here the great leading truth of the inspiration of *all Scripture*, no matter whether the matter recorded be inspired or not, comes in to be our guide to this necessary discrimination. From this truth—the *inspiration of the record*

throughout—we learn to judge of its contents exactly according to the view which the record gives of them. Whatever that record intimates we receive; in whatever way it draws the distinction we receive its judgment; if we find one way of intimating such a distinction in one part of Scripture and another way in another, we accept both alike. From the inspired narrative itself we learn in what manner we are to judge of its contents; whether we are to refer their source to God, the fountain of infallible truth, or to man, liable to error, or to Satan, the father of lies. What the record represents as true we accept as truth; what it represents as doubtful we take as doubtful; what it represents as false we reject. We think that the examination of the record will lead us to the conclusion that Scripture adopts a satisfactory way of informing its readers how to draw the distinction which must be drawn, if we would interpret its contents aright. A careful examination of it with this particular end chiefly in view, has led us to take this as our deliberate and unhesitating opinion.

D. A.



The Origin of Perfumery.—The origin of perfumery, like that of all ancient arts, is shrouded in obscurity. Some assert that it was first discovered in Mesopotamia, the seat of earthly paradise, where, as Milton says,

“Gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils;”

others that it originated in Arabia, which has long enjoyed, and still retains, the name of the “land of perfumes.” Whatever may be the true version, it is evident that when man first discovered

“What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,”

his first idea was to offer up these fragrant treasures as a holocaust to the Deity. The word perfume (*per*, through, *fumum*, smoke,) indicates clearly that it was first obtained by burning aromatic gums and woods; and it seems as if a mystic idea was connected with this mode of sacrifice, and as if men fondly believed that their prayers would sooner reach the realms of their gods by being wafted on the blue wreaths which slowly ascended to heaven and disappeared in the atmosphere, whilst their intoxicating fumes threw them into religious extacies. Thus we find perfumes form a part of all primitive forms of worship. The altars of Zoroaster and of Confucius, the temples of Memphis and those of Jerusalem, all smoked alike with incense and sweet scented woods.—*Book of Perfumes.*

THE TRUE CHARACTER OF MARY OF MAGDALA.

By Rev. J. E. PRESCOTT, M.A.

A THEOLOGICAL error and a long standing nuisance have many similar properties. To mention but one—the error and the nuisance are alike most difficult to remove. Make the attempt, and you find that you have far more than the mere *vis inertia* of the obstacle to overcome. A crowd of vested interests start up. Defenders arise; some, solely from a spirit of opposition; some, from a genuine dread of every change; others, under the belief that the vitiated atmosphere, whether moral or physical, is not injurious to man.

We believe that an apt illustration of this statement will be found in the generally received opinion concerning the character of Mary Magdalene. This opinion has resulted from her supposed identity with the penitent “sinner” who anointed the feet of our Lord (Luke vii. 36 *seq.*). Her early life is held to have been one of incontinence and sensuality; her later years, a period of ceaseless lamentation for the sins of her youth. Our object is to prove that this is a perfectly false idea:—first, by a critical examination of the question; secondly, by a sketch of the origin and history of the error. It is not enough for us to sit down and rest satisfied with a notion, merely because it has in some quarters passed current for centuries, especially when that notion is supported by little but a bare assertion.

Looking at the matter then from a critical point of view, we may observe two arguments which are in general pretty nearly disregarded. The former of these refers to the possession of Mary Magdalene by the seven demons; the second to the chronological connection of certain well defined events. The first time that Mary of Magdala appears in the history of our blessed Lord, she is numbered among certain women who had been healed by Him “of evil spirits and infirmities.” At the head of the list stands the name of Mary Magdalene, “out of whom,” it is expressly stated, “went seven demons”—*δαιμόνια ἐπὶ αὐτῇ*—not “devils” as *δαιμόνια* is unhappily rendered in the Authorized Version. This statement occurs in the second verse of the eighth chapter of St. Luke’s Gospel. The seventh chapter concludes with the familiar account of the anointing of Jesus, in the house of Simon the Pharisee, by the woman who was “a sinner”—a designation which it is generally conceded marks her out as a person of bad character well known in the city. Thus, it is said, as by Gregory the Great, the matter is plain enough—the “seven demons” are the spirits of un-

cleanness, the "many sins" of which our Lord spake (vii. 47); Mary Magdalene is the repentant prostitute, and the question is settled. Truly, of the many hasty, illogical conclusions, of the many wild identifications of which a certain class of Scripture interpreters have been guilty, this appears to be one of the most reckless.

Now we cannot conceive how any one who gives credit to the narratives of the evangelists, can doubt the reality of demoniacal possession.^a He must either, like Farmer and Renan, view the Scriptural accounts through a distorting medium, or, like Strauss and Bauer, give the sacred words a meaning which it is impossible for them to bear. However strange it may seem to us now, there is no doubt that in that "tropical era of the world" when our Lord sojourned upon earth, Satan was permitted to exercise visibly a greater power than at any other period of her history since the fall of man. We see it in the horrible pitch to which every species of immorality was openly carried, in the supernatural forms of evil which were palpably displayed, above all, in the varied contest which the Son of God then carried on with the great enemy of the human race. An evidence of this power is afforded in the effect produced by one or more demons upon the organism of human beings. In the Gospels, these demons are consistently spoken of as personal, spiritual agents, as the satellites and invisible instruments of Satan himself. All the synoptical evangelists record one very remarkable conversation,^b where our Lord identifies Satan with the "prince of the demons," τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων, the very demons whom He was then employed in casting out. A careful study of the several cases brought forward shews us that the one possessed, ὁ δαιμονιζόμενος, was at times irresistibly under the control of the evil spirit or spirits; that his physical and his psychical organism were alike in the power of his diabolical tyrant; that his individuality was swallowed up, and his will, so to speak, doubled—now the poor wretch is longing for deliverance from the hand of the Redeemer, and immediately he is but the mouthpiece of the demon, uttering furious and yet supernatural ravings.^c

We need not delay here to prove that our Lord and the

^a There are two good, if not exhaustive, articles on this subject in the *J. S. L.* for July, 1849, and April, 1851.

^b Matt. xii. 26; Mark iii. 23; Luke xi. 18.

^c A careful perusal of the graphic accounts of the healing in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mark i. 23; Luke iv. 33 *seq.*), and of the demoniacs of Gadara, will leave little doubt of the character and reality of these cases.

evangelists did not, as it has been asserted, merely adapt themselves, in these cases to the popular language and sentiments of the Jews of that time. To believe this, is to believe that our blessed Saviour spoke a lie, and that His evangelists knowingly propagated it. But, as bearing directly on our argument, we would briefly point out that these demoniacs cannot be confounded with simply *abandoned sinners*, or with those suffering from *disease*, whether of mind or body. As we have stated, they always appear under the influence of a distinct personal agent or agents. In the lists of the afflicted who were brought to Jesus to be healed, the demoniacs are carefully distinguished from the diseased persons, even from the lunatic and the epileptic. While, in other passages, not only each evangelist, but the Lord Himself, makes a distinction between them. Jesus addresses the indwelling demons, even telling them to depart out. He declares that they have done so (Luke xiii. 32). He discourses of their nature and history, and speaks of them as instruments of Satan, *not only in public*, but in private conversations with his disciples. Moreover, these demons speak from their own supernatural knowledge of the "Son of God;" they pray not to be sent "into the deep"—*εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον*^d—a most important word; they do depart from their victims; and, in one striking instance—an instance which the rationalist can never meet, which he can only trample under his feet—they manifest their personality by entering into a herd of swine and precipitating them into the sea. Even these few examples, out of many, will suffice to shew that the demons exercised a *personal* power of evil as the agents of their master, the "prince of the demons," and that the "possessed" cannot for a moment be mixed up with the victims of either mental or bodily disease, or with gross and habitual sensualists. We do not mean to say that, if the mind or body of the man were weakened by disease or by continued indulgence in vice, he would not be more open to attack, more ready to submit his entire organism to the mastery of the spirit, when it came and took up its abode in him. But we say that the Gospel accounts keep the two most carefully and essentially distinct, even where they are co-existent. Where the conduct of the sufferer is marked by signs of insanity, or epilepsy, or any weakening of the powers, the evangelists have in all cases shewn that these were the accompaniments of demoniacal possession, and not possession itself.

^d Luke viii. 31. "Ἀβυσσος is always used with the article in the New Testament of one part of Hades, and, except in Rom. x. 7, of the abode of condemned spirits; in the Revelation, it is rendered "the bottomless pit."

Moreover, they have never in any instance used the expressions *δαιμονιζόμενος* or *δαιμόνιον ἔχων*, except in reference to these supernatural powers of which we are speaking. Our space will not allow us to bring up more arguments in proof of these points. But we think enough has been said to shew that we have not the very faintest authority for confounding the sensualist or the sinner with the possessed one; and that we cannot identify the lust and incontinence of a woman of the town with the disorder of one out of whom the Lord, to use the striking and pregnant language of St. Mark, "had cast seven demons"—*ἐκβέβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια* (Mark xvi. 9).

We must make a passing remark on the word "seven"—"seven demons"—a word very remarkable on philological grounds from its appearance in almost every language, whether of the Semitic or Indo-European family. However the idea may have originated, whether in the current belief in that number of the planets, or, more probably, in the transmitted record of divine revelation, it is certain that among Chaldeans, Egyptians, Buddhists, Indians, Peruvians, Jews, and Christians, seven has been universally the sacred symbol of *completeness*. We need not point out how often this is exhibited in the pages of Scripture; but we would call to mind that the number seven is there invariably employed to define a compound and not a simple form, an agglomeration of particles, so to speak, not merely something "*teres atque rotundus*;" that the word always denotes a *complete* number, but still an aggregate of individual units. Therefore the evangelists would never, as some have affirmed, have used the expression "seven demons" to represent the incontinence of the woman; but rather, as in the instance of the "legion" which possessed the Gadarene demoniac, to shew that the *whole number* of her supernatural tormentors had been expelled from Mary of Magdala by the power of the Lord Jesus.*

Again, if we look at this point from another side, and simply read the graphic account of the anointing given by St. Luke, can we trace the slightest symptom of what we know as demoniacal possession? When the poor woman passes shrinkingly up behind the *triclinia*, doubtless amid the scoffs and rebuffs of the servants, and performs those offices of love upon the unsandaled feet of Jesus, we look in vain for the frenzy, the two-

* In the parable of the "Unclean Spirit" (Matt. xii. 43; Luke xi. 24), the "seven other spirits" manifest, in like manner, the *complete* possession which took place; that parable, we should observe, also forms a part of the conversation, to which we referred above, as following upon the expulsion of a demon.

fold will, the supernatural knowledge which might mark the presence of the demon. In fact, the vice was extinguished. The so-called spirit of uncleanness was gone. No visible miracle was wrought or required here. Repentance and faith had been already conceived in her heart, and the fruits were actually being shewn. And *now* the Saviour could carry comfort and peace to that penitent heart by the assurance, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." Observe, too, the language of Simon the Pharisee, when "he spake within himself." There was none of the pity and indulgence which the Oriental has ever shewn to one upon whom, it is said, "rests the hand of God." But he speaks of her, as we should expect, in terms of the most sovereign contempt, as of one unworthy to touch even this new and cosmopolitan Rabbi, far less to come in contact with his pure and holy self. If then the vice of one woman cannot be identified with the "seven demons" expelled from the other, what reason is there for asserting that this sinner was Mary of Magdala, any more than that she was Susanna, or the wife of the steward of Herod? As we shall presently see, the idea would not have arisen, had not this anointing been confounded with the anointing performed at Bethany by Mary, the sister of Lazarus.

We would now prove that the order of events is incompatible with the assumption which has been made. It was shortly before the Passover, and the busiest part of that busy but "acceptable year" of our Lord's public ministry. He had set out with His disciples from Capernaum on a short circuit round by the valley of Esdraelon, raising as He passed onward the son of the widow of Nain, and then returning for a brief period to His temporary home. Here, and at this time, there can be little doubt, the message of inquiry came to Him from the Baptist; and here, at the feast to which He was bidden, honour was conferred upon him, in ways so different, by the Pharisee and the prostitute. "Afterwards," ἐν τῇ καθεξῆς, as St. Luke tells us, He set out again, going through "every city and village." And this must have been very *shortly* "afterwards," probably only a day or two; for a number of events intervene in the comparatively brief period between the journey and the death of the Baptist,^f when Jesus retired to the north-eastern side of the lake, and went on to the foot of Mount Hermon—the scene of His transfiguration. But on the circuit of which

^f See on this date, Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopsis*, p. 292 (*Trans. Venables*, p. 265); the order of events seems, on the whole to be correctly given by Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*, p. xxxi seq.

we speak, He is not only accompanied by the Twelve, but by certain grateful women of position and substance, among others, the wife of an important person like Herod's steward, and apparently the wife of the well-to-do Zebedee. First among these women, Mary Magdalene is named, not only here, but in every other passage where they are mentioned. Can any one believe that the honourable woman *thus* introduced by St. Luke, evidently for the first time, is identical with the poor "sinner" of whom he has just spoken? Would there be no word of connection between the two, when the evangelist concludes his very last sentence with the command, "Go in peace"—words which had given their final dismissal to the woman with the issue of blood, and to the woman taken in adultery? Can any one acquainted with Jewish customs and feelings believe that, instead of retiring into solitude for the purpose of purification and prayer, this "sinner" was to be found, within a day or two, in this band of honourable Jewish women, so punctilious in their ideas with regard to cleansing? The Pharisee had noted her uncleanness with horror. The religious scruples of these matrons would have compelled them to avoid her. And what is she doing in their company? Ministering unto the Lord of her "substance," or, as it must have been, of the wages of her shame. Nay, we hear of that "substance" again, when, *first* amid that company of women, Mary of Magdala, together with them, buys precious spices to embalm the dead body of their crucified Master. Surely money so acquired was not devoted by a Jewish woman to such a purpose. The whole notion of the identity appears to be untenable at every point. The language of the Gospels, what we know of demoniacal possession, the connection of the passages, the order of events, and the expression of Jewish character—all are against it.

We, therefore, believe this identity to be totally unworthy of support. But then a question arises—how came the idea to receive so much credit? We cannot hold with the few who ascribe its origin to the later Talmudic writers. Among the many foul aspersions which are cast in the Gemaras against Jesus, one brings forward in close relationship with Him a certain Miriam *Megaddéla*, whom they term "the plaiter of women's hair,"^s thus expressing the occupation of a woman of loose character. This wanton woman is understood to represent the Mary Magdalene of the Gospels. Here, then, the name "Magdalene" is derived from the Hebrew verb *כָּדַל*

^s See Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud*, col. 389, כָּדַל, 1458, כָּדַד; and the passages in Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ in Matt.* xxvii. 56.

"to twine" or "twist together," and not, as few now doubt, from the town of Magdala (מגדל, a watchtower, *hodie, el Mejdé*), at the south-eastern corner of the Plain of Gennesareth, and, like Capernaum, on the western shore of the lake. And, whatever scurrilous Rabbis may have intended, we find the question of the identity mooted in writings in all probability as early as the statements which they have made. But at a far earlier period we find another identity asserted, that of the "sinner" with Mary of Bethany, who anointed our Lord on the Saturday preceding His death and burial. In the sixth century, this opinion took deep root in the Western Church, and became the foundation of the great Romanist traditions concerning Mary of Magdala. The wretched system of agglomeration in which some of the patristic writers indulged, without "rhyme or reason," rendered the identity we are combating a necessary *sequitur* of the other. The anointings are said to be the same; and the two Maries are identical, for they have the same name; and, therefore, Mary Magdalene coincides with the penitent sinner, *q.e.d.* Still, whatever may have been asserted by Romanist divines, we wish to shew that the writers of the first few centuries who have discussed these portions of the Gospels, have not supported that identity or even mentioned it.

The first reference that we can find at all bearing upon the subject is in Irenæus (A.D. 180,^a *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii. c. 14), where, in enumerating the incidents *peculiar to St. Luke*, he mentions the anointing by "the sinful woman," but without the slightest allusion to Mary Magdalene. Next, Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 195, *Pædagogus*, lib. ii., c. 8) speaks of the anointing by "a certain woman as yet a sinner," but there is no mention of any Mary. Then Tertullian (A.D. 200, *De Pudicitia*, c. 11) makes a very similar reference. So far there would seem to have been no confusion of the Maries, or of any one with the "sinner." But when we come to Origen, undoubtedly the greatest critic of them all, we find him arguing most strongly (A.D. 240, in *Matthæum*, c. xxvi) against some in his day, who thought that the four evangelists spoke of only one and the same woman anointing our Lord; he repeats his arguments still more forcibly in his first and second books on "The Song of Songs." He declares it to be incredible that Mary, the holy sister of Martha, should be the same with the sinner in the city; but observe, in this connection also, there is

^a These dates are, of course, only approximate.

not the slightest confusion with another woman no less holy—Mary of Magdala. For these remarks, Origen is soundly rated by his Romanist editors in their notes; and he and Clement are accused of no small amount of stupidity. The first writer who confuses the two anointings appears to be Ambrose; this he does distinctly in at least two passages (A.D. 375, in *Lucam*, lib. vi.; *De Pœnitentiâ*, lib. ii., c. 8). But these same editors are again sadly put to it, when their great authority, Jerome (A.D. 390, *Com. in Matthæum*, xxvi. 7), declares no one could think Mary of Bethany and this sinner were the same, and carefully marks the distinguishing characteristics. They assert that Jerome must have been led astray while translating the works of Origen. When we turn to the two great commentators, Chrysostom and Augustine, we see that they are in much trouble about these anointings; the former (A.D. 398, in *Matt.* xxvi. 6; in *Joann.* xi. 2) goes so far as erroneously to distinguish the anointing recorded by St. John from that mentioned by *any* of the three other evangelists. The trumpet of the latter sounds a very uncertain note; at one time, he says that the same Mary, the sister of Lazarus, performed the two anointings (A.D. 415, *De Consensu Evang.*, c. 79); at another, he speaks of it as doubtful—"si tamen ipsa est." But let us note well, that in the constant references which occur in the writings of these two notable authors, both to the sinner and to Mary Magdalene, there is no confusion of the two; on the contrary, they are kept carefully distinct. From this period, the writers of the Greek Church appear to have avoided confounding the Maries together, or either of them with the penitent. The Latin writers, on the other hand, continued to stumble at those anointings until the end of the sixth century, when, at the bidding of Pope Gregory the Great, the confusion became worse confounded (A.D. 590, in *Evangelia*, Hom. 25, 33; in *Ezeck.*, Hom. 8). In his works, the now long-propagated error first displayed itself in its complete nakedness; and Mary of Magdala is there repeatedly identified not only with the sinner of the city, but with Mary, the sister of Lazarus. Endorsed with a name the most venerated in her annals, it was to be expected that the Church of Rome would assume the assertion to be founded on truth, and, after her custom, denounce with rigour any who should doubt the accuracy of her Pope. But, let us ask, what has now become of the great patristic authority which has been so strongly claimed in support of this identity? In the writers of those first centuries, we have been unable to discover a shadow of such evidence. Each of them seems to avoid an illusion which truth alone keeps him from making.

With every temptation to speak of Mary of Magdala while they discuss the anointings of the sinner and of Mary of Bethany, they pass her by unnoticed. But we have found another error which, there can be little doubt, was the mother of this still more deformed child; and we have also found later writers, such as the authors of the *Acta Sanctorum*,ⁱ unblushingly naming witnesses whom they must have known they had no right to summon on their side.

Let us now briefly trace onward the history of this error, and observe what have been the predisposing causes for its general acceptance in the West. In the days when apocryphal writers displayed such an amazing fecundity, and every character of the New Testament was made to appear with a long and somewhat dirty train stitched on to its historical garment, it was not likely that Mary of Magdala should escape. While eastern tradition kept her distinct from Mary of Bethany, sending her to Rome to accuse Pilate, and then to Ephesus to live and die in the company of the Virgin and St. John,^j western tradition had a different fate in store for her. This was more in accordance with the acknowledged absence of Biblical criticism and with the unalterable dogma of the Roman Prelate. We learn that Mary Magdalene, of course identical with the sister of Lazarus, was seized by the enemies of the faith. Together with her brother, and sister Martha, and Maximin, one of the Seventy, she was put into an open boat without oars or sails, and left to the mercy of the waves. But the breezes of heaven bore the favoured crew to the coast of Gaul. They landed in safety at the harbour of Massilia, now Marseilles. The heathen inhabitants, who at first ill-treated them, were converted and baptized, so struck were they by the preaching and miracles of Mary. Maximin was the first bishop of Marseilles, and on his death Lazarus was his successor. Mary, however, very soon retired into the seclusion of a desert, not far distant from the city, and amid its rocks and caves lamented and did penance for those sins of incontinence of which she had been guilty in her youthful days. In this solitude, cheered during her last years by heavenly visions and by the ministrations of angels, she died well worthy to take her place among the saints of the Church.^k There is no doubt that this legend is of very ancient date. But whenever or wherever it arose, it was destined in a more or less modified

ⁱ Bolland., Jul. 22, vol. v.

^j See, with some variations, Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 275, citing Modestus; also Nicephorus, *Hist.*, and the *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.

^k See the reff. in the *Acta Sanctorum*, etc.

form to meet with a wide acceptance, and that too among thousands who owed no allegiance to the church of Rome. It was also destined through certain favouring causes to exercise a vast influence in disseminating the error of which we are speaking.

The people of Marseilles appear to have been deeply engaged in the later Crusades, and their port was a not unfrequent starting point of the Christian fleets. In the middle of the thirteenth century the fanaticism of S. Louis IX., King of France, awakened throughout this district a strong interest in all matters of religion. His disastrous expedition to Egypt—then deemed the key of the Holy Land—also sailed from the harbour of Marseilles.¹ If after his captivity and short sojourn in Palestine the superstitious king scarcely succeeded in bringing back the relics of his army, he brought back a host of relics of a more lasting description. A monarch who, if we are to believe Joinville, his historian, passed many sleepless nights planning how he might carry the true crown of thorns to his own kingdom; who forbid a layman to dispute with unbelievers, but advised to strike them with a good trenchant sword across the body; who remitted to his *Christian* subjects a third of the debts they might owe to any Jew “for the good of his soul,”—such a king could not fail to inoculate his people with religious notions, either good or bad. From these and other causes the neighbourhood of Marseilles took a prominent part in the great revival which arose about this time in the south of Europe. Penances, pilgrimages, and *so-called* crusades were the order of the day. Relics turned up in abundance most opportunely: and Marseilles was not to be behind the rest of the devout world. The remains of Mary Magdalene and of Lazarus were most fortunately found about thirty miles off, “with other monuments,” as we are told, “which proved them without doubt to be genuine.” Charles, Count of Provence, nephew of S. Louis and son of Charles I., King of Naples and Count of Anjou, at once built a church upon the spot, and solemnly deposited the relics within it in the year 1279. Five years after this Charles was taken prisoner by Peter, King of Arragon; and when he escaped, he ascribed his deliverance to the saint whom he had honoured. He now offered her unbounded devotion. The guardians of her sacred relics he endowed with numerous privileges. From that time the fame of Mary Magdalene spread far and wide, and she became the most popular of the saints in the calendar.

¹ Joinville, *Histoire de S. Louis IX.*, p. 24, ed. du Fresne, Sieur du Cange, 1668.

We can scarcely credit the amount of wild adoration that was paid her during the middle ages, or the rapidity with which this opinion of her life and character spread over Christendom. That morbid feeling, that love of the nasty, which is the chief characteristic of an ignorant age, led them to dwell with delight on the early period of sinfulness which they imputed to her. They clung with loving tenacity to every dirty detail which an unbridled and unscrupulous fancy could suggest. And the arch-heretic himself could not to their minds have invented a more shocking blasphemy than the assertion that Mary Magdalene had never been a wanton sinner of the town. Of course these ideas soon found an exponent in Christian art—that art which, with all its charm, is responsible for the propagation of no small number of errors. The beautiful woman with her book, and skull, and pot of ointment was an attractive subject, affording at once scope for the painter and excitement for the purchaser. The period of her penance is for the most part selected, not as occurring, where every reader of Scripture would suppose, immediately after the interview of the sinner with her Lord, but at the close of her life in the desert near Marseilles. Every one must recall some few of the multitude of paintings they have seen of her. Now it was a peaceful reclining figure, enveloped in blue drapery, like the exquisite conceptions of Corregio or Battoni. Now it was a lovely face, with uplifted eyes and masses of golden hair, the falling tears relieved by the marvellous flesh tints of Titian, or vieing with the pearls which drop from the broken necklace of Guido Rheni. A thousand varied and fascinating representations of the same idea kept in vibration the two chords which of all in their nature men like best to have struck—first, the love of the beautiful; second, the love of the voluptuous. Thus the artist succeeded in painting upon the mind of the ignorant and careless an error which it will take the scholar long years of labour to wipe off.

We may see then pretty clearly that this opinion which we are opposing not only originated in error, but has been supported by props of every kind, and grown in a most congenial atmosphere. It has never stood upon its own merits: when it does it will assuredly fall. Until of comparatively late years Biblical critics were rare. Those who were honest did not, for the most part, care to touch upon a point which involved no doctrine, or to interfere with existing prejudices. And so the false notion has travelled on year after year, and century after century. But we must not suppose that it has gone by unchallenged. Men like Calvin, and Grotius, and Hammond, lifted up their voices against it. During the seventeenth century in the Gal-

lican church the Papal notion was strongly combated. While the Roman Breviary kept up the confusion, the Breviaries of Paris, Vienne, and other French churches, discarded from the office of Mary Magdalene every reference to the sinful woman. When, at the beginning of the last century, refuges for fallen women were built in England, great was the outcry raised at the title given them of 'Magdalen houses.' "Not every prostitute," it was with reason said, "admitted into such a house, ought to have the right to call herself by the honoured name of Magdalen."^m We would go further, and say, that no fallen woman, however repentant, has a right to the name. We would urge that it is an idea fraught with the greatest danger to the soul of the penitent—that even one who, trusting in those words of love, has drawn near to the feet of her Saviour, should think herself worthy to rank at once with the holy and honoured of the Lord. Penitence can only be trustworthy when the purged mind has been strengthened by a long course of meditation and of prayer.

The Church of England appears also to have made a strong protest against this identity. In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1549), July 22nd was dedicated to Mary Magdalene. It contained a special service, of which the collect identified Mary with the sinful woman; while the portion of Scripture appointed for the epistle (taken from the Sarum Missal) was that passage in the Book of Proverbs (chap. xxxi) commencing, in this case it would seem rather invidiously, with the words, "Who can find a virtuous woman;" although they rendered it somewhat differently, ("Whosoever findeth an honest faithful woman"). But at the first Revision in 1552, so strongly did our Reformers feel on the subject, the whole Festival was abolished, and the very name omitted from the Calendar. Neither does it occur in the Calendar of the Prayer Book of 1559. But the simple name crept into the Calendar of 1604; while in that of the present Revision it stands boldly, with an S. before it.

Some also have been inclined to give a quasi-authority to the heading of the chapter in our Bibles, which reads—"Christ sheweth by occasion of Mary Magdalene how he is a friend of sinners." Few will, we think, lay much stress upon this; but we may observe that in the older Bibles, those prior to 1611, it generally stands—"the sinful woman washeth Jesus' feet;" or at all events in very similar words, with no reference whatever to Mary Magdalene. In any case, we have surely other examples to shew that they who at different times put the heads to our

^m Lardner, vol. x., *Letter to Hanway*.

chapters, did not exercise much more critical ability than the ingenious individuals who put the tails to our Epistles.

We may add one brief remark. So popular has the name of Magdalene been, that it appears in four or five different forms in most modern languages—English, French, German, Polish, Danish. One form, ‘Maudlin,’ which is spelt ‘Mawdelyn’ in Wycliffe’s version (1389), perhaps after the Anglo-Norman pronunciation, is familiar enough. But there is something for us in the observation which has been made, that when this form ‘Maudlin’ came to be applied as an epithet, it was not as an epithet of honour, but as a sturdy Saxon protest against all false notions of sensibility.*

Let us now give the sum of our story. We have endeavoured to prove that this supposed identity is contrary to the unmistakeable language of the inspired authors, contrary to all sound principles of deduction, contrary to common sense, contrary to the undoubted opinions of the greatest of the early writers. We have shewn that the conclusions of many have been biased by their belief in another error to which no scholar would now dream of giving his support;† and that the false notion has lived and flourished for ages, as though amid the darkness and humidity of some tropical forest, in an atmosphere favourable to everything that is rank and unwholesome. Thank God that ere long few such forests will exist, where the light of God’s truth has not been let in by the axe of the sturdy and honest workman following on the tracks of the bold explorers of other days. They may at times cut down too much; they may now and then labour with the hand rather than with the head and the heart; but we say, anything is better than the old swamp with its deadly exhalations, anything is better than the propagation of fetid error, or the encouragement of morbid sentimentality.

Unless, then, we can find some better authority than is generally avowed, we should do our best to discourage this notion—a notion which now receives the countenance of scarcely a single critic, whether in Germany or in England. Why should publishers of hymn books boast of having sold half a million copies of such words as these :

“Thou who repentant Magdalene
Didst call to joys on high;”

Or,

“The precious gem from filth is cleansed
And doth the stars outshine.”

* Compare Miss Yonge, *History of Christian Names*, i. 85.

† We should except Hengstenberg, who in his late *Commentary on St. John* affirms the entire Romanist conglomeration; but his bias is pretty evident, and his arguments only shew how fallacious is the idea.

And why should the clergy, when they preach in a church named after Mary Magdalene, think it necessary to give a pathetic discourse on the sin of incontinence? Even poetic license is exceeded when the Church of La Madeleine, at Paris, is thus immortalized :

“ That noble type is realized again
In perfect form ; and dedicate—to whom ?
To a poor Syrian girl of lowliest name—
A hapless creature, pitiful and frail
As ever wore her life in sin and shame.”^p

The delusion is of long standing, and it may be difficult to eradicate. But if the monkey error can in the lapse of centuries become the man truth ; if a fallacy can gain right of way by years of audacious trespassing, then we had better at once give up possession of our most precious heritage—the actual Word of God. But it is not so. And we look forward with confidence to a day not far distant when, at all events in the Protestant church, this idea will be treated as a legend of the past.

But in addition to this, we cannot afford to lose the example of a character as pure and as devoted from the very first as any in the Gospel pages—a character, not displaying merely the reflex action of a repentant spirit, but the “ faith which worketh by love.” That love, more proven, more true, than the love of the sinful woman, could brave yet bitterer scoffs and endure yet keener sorrows at the foot of the cross on which hung her dying Lord. And if in one moment of intense excitement it seemed too earthly, owing too much to the actual presence of the fleshly form, and its eagerness was checked by the command—“ Touch me not,” never was love so honoured. It was honoured in that first appearance of the risen Redeemer, in that mission as herald to the Apostolic band, in that promise of a nobler fellowship and higher relations—the assurance that ere long she should touch with the finger of faith, when earthly relations should have given way to heavenly, and fleshly to spiritual senses.



^p Monckton Milnes, cited by Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art.*

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.*

NEAR the middle of Jerusalem there stands a large and irregular building, known by the name of Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed by some to be standing over the very tomb of our Saviour, but by others to be far from that spot. With the merits of this dispute we have nothing to do at present; we shall, therefore, leave it just as we find it—an open question. It is believed by most persons that the present church stands on or near the spot where Constantine erected it at first; but by some it is maintained that Constantine's Church is the building we now know under the name of the Mosque of Omar. This latter notion is brought forward principally, and almost exclusively, by Mr. Fergusson, in *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, published in 1847. The author formed his theory, it seems, from drawings made of the mosque by Messrs. Catherwood, Arundale, and Bonomi, who gained access into the Haram area in 1833. When I first consulted Mr. Fergusson's essay on the spot, in 1855, and again, after a fuller examination of the mosque, in 1859, I was simply confounded to think how any one could for a moment have supposed that this mosque, or dome of the rock, was ever meant to cover a tomb; and my only excuse for Mr. Fergusson's ingenious mistake was—that he had never seen the place. But since that time he has visited Jerusalem, and seen the mosque; and in two lectures delivered in the Royal Institution, and published in 1865, he has reasserted his theory, but without giving us any new argument, or shedding upon the question any new light. Now, my object in this paper is to endeavour to shew that he is mistaken—that, on the one hand, the Mosque of Omar could never have been intended to cover the tomb of Christ (nor any other tomb); and that, on the other hand, the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands on the same site as the one first erected by Constantine. This I shall do as briefly as possible, so as to give room for discussion.

Let us turn, first, to the Mosque, or Dome of the Rock.

It is quite unnecessary for me to attempt to describe it; but it is of some importance that we should bear in mind the character of its site. It stands upon a platform of rock, paved with slabs of the ordinary flag-stone of the country, and measuring four hundred and fifty feet from east to west, and five hundred and fifty feet from north to south; and gradually rising about fifteen feet above the general area, by a flight of regular

* A Paper read at a meeting of the Syro-Egyptian Society, by the Rev. John Mills, F.R.G.S., etc., Hon. Sec. of the Society.

steps. The mosque itself stands upon this top, and is an octagon building, measuring every side sixty-seven feet, having four doors facing the cardinal points, and surmounted by a dome of exquisite proportions and beauty. Underneath the dome, and in the middle of the building, is a large stone, from which the building takes its Mohammedan name—*Es-Sakhrah*, the Rock. It is an irregular block, about sixty feet in length and fifty-five in breadth, and varying from ten to fifteen in height, with a southwardly inclination. This inclination, we are told, was occasioned by Mohammed standing upon it to mount his celestial beast, Borak, for his nocturnal journey, and leaving on its south end his footprint, whilst on the other side are the prints of the fingers of the angel who held the rock when it moved. Near the south-east corner of the mosque is a subterranean chamber, irregular in form, to which there is a descent by a flight of stone steps. We shall enter it anon.

Now I hold that the tomb of our Saviour could never have been under this building.

1. It was too near the temple and city. Admitting, for the sake of argument, Mr. Fergusson's location of the temple, and measurements of the area, to be correct; that Joseph of Arimathea would have been content with a patch of bare rock for a garden; that no legal distance from the city for the execution of criminals was enacted by Jewish or Roman law; that crucifixion, the most degraded of all punishments, was allowed to take place under the very walls of the sacred house; admitting all this, and much more, there is one great and undeniable fact remaining, enough in itself to prove that the crucifixion and burial could never have taken place where the mosque stands, namely, that the city, at this time, had extended so far beyond the walls, that twelve or thirteen years after the crucifixion, Agrippa found it necessary to inclose a larger area of ground than the whole city within the previous walls had occupied, and that the most important portion of this extension of the city was Bezetha, which lay immediately north of the temple. If we accept Josephus as a trustworthy historian on this point, we must then admit that the spot where the mosque stands was then in the midst of houses, and, consequently, in the city; and to believe that this was a place of public execution is simply preposterous. But we know from an infallible authority that Christ died without the city (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 20; John xix. 17), and, probably, at some distance from it. John says, the place "was *nigh* (ἐγγύς) to the city"—i.e., comparatively so; just as the Mount of Olives is said to be *nigh* (ἐγγύς). But the narrative implies some distance from the

city. It was not till they got outside that the cross was transferred from Jesus to Simon—a fact which intimates that the remaining distance was too great for the sufferer to bear his cross. Be this, however, as it may, it is enough for our present argument to shew that it could not have taken place within the area where the mosque now stands.

2. It has nothing of the character of a tomb. On this point Mr. Fergusson is very vague. He does not point out where under the mosque the tomb lies. This defect we might pass over in his first publication; but, having visited the place, he ought, in his second publication, to have given us a minute description; but this would not have answered the purpose of his theory. There is no tomb, nor anything like a tomb, under the building. Every one that has visited Jerusalem, and has made the subject of tombs, to any extent, a matter of examination, cannot fail to have noticed that all the rock-cut tombs around Jerusalem are carefully formed and hewn, and bear an unmistakeable character. But, under the mosque, there is nothing of the kind. The great stone remains in all its natural roughness, not only without a tomb hewn out of it, but also without a single niche chiselled for the reception of a body. Neither is the subterranean chamber much more to the purpose.

But, first of all, what is the character of the rock-tombs? And here I shall quote Dr. Robinson, who describes them thus:—"A door in the perpendicular face of the rock, usually small and without ornament, leads to one or more small chambers excavated from the rock, and commonly upon the same level with the door. Very rarely are the chambers lower than the door. The walls are generally plainly hewn; and there are occasionally, though not always, niches or resting-places for the dead bodies. To obtain a perpendicular face for the door, advantage was sometimes taken of a former quarry; or an angle was cut in the rock, with a tomb in each face; or a square niche or area was hewn out in a ledge, and then tombs excavated in all three of its sides." Now, this is only a general description, embracing all the rock-tombs, and not a single tomb can be found without falling within these outlines. A more detailed account of the interior arrangements would materially strengthen our position, but the above is enough. I shall only add that the tombs of the better class are worked with great labour. Take, for example, the tombs of the kings, or the older tombs of Aceldama, how carefully are these planned, and how beautifully are they executed; and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tomb of the wealthy Joseph was of similar character. It was a new tomb, which he had hewn out

(ἐλατόμῃσεν) in the rock (Matt. xxvii. 60), or a stone-hewn (λαξευτῶ) sepulchre (Luke xxiii. 53). At all events, whatever its beauty or interior arrangements might have been, it must have had three things beyond all dispute:—1st, a perpendicular rock front; 2nd, a door in this perpendicular face, leading into, 3rdly, one or more chambers excavated from the rock.

Let us now turn to the dome-cave, and see how ridiculously unlike it is to a rock-tomb. I entered it during my first visit to Jerusalem, in 1855, when the Haram was thrown open to the then Prince Maximilian, now Emperor of Mexico; but shall now avail myself of the description given of it by Mr. Catherwood. He says—"At the south-east corner of this rock is an excavated chamber, called by Mohammedans the Noble Cave, to which there is a descent by a flight of stone steps. This chamber is irregular in form, and its superficial area is about six hundred feet: the average height seven feet. It derives a peculiar sanctity from having been successively (according to Mohammedan tradition) the praying place of Abraham, David, Solomon, and Jesus. Its surface is quite plain, and there are a few altars. In the centre of the rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which, being struck, returns a hollow sound, clearly shewing that there is a well or excavation beneath. This is called by the Mohammedans, *Bir Aruah*, the Well of Souls—of the wicked, we must suppose, this being the entrance to the Mohammedan hell."

More lately, this chamber has been more thoroughly examined by Dr. Pierotti (*Jerusalem Explored*), who discovered it to be a double cave, the upper and lower chamber being connected by the circular opening in the floor of the upper one, and the whole somewhat in the form of a dumb-bell. The same author found that there are conduits in connection with this cave, running north and south, and apparently of such an age and workmanship as to refer them, at least, to the time of Herod. And yet we are asked to believe that this was the tomb of Joseph!

But now comes the architectural argument; and Mr. Fergusson assures us "that style is sufficient in itself to settle such a question as this." Now, if architects were unanimous in their opinion that the mosque is the work of the age of Constantine, it would be a singular fact, and a problem difficult to solve; but it could never induce us to believe that it covered the tomb of our Saviour, for the simple reason that there is no tomb, nor has there ever been one. But the case is otherwise. Architects, who are as competent to pronounce on styles and dates as Mr. Fergusson is, differ in their opinion regarding the date of this

building. The part containing the eight piers and sixteen pillars is the most unaltered portion according to Mr. Fergusson, "and that consequently on which the architectural argument mainly hinges;" whilst Mr. Catherwood believes them to belong to a more ancient building. Mr. Scoles is of a similar opinion. Professor Haverfield believes the whole building to be of the time of Justinian; and Mr. Wigley, who studied the subject on the spot, brings it down to the seventh century. Others might be named—but this difference of opinion among professional architects is sufficient to shew that the style of this building is *not* in itself enough to settle such a question as this.

But there is one point in connexion with its architecture that proves to me beyond all dispute that it cannot be the church of the Holy Sepulchre erected by Constantine, viz., that it has never been destroyed and rebuilt. Before the period Mr. Fergusson assigns to the building of the present church instead of the original, we know that the original church had been destroyed to a greater or less extent over and over again,—in 616 by the Persians; in 936 by Emir el Omra; in 949 by the Fatimite Khalifs; and in 1010 by Khalif el Hakim. Now, if these facts be true—and we cannot deny them without destroying the foundations of all history—Mr. Fergusson's argument falls to the ground. The dome of the Rock has never been destroyed, nor materially injured; but stands to this day, in all its entirety, what it must have been at the first. Whatever, therefore, was the object of the building, and by whomsoever erected, it is not the church of Constantine.

Before proceeding to discuss the traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it is necessary to bear in mind the topographical outlines of the city. We all know, firstly, that a valley, commencing a little outside the Damascus gate, and running southwards until it unites with the Valley of Jehoshaphat, near the Pool of Siloam, divides the two ridges or elevations—one on its eastern, and the other on its western side. Secondly, that on the eastern ridge stood the temple; and on the western the city proper. However authors disagree on further details of the topography of Jerusalem, all unite thus far. Now, it is my object to shew, that the Church of Constantine was built, not on the eastern ridge—the temple mount—but on the western, the city mount.

My first witness is Eusebius, the church historian, contemporary and friend of Constantine. In his *Life of Constantine* he devotes several chapters to giving a brief but succinct history and description of the building. In book iii., chap. xxxiii., we have the following words: "And in the very martyrrium of our

Saviour, the New Jerusalem was built over against that celebrated old city, which, being reduced to the utmost degree of ruin and desolation after the nefarious murder of our Lord, underwent the punishment of its impious inhabitants. Opposite to this, therefore, the emperor erected the trophy of victory which our Saviour had gained over death, with a rich and gorgeous splendour. And this, perhaps, was that fresh and New Jerusalem spoken of in the oracles of the prophets, concerning which there occur so many and large expressions uttered by the divine Spirit itself."

From this passage Mr. Fergusson seems to build up his theory; at all events, he applies it to this purpose. He thinks that by the New Jerusalem the historian means a literal new city, and as it stood opposite the old, that it must have been on the temple mount. It is singularly strange, if he read the chapter through, that the historian's reference to the prophets did not suggest to his mind that the name New Jerusalem was allegorical. Jerusalem, as the seat of the temple dispensation, had been used as an allegorical type in contradistinction to the Gospel dispensation by Paul (Gal. iv. 25, 26); and the very term New Jerusalem is used in the same sense by John in the Revelation (iii. 12; xxi. 2). It is evident the historian attaches the same meaning to the term; and it is strange how any one could misunderstand him when he says, "And this, perhaps, was that fresh and new Jerusalem spoken of in the oracles of the prophets." That the *New Jerusalem* was thus understood by the historian and his contemporaries cannot be doubted; and Socrates Scholasticus, in his history of the same event, expressly tells us that the church thus built was called the New Jerusalem (lib. i., chap. xvii.). Even Mr. Fergusson himself does not contend that a city was built on the temple mount; but only his supposed church; and if so, there could not be two opposite cities. The expression is evidently not a topographical one, but symbolic—referring to the two religious dispensations—the Old Jerusalem signifying the Mosaic dispensation; and the New Jerusalem, the Christian. The former having its seat and authority in the temple, the latter in the death and resurrection of Christ. And now, the two sites stood opposite each other, the one on the eastern mount, and the other on the western mount, with the deep valley running between. Nothing, therefore, could be more correct than the language of Eusebius, when he says that the New Jerusalem was built over against (or face to face—*ἀντιπρόσωπος*) to the celebrated old one.

Should any doubt remain on this point, the historian removes it beyond all question, as appears to me, in one or two other

passages. In his *Onomasticon* (*voce Golgotha*) he says: "The Sepulchre is situated in the northern parts of Zion." No one, I suppose, will dispute that the Zion of Eusebius was the city mount, not even Mr. Fergusson; but he endeavours to destroy the force of the passage by regarding it "as a mere assertion without any detail or circumstantial evidence by which to test its credibility," (Essay, etc., p. 90). According to this mode of criticism, there would be no great difficulty to annul all kind of testimony. But if our author had been better acquainted with Eusebius, he would have found another passage still more difficult to cavil at. In his oration on Constantine (cap. ix.), we have the following: "But in the province of the Palestinians, in that city which was before the royal seat of the Hebrews, in the middle of the city, at the very martyrion of our Saviour, he has erected a basilica of vast magnitude." Here can be no mistake. We must either totally ignore the whole passage, or admit that the martyrion of our Saviour and the basilica of Constantine were in the *middle of the city*. I accept the latter.

I might here have dismissed Eusebius, but shall retain him a moment longer, to shew how different were his buildings to what Mr. Fergusson would have them to be. We need not enter into detail: a few notices will suffice. In chapters xxxiv.—xxxix., lib. iii., (*Vit. Const.*) we have a brief description of the whole buildings.

1. The Sepulchre itself is adorned with all imaginable beauty; but no mention is made of a round church being built over it.

2. Next comes the atrium, or court, the floor of which was beautified by paving it with shining stones (*λιθος λαμπρος*); and inclosed on three sides with porticos.

3. Then comes the Basilica, or Royal Church, joined to the atrium on the side opposite the cave, namely, the eastern.

4. Again comes the area (*αιθρειον*) in front of the church, consisting of court (*αυλη*), then porticos on both sides, and lastly the gates of the court.

5. Last of all come the porches of the whole structure, placed in the very middle of the street, where was a market. According to Mr. Fergusson's plan, the present golden gate of the Haram is the gate of this atrium of Eusebius, hence the street and market must have been in the valley of Jehoshaphat—a most convenient site truly for a market place!

One thing is evident—that Constantine, according to our historian, built but one church—the Basilica (and that essentially different in all its detail from the Mosque of Omar).

Of this, we have further evidence from a contemporary

author, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, as we shall presently see. And still more to our point is the testimony of Socrates Scholasticus, who, when giving an account of the churches built in Palestine by Constantine and his mother, only names one—viz., one at Bethlehem, one on the Mount of Olives, and one in Jerusalem (lib. i., c. 17). The Anastasis of Mr. Fergusson is, therefore, but a myth, created by his own theory.

But, will it be said, that the Anastasis was actually built, only that the historian neglects to describe it. Is this possible? Is it possible that he should describe the Basilica, and leave the most important building—the magnificent round church over the tomb—with merely saying, that the cave was adorned with all imaginable beauty, and rendered glorious and splendid by various sorts of ornaments? Or, will it be said, that the Basilica, which he has described, was really the Anastasis? This is still more impossible. Its location is distant from the tomb, and its whole disposition essentially different from the Anastasis of Mr. Fergusson. It extended to a “vast length and breadth.” Its three doors were at the eastern end, and its altar “opposite to these,” at the western end; with its inner roof embowed, and spread all over the church. Surely this was not the Dome of the Rock. And here we take leave of Eusebius.

Our next witness is a contemporary—the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, some two years before the church had been dedicated. His narrative is very brief, and not too well expressed; but I shall not quarrel with his language. He has but one passage bearing upon the point at issue. Having made a tour around the city, and ending within the walls of Zion—*i. e.* in the town, he says:—“Thence, as you go outside the wall of Zion to the *Porta Neapolitana*, on the right hand, down in the valley, are the walls where was the house or prætorium of Pontius Pilate. There the Lord underwent an examination before he suffered. On the left, is the hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. Thence, about a stone’s throw, is a crypt where his body was deposited, and arose on the third day. There lately, by the command of Constantine the Emperor, a Basilica has been constructed. It is a royal church (*dominicum*) of wonderful beauty; having cisterns at the side, from which water is raised, and a bath behind, where infants are baptized (or laved—*lavantur*).”

Now Mr. Fergusson endeavours to construe this passage to support his own theory, by asserting that Neapolitana (New Town) means his New Jerusalem, on the Temple mount; and hence that this testimony is final in favour of the views he is contending for. To me, nothing could appear more contra-

dictory. We have already seen what the early Christians meant by the New Jerusalem; and if the Pilgrim had the same idea in view, he certainly would have used the same term. In that case his language would be understood; but to call the Temple Mount, when no buildings existed, according to Mr. Fergusson's own admission, except the contended sacred ones, was simply nonsense. But let us take it for granted that the Pilgrim meant the sacred buildings on the Temple Mount, and see how does his language tally with Mr. Fergusson's theory. Just look at his restored plans of the buildings, and let us go out of the city on Zion at any point, the language of the Pilgrim is belied on all points. If, on proceeding, we leave the Prætorium on one hand, Golgotha and the sacred crypt are on the same hand; and instead of being nearer Golgotha, as the language of the Pilgrim would signify, and then the crypt, we have them here reversed. In no way whatever can we fit in the plan to tally with the Pilgrim's account. But allowing Golgotha to be on the northern part of Zion, or the City Mount, the narrative becomes not only intelligible, but even graphic. The *Porta Neapolitana*, a gate of the New City, must have been the one leading to Neapolis, or Shechem. The gate in that end of the city has usually been called by the inhabitants of Jerusalem by the name of the most important place in that direction. Thus, in ancient times, we have the gate of Ephraim, because it led to the territories of Ephraim. In modern times it is the gate of Damascus, just for the same reason. But in the time of the Pilgrim, it would most naturally be called the gate of Neapolis (the name given to Shechem after its restoration by the Romans), and that, again, for the very same reason. Admitting this, the Pilgrim cannot then be mistaken. He is proceeding northwards, along a street which is evidently on higher ground than the Prætorium, which was "down in the valley" (*deorsum in valle*). No such street could have existed except along the city or western mount—the elevations of the city put this question beyond all cavil. Proceeding along this street, he leaves the Prætorium on his right hand, and Golgotha and the sacred crypt on his left. And any one who traverses the main street of Jerusalem, from the Jewish quarter to the Damascus gate, will do just the same—he will leave the site of the Prætorium down below him on his right hand, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on his left hand, only on higher ground. In fact, to all those acquainted with Jerusalem, no language could be more explicit than the Pilgrim's; and nothing could locate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the western mount more definitely.

We also see, that the Pilgrim speaks of but one sacred building. He merely mentions the crypt, where the body of our Saviour was deposited, but says nothing of an Anastasis. The only building constructed by the command of Constantine was the Basilica, or Royal Church, which, according to our author, was of wonderful beauty. The account, though very brief, is in perfect agreement with Eusebius. But Mr. Fergusson grasps at the Pilgrim's expression, that the crypt was about a stone's throw from Golgotha, and endeavours to press it into his own service. To account for the Pilgrim's measurements throughout his narrative would be indeed a task. I shall not attempt it at present; nor is it of any importance in the question before us. He has said enough for our present purpose in language unmistakeable—he has given us one Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and has located this on the western mount, where the traditional church now stands. His mentioning the cisterns is additional evidence of the exact site. The Chapel of the Cross, under the present building, is evidently an ancient cistern; and close by, under the Coptic Convent, is a most copious subterranean cistern, in an excellent state of preservation, known by the monks as Helena's cistern. Of this more anon.

I might have dismissed the subject here, as I conceive sufficient evidence has been already produced to satisfy us that, on the one hand, the Dome of the Rock cannot be Constantine's church; and, on the other hand, that that was situated on the western mount. All subsequent authors, who visited the holy city, seem to me to corroborate the same facts. But there is one we ought not to pass by in silence; and that for two reasons:—Firstly, he has given us a more detailed account of the buildings than the Bordeaux Pilgrim; and secondly, he has left behind him a ground-plan of the sacred buildings. I refer, of course, to Arculfus, the French bishop. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land about the year A.D. 695; and, on his return, was shipwrecked on the island of Iona. Here he was received by Adamnanus, who was then Abbot, to whom he related the particulars of the holy places which he had visited. These details Adamnanus committed to writing, and obtained from the bishop a ground-plan drawn on a waxed tablet. The narrative has been repeatedly translated, and I will avail myself of the one given in Bohn's volume in *Early Travels to Palestine*.

All that Arculfus says about the Temple mount is the following:—"On the spot where the temple once stood, near the eastern wall, the Saracens have now erected a square house

of prayer, in a rough manner, by raising beams and planks upon some remains of old ruins: this is their place of worship, and it is said that it will hold about three thousand men." It will be remembered, that Jerusalem was first captured by the Saracens, under the Khalif Omar, in A.D. 637, just fifty-eight years before Arculfus's visit; and up to that date there seems to be no kind of sacred building on the temple mount; and now, during the bishop's visit, only a kind of rough and temporary mosque. The bishop then describes what he had seen in the city; and what he says of the buildings at the Holy Sepulchre I shall now quote in full. And, in doing so, we must bear in mind that his description refers to a period some three hundred and sixty years after the dedication of Constantine's church, a space sufficiently long to add materially to the original structures. His words are these:—

"The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is very large and round, encompassed with three walls, with a broad space between each, and containing three altars of wonderful workmanship, in the middle wall, at three different points—on the south, the north, and the west. It is supported by twelve stone columns of extraordinary magnitude; and it has eight doors or entrances through the three opposite walls, four fronting the north-east and four to the south-east. In the middle space of the inner circle is a round grotto cut in the solid rock, the interior of which is large enough to allow nine men to pray standing, and the roof of which is about a foot and a half higher than a man of ordinary stature. The entrance is from the east side, and the whole of the exterior is covered with choice marble to the very top of the roof, which is adorned with gold, and supports a large golden cross. Within, on the north side, is the tomb of our Lord, hewn out of the same rock, seven feet in length, and rising three palms above the floor. These measurements were taken by Arculf, with his own hand. This tomb is broad enough to hold one man lying on his back, and has a raised division in the stone to separate his legs. The entrance is on the south side, and there are twelve lamps burning day and night, according to the number of the twelve Apostles; four within at the foot, and the other eight above on the right hand side. Internally, the stone of the rock remains in its original state, and still exhibits the marks of the workman's tools; its colour is not uniform, but appears to be a mixture of white and red. The stone that was laid at the entrance to the monument is now broken in two; the lesser portion standing as a square altar before the entrance, while the greater forms another square altar in the east part of the same church, covered with linen clothes.

"To the right of this round church (which is called the Anastasis, or Resurrection) adjoins the square church of the Virgin Mary, and to the east of this another large church is built on the spot called in Hebrew Golgotha, from the ceiling of which hangs a brazen wheel with lamps, beneath which a large silver cross is fixed, in the very place where stood

the wooden cross on which the Saviour of the human race suffered. Under the place of our Lord's cross a cave is hewn in the rock, in which sacrifice is offered on an altar for the souls of certain honoured persons deceased, their bodies remaining, meanwhile, in the way or street between this church and the round church. Adjoining the church of Golgotha, to the east, is the basilica or church erected with so much magnificence by the Emperor Constantine, and called the Martyrdom, built, it is said, in the place where the cross of our Lord, with the other two crosses, were found by Divine revelation two hundred and thirty years after they had been buried. Between these two last-mentioned churches is the place where Abraham raised the altar for the sacrifice of his son Isaac, where there is now a small wooden table on which the alms for the poor are offered. Between the Anastasis, or round church, and the Basilica of Constantine, a certain open space extends to the Church of Golgotha, in which are lamps burning day and night."

Here we have a group of four churches. Concerning the first three—who built them, and when—we are left in the dark; but the fourth, we are expressly told, is the magnificent Basilica of Constantine.

Now, according to the narrative, they were situated in the city, consequently on the western mount; but Mr. Fergusson, with very little difficulty, drags them over to the Temple mount, and there disposes them to suit his own favourite theory. Let us follow him for a moment, and see how unmercifully he treats the old bishop. According to Arculfus, the Church of Mary adjoined the Anastasis; but Mr. Fergusson removes it some five hundred feet to the south-east. According to Arculfus, the Church of Golgotha stood to the east of the Virgin's church; but Mr. Fergusson has removed it some two hundred feet due north. According to Arculfus, the Basilica of Constantine adjoined Golgotha on the east; but Mr. Fergusson has removed it some two hundred feet to the north-west. And in this manner he constructs and finishes his whole plan. But the fact of Mr. Fergusson arranging the churches anew on his own plan does not affect the old bishop's waxen tablet—there they remain in their original position as stiff and unmoveable as ever.

Nor is the Anastasis more plastic; it entirely refuses to fall in with the Dome of the Rock. Almost in every item it belies Mr. Fergusson's assumption:—1. It contained three walls, with a broad space between each; but the Dome has but one. 2. It had eight doors, four fronting the north-east, and four fronting the south-east; the Dome has but four, and these fronting the cardinal points. 3. It had three altars; the Dome has no such altar. 4. It had a grotto cut in the solid rock, in the middle space of the inner circle; the Dome has no grotto. 5. This grotto was only large enough to allow nine men to pray, stand-

ing; whereas the chamber under the south-eastern corner of the Dome will hold many times that number. 6. The entrance into this grotto was from the east side; the entrance into the Dome chamber has no cardinal point—only downwards. 7. The whole exterior of the grotto was covered with choice marble; the Dome chamber has no exterior. 8. The roof of the grotto was adorned with gold, and supported a large golden cross; the Dome chamber has no outer roof. 9. The north side of the grotto contained the tomb (*sepulchrum*) of our Lord, hewn out of the same rock; the Dome chamber has no such tomb, nor ever had one. But enough—Arculfus' Anastasis is anything but the Dome of the Rock.

Let us now turn for a moment to Eusebius again, to see whether this group of churches will not fall in with his description of the real site. Here we have—1. The cave, adorned with all imaginable beauty. 2. We have an atrium, extending eastward to a vast length. 3. At the eastern end of this atrium we have the Basilica, or Royal Church of Constantine. Hence the holy cave stood to the west; the Basilica to the east; and the atrium extended between, uniting both. Such was the original plan; the language of the historian is too definite to be mistaken. But by the time of Arculfus other churches were added. One was the Anastasis, or round church, comprising the sacred tomb in the centre. Adjoining this, on the south-east side, was the Church of the Virgin Mary; and then, due east of the Anastasis, was Golgotha, which adjoined to the Basilica of Constantine, and occupied the atrium of Constantine. That this was the real arrangement of the four churches is evident enough from the language of Arculfus; and his ground-plan on the waxed tablet renders it, to my apprehension, beyond all dispute.

I shall not trouble you with more quotations; we have already heard the testimony of the most important witnesses—the only witnesses that are capable, if at all, of settling the question. Nor shall I attempt to follow Mr. Fergusson in his handling these and other authors—his translations, his emendations, his suppression of passages, etc.; this would be an endless task. I trust that we have seen all the salient points of the question, spoken to by the only authorities with such clearness, that no matter of detail can possibly obscure the argument.

In conclusion, I admire Mr. Fergusson's ingenuity, and would have respected him the more had he not been so dogmatic in the enunciation of his opinions, and so unfair in his treatment of his authorities.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA ON THE STAR.

“Ich habe den seltsamen Tractat über den Stern mit Interesse durchgelesen, obgleich er ganz andern Inhalts ist, als ich erwartete. Meinen Freund Gutschmid interessieren die Königslisten sehr, und er ist schon dabei, alle nach ihren Quellen zu ordnen. Die assyrischen Könige gehn auf Ktesias zurück. Das persische Verzeichniss findet sich eben so bei Malala. Den König **Vo** erkannte Gutschmid sogleich als *ἄλλος*, und diese Conjectur bestätigte ihm der Text des Malala. Nur mit dem Verzeichniss der Könige seit Alexander ist Gutschmid nicht im Reinen. Uebrigens bestätigt Gutschmid meine entschiedene Zweifel an der Echtheit des Werkchens, welches zwar vielfach auf Eusebius' Chronik zurückgeht, aber doch von einem weit weniger hervorragenden Mann geschrieben sein muss. Ich glaube sogar, der Urtext ist Syrisch, hauptsächlich weil die Bibelstellen und biblischen Anklänge mehr Aehnlichkeit mit der Peshito, als mit den LXX zeigen.”

So writes my friend Professor Noeldeke of Kiel (21st May, 1866), and I am glad to find that this little Syriac tract “on the Star” should have proved so interesting, not only to a linguist like himself, but also to a historical critic like Von Gutschmid.

With regard to the authenticity of the work, I am quite prepared to give it up, now that I have studied it more carefully myself, and have heard the opinion of Noeldeke and Ceriani, and the reasons on which that opinion is based. Considering the age of the manuscript, which certainly cannot be assigned to a later date than the sixth century, there can, I think, be but little doubt that this tract is the production of a writer who lived not long after the time of Eusebius—say, towards A.D. 400—and who made use in composing it of the first and second books of the Maccabees, the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the works of Ctesias, and the writings of one or two other ancient chroniclers.

With regard to my translation, I have done, on the present occasion, precisely as heretofore; that is to say, I have striven to be as accurate and literal as possible, my main object being to *translate*, not to comment and annotate. The names of the Assyrian and Median kings, from Ascatades down to Astyages, I have reproduced in Greek letters.* This will convey to such of my readers as are not orientalists, some idea of the corrupt state of the manuscript. The names themselves, as well as those of the Persian kings from Cyrus to the last Darius, may,

* I had written “Greek uncials,” but for printers' reasons I have had to submit to the use of small type.

in general, be easily identified and restored by referring to the lists of Ctesias (ed. Müller, appended to Dindorf's *Herodotus*, 1844), Eusebius (*Chronicon bipartitum*, ed. Aucher, Venice, 1818; *Chronicorum Canonum libri duo*, ed. Mai and Zohrab, Milan, 1818), Jerome (in the eighth volume of the Benedictine edition, 1734—1742), Georgius Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 1829), Joannes Malala (ed. Dindorf, 1831), and the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, 1832). The list of kings, however, from the time of Alexander to that of Augustus Cæsar, I have not yet traced to its source, and must now leave it to the care of others. These names I have reproduced in Roman capitals, as several of them do not admit of being transcribed into Greek.

W. WRIGHT.

London, September, 1866.

CONCERNING THE STAR; SHOWING HOW AND THROUGH WHAT
THE MAGI RECOGNIZED THE STAR, AND THAT JOSEPH DID
NOT TAKE MARY AS HIS WIFE.

I WILL write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds; and how, and through what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipped our Lord with their offerings; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities.

The ancient scribes testify, that everything which was written by the care of Jason in five large books,^a from the year 88 of the kingdom of the Greeks till the year 177 (B.C. 223—134), they themselves abridged hastily in two books, from the year 137 (B.C. 174), omitting also the things that were done within the space of fifty years. But as regards other things, with the care that they took, they entered into the repository of the archives of their fathers, where were written and deposited the acts of the remaining histories of the Prophets, which were not written in the books of the Prophets; and they found in the chronicles, that the Tabernacle of Witness which Moses made, and the Ark which he constructed, and the Altar of Propitiation which he consecrated,—these the Prophet Jeremiah took, and concealed them in a cave of the mountain on which Moses used to pray.^b And they also found in these chronicles, that the fire which Moses received from Heaven, and with which the priests used to minister, till the time they went

^a 2 Maccabees ii. 23.

^b 2 Maccabees ii. 4, 5.

down to Babylon,—it too was found to have been buried and concealed by Jeremiah the Prophet in a pit which was in watery ground;^c and after seventy years it was discovered; and with it the captive priests used to minister on the altar, until the appearance of our Lord. And many other things, which the scribe Aristobulus and his colleagues^d had written in the book of records, and in the epistles of the kings of the house of David and Hezekiah and Josiah and their companions,^e were written and deposited (there). And when they had found them, they collected them, and wrote them out in the volumes of their books. And through the care of these ancient writers, when they saw that the Jews went to the city of Tyre to praise Herakles, a hero of the Greeks,^f—this too they put into writing; and that Andronicus used treachery towards Onias, the high priest and a famous man, and slew him at Daphne, which lies by Antioch, without any crime,^g—not even this did they neglect.

And it was found in the true chronicles of the Persians, which were written and deposited there from ancient generations, that Jerusalem was a warlike city from its (earliest) days, and did not make much account of kings, and great fortresses were in the midst of it.

And when Sihon, the king of the Amorites, was slain, Moses said: “Now is fulfilled that which was spoken in the ancient proverbs: ‘A fire shall go out of Heshbon, and a flame from the city of Sihon, and shall devour the city of Moab, and all the worshippers of the altars of Arnon.’”^h And when Moses heard that this was written in the books of the Amorites, he too added and put it into his book.

And when King Saul persecuted David, David recited to him some of the ancient proverbs, and said: “‘From the wicked proceedeth wickedness, but verily my hand shall not be upon thee;’ and because of this my hand is not upon thee, but the hand of the Lord hath power over thee.”ⁱ

And when the people went up from Babylon, and there was a great strife concerning their going up, king Darius commanded, and the books of the records and acts of the preceding kings were called for; and there was found among their chronicles a roll,^j in which was written: “I truly, Cyrus, king

^c 2 Maccabees i. 19, etc.

^d *Ἀριστοβούλου*, οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου. See 2 Maccabees i. 10.

^e 2 Maccabees ii. 13.

^f 2 Maccabees iv. 18, 19.

^g 2 Maccabees iv. 33—35.

^h Numbers xxi. 27, 28.

ⁱ 1 Samuel xxiv. 12, 13.

^j Ezra vi. 1, etc.

of Persia, have commanded that the people of the Hebrews should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem, along with the vessels of the service of the house of the Lord." And when king Darius heard this, he too affixed his seal to this order, and commanded that, whosoever should disobey this order, a beam should be pulled down from his house, and they should make it into a cross, and hang him upon it, and that his house should be given up to plunder.^k And he added of his own (goods) expenses for the house of the Lord.^l

And Job, whose time was anterior to that of Moses,—before that Moses narrated the history of the creation of Adam, Job said unto his friends, as he had found in the tradition of the generations before him: "This we have found in the world, since Adam was created upon the earth. Who is he that made man upon the face of the earth?"^m And to his Lord he said: "What shall I do unto Thee, O Maker of man? in return for Thy hands, which have laboured and made me, and fashioned me and framed me, when Thou didst curdle me like cheese of milk."ⁿ

Moses himself too found many things, which were going down and coming by tradition from mouth to ear, from one generation to another; and he put them into his book, although he left out many things which could not be comprised (in it). For that which is said of Abraham, that he was enjoining his children and his household to keep the commandments of the Lord,^o is older than the laws of Moses by four hundred and thirty years. For these commandments, which Abraham was enjoining his household (to keep), were received by him, as it were by tradition, from Shem; and Shem too received them from his father Noah; and Noah received them from Enoch; and Enoch received them from Adam; and Adam received them from his Lord. For the barbarous races who keep (the commandments) 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Thou shalt not steal,' and 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' and destroy wizards,^p and so forth,—this is not (done) as it were by the law of Scripture, but by the law of the mind of ancient tradition, which is older than the law that Moses wrote. For it was not of the law of Scripture that Joseph was afraid, and did not come nigh unto

^k Ezra vi. 11.

^l Ezra vi. 8.

^m Job xx. 4. The last clause is corrupt. In the Peshittā it runs thus: *ܐܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*, from (the time) that He made man upon the earth.

ⁿ Job vii. 20, and x. 8, 10.

^o Genesis xviii. 19.

^p Exodus xxii. 18; Deuteronomy xviii. 10, 11.

his master's wife;^q nor was it of the law of Scripture that the king of Gedar^r (Gerar) was afraid, he and his nobles, and did not come nigh unto Rebecca; nor was it of the law of Scripture that Lot was afraid,^s and said to the people of Sodom, "Do not do this disgraceful and shameful thing to the men who have entered under the shadow of my roof;" but of that law and mind which was born with the ancient generations, and went on, and came by tradition of their children down to the time of Moses, who put into writing those things which were written on the tablets of the heart; for "the law was added because of falling away."^u

And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the Moabites and Ammonites. And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Achmēthan,^v which is in Persia. Because that, in the time of Moses, and both before and after Moses, the Assyrians were lords over the land of the Moabites and of the Ammonites, where Balaam said, "A Star shall rise out of Jacob, and a Head shall arise in Israel."^w And it was not merely over the land of the children of Lot that the Assyrians were lords, but also over the land of Sihon and of Og, the kings of the Amorites, and over the whole land of Palestine; and over Phœnicia, and Syria, and all Mesopotamia; seeing that the nations sent up tribute to them, as if subdued under their hands, and gave them hostages, and offered them crowns of victory. And whenever one place rebelled against another, and they commenced war against one another, (word) was written and sent to the Assyrian kings, and as they commanded, so it was (done), and those who rebelled received chastisement.

And along with these things, both the deeds which Moses did in inner Arabia, and in outer Arabia, and in Rēkem of Gea,^z and in the regions which were round about the cities of Moab, and the history of the Star, which Balaam spoke, and so forth;—these things the princes and judges of those places

^q Genesis xxxix. 7, etc.

^r As in the Pēshittā, ܓܕܪ. See Genesis xxvi. 6, etc.

^s For ܓܕܪ I would read ܓܕܪ.

^t Genesis xix. 7, 8.

^u Galatians iii. 19. ^v ܐܚܡܬܐ, *Ecbatana*.

^w Numbers xxiv. 17.

^z ܓܝܐ, ܓܝܐ, ܓܝܐ, Arab. الرقيم, is the equivalent in the Targūms

wrote down, and sent and made them known; and they were read before *ασκρτοσ*,^y the king of the Assyrians, who was reigning at the time in which they were done. And he commanded, and the record of these matters was deposited in the fortress of Achmēthan, where they were preserved among the books of the kings of Assyria, as was also the custom in other countries.

And after *ασκρτοσ* [*ασκδτοσ*], there reigned after him *αμυντοσ* there in Assyria, when Moses was between the Amorites and the Edomites, and had come to the city of Petra,^z which is called in the language of Mesopotamia Rēkem of Gea.

And when the people encamped over against 'Ad'īrā, which is 'Adū'īrā^a (Aroer), that lies in the valley of Arnon, which separates the Midianites, the children of Kentūrā (Keturah), the concubine of Abraham, from the children of Lot, Abraham's brother's son, in the days of Balak the son of Zippor, the king of the Moabites; and when Balak saw the people that were with Moses, which had come near to his borders, he despised them, and neglected the wars which he had witnessed; how Sihon, king of the Amorites, who had taken possession by war of the land of the Moabites,^b carrying away hostages from the Moabites, was not able to stand before this people, who had slain him and destroyed him at Jahaz;^c nor was the king of Canaan, who dwelt in the south, able to stand before this people, and they called his place a devoted place.^d Of these things Balak, the king of Moab, was afraid, and he trembled, and was frightened to wage war with Moses, before whom neither the kings of Egypt had stood, nor the kings of other very mighty nations, nor had even the terrible sea itself dared to stand before Moses. And Balak called the elders of the Midianites and his nobles, and said to them: "This Moses, who, lo, has terrified the whole earth, and slain the kings that were around us,—and behold, the people that are with him are

and Versions of the Hebrew *שָׂרָא*; and *רָקַם*, *רָקַם*, *רָקַם*, *רָקַם*, of *רָקַם* *שָׂרָא*. See Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, art. *שָׂרָא*, with the references there given, to which add Tuch in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. i., p. 179, note.

^y So in the Syriac text, *ܐܫܟܪܬܐ*; but *ܐ* is no doubt a mistake for *ܕ*, giving *ܐܫܟܪܬܐ*.

^z For *ܡܕܝܢܬܐ* read *ܡܕܝܢܬܐ*.

^a As in the Peshittā, *ܐܕܝܪܐ*.

^b For *ܡܕܝܢܬܐ* read *ܡܕܝܢܬܐ*.

^c Numbers xxi. 21, etc.

^d Numbers xxi. 1—3.

^e Numbers xxii. 3, etc.

grazing on our land as the ox that grazeth in the field,—is he not that Moses, who was made the overseer and shepherd of Jethro, the priest of your gods, whom ye received as a guest, and who was protected among you as a stranger? And lo, to-day he is expelling us from our lands, and driving us out of our territories. But let us abstain from war, and let us send and call Balaam the soothsayer, to come and curse them; because they are the children of Jacob, who trembled and was afraid of the curses of his father Isaac, as we have all heard from our fathers.” And they sent after Balaam the soothsayer. And the messengers went and found him at Urem,^f which is situated over against Tūrār, the eastern (part) of Mesopotamia;^g and they said to him: “The king of the Moabites, and the princes of the Midianites, have sent us after thee, that thou mayest go with us and curse the people that has come out of Egypt.” But Balaam, through his craftiness, because he knew that the power of his word was not sufficient to enable him to do this, and to stand before six hundred thousand drawers of the sword, laid hold of a pretext, and said to those who had come after him: “Be ye witnesses unto me henceforth, that I fear lest perchance the Lord should not permit me to curse the people and destroy it by means of words and maledictions.” And when he went unto Balak the king, instead of the curses which he was looking to hear from him, he heard blessings from him. And when Balaam saw that Balak began to be vexed with him, because, instead of curses, he heard^h from him something which he did not expect, Balaam said unto Balak: “The princes whom thou didst send after me, can testify that I said unto them, ‘Whatever the Lord sayeth unto me, I will say, and not what Balak says unto me, who has sent you unto me.’ And upon this condition I arose and came with them unto thee, to tell thee that the legions of the Chittites and the armies of the Greeks are about to issue forth from the whole land of the Macedonians, and to subdue the Assyrians in wrath and the

^f By ܘܪܝܡ is probably meant ܘܪܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢ, on the Euphrates near Samosata. See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orient.*, t. ii., in the *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, art. *Urima*. Knobel identifies ܘܪܝܡ with ‘Anah, عانة.

^g I am not sure that I have translated this clause correctly, taking ܘܪܝܡ as a proper name. It is just possible that ܘܪܝܡ may be a mistake for ܘܪܝܡܐ, in the sense of the Arabic ^{طرف} *ṭarf*, edge, border. I have, however, no authority for this meaning in Syriac.

^h For ܕܡܝܢ read ܕܡܝܢܐ.

land of Nimrod in anger.ⁱ And after this happens, then shall rise the Star out of the children of Jacob,^j whom thou didst wish to keep in darkness; and the Head shall arise in Israel, to come and destroy whom thou didst send after me; and He shall destroy their mighty men, and shall subdue the whole seed of Seth the son of Adam.” But Balak the king and his nobles,—when^k they heard that the mighty Assyrians, who were rulers over them, were going to be subdued under the yoke of the king of the Greeks, and the whole earth (was going to be subjected) to Him on whose account the Star was going to rise, destroying their mighty men,—laid aside the fear of the people who were abiding over against them.

But that king Balak might not come to disgrace and (incur) the punishment of death from *αμυντο* king of the Assyrians, he wrote and informed him of the things that Balaam said. And he commanded, and the letter^l was laid up in his archives, as was written above; and they received this writing, this history being handed down and coming from people to people through the whole land of the Assyrians.

But the Assyrians, because they were born and brought up in the doctrine of the Chaldæans (astrologers) of their country and of the soothsayers their countrymen, according to what they had received from their mother Babylon, from whom began astrology and soothsaying and magic, just as from Egypt (began) incantation,—on this account they received the word of Balaam the soothsayer, the disciple of Babylon, and were not able to refuse credit to his word, lest the whole doctrine, on which they took their stand, should be proved false; for Balaam was called “the soothsayer,” because of the doctrine of astrology in which he was brought up. And as to his being besides called a prophet, because his word turned out true in regard to the legions of the Chittites which issued forth, and about the Star which arose,—although in these things indeed he was true and trustworthy, yet because he was a false witness, and said: “I see no iniquity in Israel,”^m the children of Jacob slew himⁿ as a liar.

To be brief,—the tradition of the history of Balaam was handed down and came from king *αμυντρος* (*αμυντορ*) to king

ⁱ Numbers xxiv. 24.

^j Numbers xxiv. 17.

^k The particle *κα* seems to have dropped out before *οοσι* *αυτου*.

^l Some such word as *επιστολη* or *επιστολη* appears to have been omitted after *επιστολη* *αυτου* *αυτου*.

^m Numbers xxiii. 21.

ⁿ The *ο* before *αυτου* *αυτου* seems to be superfluous.

βχοο (βλχοο), in whose days Othniel the son of Kenaz was ruler over the Hebrews.

And from βχοο (βλχοο) to king βλπτωρ (or βλφτωρ), in whose days Ehur^o (Ehud) killed Eglon the king of the Moabites.

And from (λ)βκροο (or βχροο)^p to king πραιρσ,^q in whose days the Philistines subdued the Hebrews.

And from πραιροο (πραιδοο) to king σωροο, in whose days the Hebrews were delivered from beneath the hand of their enemies.

And from σωροο to king πλμροο, in whose days Jael^r killed Sisera the general.

And from (λ)πλμροο to king πισοο,^s in whose days Gideon slew the children of Midian.

And from (λ)πισοο to king σρσμοοσ, in whose days Abimelech slew his seventy brethren.

And from σρμμοοσ to king μνθροο,^t in whose days died Tola, the son of Abimelech's uncle.

And from (λ)μνθροο to king τομοο, in whose days Nephtah (Jephthah)^u offered his daughter a sacrifice to God.

And from (λ)τομμοοσ to king τυαοο, in whose days Samson died among the Philistines.

And from (λ)τυαοο to king θινοο, in whose days died (Eli)^v the high priest.

And from (ν)θινοο^w to king δρκλο, in whose days Saul was slain on the hill of the Gibeonites, and David became king.

And from (λ)δκλο (δρκλο) to king ευπλο, in whose days Solomon sat upon the regal throne.

And from (λ)ευπλο to king αθνοο, in whose days Jeroboam became king over Israel.^z

And from (λ)αθνοο to king πτραιοο, in whose days (Azariah) the son of Azur^y (Oded) the prophet said unto king Asa: "Because this people listened not unto the voice of the Lord

^o So in the Pēshittā, ܝܘܬܝܐ.

^p The λ, ܠ, seems due, here and elsewhere, to a blunder of the scribe, who has taken the preposition for an integral part of the name.

^q Here too ϑ should be substituted for ܝ, πραιδσ.

^r ܠܝܠܝ, as in the Pēshittā.

^s ܝ by mistake for ν, ܝ for ܠ.

^t ν by mistake for ܝ, ܝ for ܠ.

^u As in the Pēshittā, ܝܦܬܝܗ.

^v The name of Eli is wanting in the Syriac text.

^w ν is a slip of the pen for λ, ܝ for ܠ.

^z Here there is an error in the Syriac text. We should delete from ܡܠܟܝܢ ܝܪܒܫܡܐ in line 21 to ܡܠܟܝܢ ܝܪܒܫܡܐ in line 23.

^y 2 Chronicles xv. 1—7. Azur as in the Pēshittā, ܝܕܝܪ. The name of Azariah is wanting in the Syriac text.

their God, there was no peace either to him that went out or to him that came in."

And from (λ)πραιος to king φτριος, in whose days the Lord smote Jehoram the son of Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, and his bowels came forth from his inside, and he died.

And from (λ)φρτιος to king ακρπζς, in whose days Joash was slain^a by his servants.

And from (λ)βπρς to king θισκων, in whose days Uzziah was smitten with leprosy.

And from (λ)θισκων to king αρβκς, in whose days Menachem^a reigned over Israel.

And from αρβκς to king σωσρμς, in whose days Jotham built the gates of the house of the Lord.

And from σωσρμς to king μρκιος, in whose days Hezekiah opened the gates of the house of the Lord, which had been closed by Ahaz his father.

And from king (λ)μρκος, in whose days Manasseh made the image with four faces, to king αιρκς, in whose days Manasseh returned and came up from Babylon, because he knew that the Lord was God.

And from (λ)αιρκς to king φρατρος, in whose days Josiah burned the bones of the priests.

And from φρτρος to king κυβρς,^b in whose days Daniel and Hananiah and their companions were led away captive to Babylon.

And from κυβρς to king αστιβγς, in whose days the Babylonians laid waste Jerusalem.

And from αστιβγς to Cyrus the king of the Persians, who proclaimed the return to the children of Israel, that they should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem.

All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled; and when the legions of the Chittites would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently^c with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them.

^a For 𐤀𐤓𐤕 read 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁.

^a For 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 read 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕.

^b For κυβρς substitute κυξρς, as 𐤕 is a slip of the pen for 𐤕𐤕.

^c For 𐤕𐤕 read 𐤕𐤕𐤕.

When then the Assyrians saw that their kingdom was taken away from them, and was given to the Persians, they thought that the great war of the Chittites too, of which they had been afraid, had passed away from them. For although at different times the Assyrians had had wars of and by themselves,—when the Babylonians waged war with them, and took away from them the kingdom; and again the Medes waged war with the Babylonians, and took away the kingdom from them also; and the Persians also waged war with the Medes, and the Persians conquered and won the kingdom;—yet they had had no fear in all these wars and struggles, because they knew that those who were overcome, were the brethren and associates of those who were victorious. For neither was it possible that Cyrus the Persian should succumb in war, because that in the days of Isaiah the prophet the gates of victory had been opened before Cyrus; nor was it possible that the gates should be shut in his face, because he was called the Anointed of the Lord.^d

And after Cyrus the Persian reigned Cambyzes, at whose word Syria was laid waste, and Phœnicia, and Palestine, and other countries.

And from Cambyzes (the tradition was handed down) to the first Darius, in whose days Ezra the scribe rebuilt the desolate places of Jerusalem.








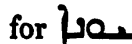
And from Darius to king Artachshasht,^e in whose days Sanballat and Shimshai the scribe were hindering the people from rebuilding the desolate places of Jerusalem.


And from Artachshasht to king^f in whose days went up the remnant which had remained in Babylon, and some of the children of the captivity of the people.

And from to another Darius, in whose days went up Ezra the scribe, he and the priests and the Levites, and were walking upon the wall of Jerusalem, and repeating the psalms of David for the completion of the building.

And from Darius to the last Artachshasht, in whose days the

^d Isaiah xlv. 1.

^e The  in  is incorrect, and arises merely from too great a prominence being given to the connecting point of the two letters. Similarly we find in manuscripts  for ,  for  (women),  for , etc.

^f The monarch intended must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, but I do not know what to make of the *avλ*, *evλ*, or *ovλ* of the text. Von Gutschmid has suggested "to *another* king" (=*ἄλλος*); but the writer of this tract could hardly have been so ignorant as to take *ἄλλος* for a proper name.

furniture of Eliashib was thrown out into the street, because he had made for himself a house in the court of the house of God.^g

And from Artachshasht to the last Darius, who is the ram that Daniel foresaw,^h butting westward and northward and southward; and there came a he-goat, and the legions of the Chittites with him, as Balaam had said, and waged war with Darius, king of the Medes and Babylonians and Assyrians and Persians, and overcame him, and slew him, and ravaged the people who were with him, and cast him down, and subdued the Assyrians under his power, and made them tributary to the kingdom of the Greeks, which was of old subject to the power of the Assyrians. The kingdom of the Jews too, which had also been subject to the children of the East, passed under the power of the Greeks.

And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose king ARSUN, in whose days cities were increased in their buildings in the land of Syria.ⁱ

And from (L)ARSUN (the tradition was handed down) to king ARTMRSUS, in whose days the Books of the Hebrews were translated into Greek.

And from (L)ARTMRSUS to king ATISHCHU, in whose days lived Jesus the son of Simeon, the priest, who was called Bar-Sīrā (the son of Sirach or Siracides).

And from (L)TISHIS to king APTSHURS (or APHTSHURS), in whose days the impure Jason^j received from the king of the Greeks the power over the children of his people; and he wrote the children of his people by the name of Antiochians^k through the praises of Herakles.^l

And from (L)APTSHURS to king PRIDUS, in whose days the senators (*συγκλητικοί*) of the Romans wrote to the cities letters of greeting regarding the party of Jonathan and Simeon (Simon), the sons of Mattathias.^m

^g Nehemiah, xiii. 8.

^h Daniel viii. 3, etc.

ⁱ This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Beroëa, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator.

^j 2 Maccabees iv. 7, etc.

^k 2 Maccabees iv. 9. Read *آنتیوخ*, with ribbūi.

^l 2 Maccabees iv. 19.

^m 1 Maccabees xv. 15, etc.

And from (L)MPRUS to king ASTRUS, in whose days Arshak (Arsaces) the Parthian waged war with the king of the Greeks and slew him.

And from (L)MPIZRUS to king ANSCUS, in whose days the kingdom of the Greeks was cut off.*

And from (L)ISCUS^o to king PIRSHBUR (Pīr-Shabūr?), in whose days Augustus Cæsar reigned over the Roman empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Saviour. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens, as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone; and the Persians, and the Hūzites,^p and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold; and this apparition and news flew through the whole East: "The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshippers of fire." And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): "Keep going towards the Star, and walking on the road along which it runs before you; and by day and night keep observing its light."

And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (through) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reached the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests.

* For ~~Δομο~~ read Δομοζ].

^o For (L)NSCUS, with the usual confusion of ~~Δ~~ and ~~Σ~~.

^p The inhabitants of Al-Ahwāz, الأهواز, or Chūzistān.



And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star.





And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their own country without fear, and might carry back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

And when they had made their offerings and passed the night there, the Star too stopped with them above the cave. And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the former one; and until they had entered their city,¹ it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion.

And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

But Joseph and Mary, when they saw the treachery of king Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue; and there they dwelt for the space of four

¹  for . I am not quite certain whether this is a mere blunder of the scribe, or a vulgar mode of pronunciation, approximating to the Mandaitic form of the word. On the latter supposition, the successive steps would be: *mēdintā*, *mēdittā*, or *mēditā*, *mittā*.

² For , which can grammatically refer only to , we should, I believe, read , referring to the preceding .



years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hannah (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel.'

* * * * *

and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Saviour, in the consulship of Cæsar and of Capito, in the month of the latter Kānūn, these Magi came from the East and worshipped our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A.D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Cæsar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus,¹ bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and through the pains of the great men in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mār Eusebius of Cæsarea.

¹ Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical.

² For  read .

Ruined Temples of Cambodia.—Mr. J. Thomson read before the British Association his account of a visit to the above, early in the present year. He arrived at the vast temple of Ongou on the 16th of February. The buildings form a rectangle 1,100 by 1,080 yards, surrounded by a ditch 250 yards wide. From its great extent, the building appears to have been the work of generations; but from its perfect symmetry and unity, the product of a single genius, with the resources of a vast empire at his disposal. The road to it is by a path through a luxuriant tropical forest. A causeway conducts to a gallery or outer entrance 200 yards long. Ascending the worn steps of this, a colossal statue of a lion, half buried in the sand, guarded the entrance. The western gallery is supported by massive square pillars. The pillared galleries of the temple rise tier above tier, terminating in a great tower. The galleries have all sculptured stone roofs; the staircases, colonnades, and corridors, are also all of sculptured stone, and the courts paved. The ancient city of Ongou Thom, situated a little north of the temple, is of superior antiquity to the temple, and exhibits more grotesque sculptures. But the architecture of the temple is more classical, the pillars have all finely sculptured capitals and bases. There is the same advance shewn in the bas-reliefs of the two ruins; the chief of these are nearly 100 yards long, filled with figures of warriors, elephants, horses and chariots. The inscriptions, copied by the author, are of three periods, the first of which are not now intelligible, but the last can be read by any Cambodian priest; these last, however, have no reference to the origin of the ruins.

OBITUARY.—J. M. NEALE, D.D.

DR. NEALE'S attainments as a Christian scholar were such, that we ought not to witness his departure from the band of workers without expressing our respect for his character and memory. In fulfilling this duty, we shall first extract some passages from a well written article which appeared in the *Guardian*.

"John Mason Neale was born in Conduit-street, London, on January 24, 1818. He showed early signs of literary tastes and powers, and of the facility for acquiring languages which he inherited from his maternal grandfather. At ten years of age he attempted the composition of a tragedy, a circumstance which is much less remarkable than the method he took to prepare himself for this effort, which was to read through the tragedies of Seneca. He had lost his father when he was still a child of five, and thenceforward for very many years his mother had the sole direction of his pursuits. He was for a time at Sherborne Grammar School, and afterwards a pupil of the Rev. William Russell, Rector of Shepperton. The perceptor still survives, at the age of more than eighty years, while the famous pupil has passed away. Subsequently Dr. Neale was under the charge of Professor Challis, who held the Chair of Astronomy at Cambridge, and had while there the present Dean of Ely as his fellow-pupil. He went up to Cambridge in 1836, and entered at Trinity College, where he obtained a Scholarship, and was soon marked out as the cleverest man of his year. But neither his father's powers nor his teachers' instructions ever influenced him so as to give him the slightest taste for mathematics. He had through life a rooted dislike to that study, and he was wont to say that the most dismal mode of existence conceivable to him was that of a mathematical coach at Cambridge. This distaste proved disastrous to his hopes of graduating with distinction, for the iron rule which compelled all candidates for the Classical Tripos to take mathematical honours first, resulted in his being unable to secure the prize which was universally adjudged to him by those who knew his powers. Thus he did not graduate till 1840. The next year the rule, long seen to be absurd, was finally abandoned. Dr. Neale did not fail, however, to achieve some collegiate distinction. He won the Members' Prize in 1838, was appointed Fellow and Tutor of Downing, and after he went down as a Master, he commenced his career of victorious struggles for the Seatonian Prize, which he won eleven times, thus surpassing even Mr. T. E. Hankinson in success. His Cambridge career is, however, most noteworthy for the foundation of the Ecclesiological Society, then known as the Cambridge Camden. It was set on foot by him in connection with Mr. Benjamin Webb, and Mr. E. J. Boyce, who afterwards became his brother-in-law. His first important contribution to ecclesiology was the publication (in union with Mr. Webb) of the Visitation Articles of Bishop Montagu, which was followed up a little later by the issue of a translation of the first book of Durandus, treating of the Symbolism of Churches. To the *Ecclesiologist* he was a constant contributor from its first appearance, and besides the many reprints of ancient

Sequences discovered by his industry, all the papers signed O. A. E. (the first vowels of his three names) were from his pen. In 1842, he married Sarah Norman Webster, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Webster, B.D., an Evangelical clergyman, and in the following year he was presented to the little incumbency of Crawley, in Sussex. Symptoms of severe pulmonary disease, however, set in before he could be instituted. As a last chance for life, of which the physicians gave little hope, he repaired to Madeira, where he remained for some considerable time, studying much in the library of Funchal Cathedral, where he began that Commentary on the Psalms of which a portion was given to the world in 1860, and of which a good deal more is ready for publication. He returned to England in the summer of 1844, and there his eldest child was born, on the very Feast of the Transfiguration which was to be his last day on earth twenty-two years later. In 1846, he was presented by Lord Delawarr to the Wardenship of Sackville College, East Grinstead, then in a state of miserable decay and disrepair. No ecclesiastic had held the post for several years, and, indeed, it was usually intrusted to some one not much above the rank of the pensioners. In this place, to which he became strongly attached, and which he restored to its present aspect of quaint beauty, he spent the remainder of his life, quitting it only for those ecclesiological tours of which he made so much practical use; dating from his publication of *Hierologus*, in 1843. Here, too, were composed or edited the works on which his reputation chiefly rests: the *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*, the *History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria*, the *Tetralogia Liturgica*, the *Readings for the Aged* (still found by many incomparably the best book to read by the bed-sides of the sick poor), the *Hymnal Noted*, the *Christmas and Easter Carols*, the *Medieval Hymns* (inclusive of "Jerusalem the Golden"), the *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, and short tales, essays, newspaper articles (chiefly in the *Morning Chronicle* when in Mr. Hope's hands), and those learned yet most interesting liturgical papers which so much helped to make the reputation of the *Christian Remembrancer*. Here it was, too, that he suffered for fourteen years under an inhibition from the Bishop of Chichester, for which no cause was ever assigned by his lordship, and which Dr. Neale bore with the most uncomplaining gentleness. The only offer of promotion he ever had made him was when the Provostship of St. Ninian's, Perth, a dignity of the money value of £100 per annum, was tendered him. The fear of a climate so unfavourable to a bronchial affection, from which he often suffered, mainly induced him to decline the proposal. He was to make East Grinstead more famous in England than even as the chosen shelter of an illustrious scholar. In 1856, he removed thither the head-quarters of a Sisterhood which he had begun on a very small scale the year before at Rotherfield, with the aid of Miss S. A. Gream, one of the daughters of the Rector of that large and valuable living. His incisive style in controversy (every one remembers the dispute about Canon 29) and his concentrated indignation at a wrong done to another, or to the Church, caused misapprehension of this side of his temperament, and the gentlest of men was commonly regarded as fiery and pugnacious. He had, however, long overlived all misconstructions,

save from fanatical opponents of those truths which he championed, and though his shyness and retiring habits, inveterate from boyhood, made him withdraw into a very small circle, yet he impressed even strangers with the sense of his great powers, while the few chosen friends to whom he freely unbosomed himself, could alone tell how genial and sparkling was his wit, and how close to his hand lay the great stores of knowledge which he had heaped up in the course of his studies. In home politics, as may be antecedently supposed, he took but little part, though he was not without marked views of the school commonly called Gladstonian. Abroad, he was a very strong partisan of the Northerners in the American civil war, and of Austria in the campaigns of 1859 and 1866. But his time was practically divided between aiding forward the Church movement in England with his prolific pen, and training up the Sisterhood which he had founded in the paths of zeal and devotion. His last public act was to lay the foundation of the new Convent for the Sisters, on St. Margaret's Day, 1865, which had been his favourite scheme for many years, and which he used to visit even in his last illness, whenever he could be conveyed so far. He disliked and distrusted endowments, on the double ground that they checked zeal and invited external interference from the State, but he longed to see his spiritual children fitly housed. He has left them as a legacy to the English Church, which gave him nothing while he lived, but which may make some amends now.

"At the beginning of March in this year, dropsy, arising from diseased liver, from which he had long been ailing, declared itself, and after five months of great suffering, with scarcely an interval of rallying, he passed away on the 6th of August, at two in the morning, leaving behind him a reputation for unrivalled scholarship, for lyric grace, for unostentatious devotion, and for gallant daring in the noblest of causes. His memory will not pass away from the Church of England until Anselm, and Becket, Herbert and Laud, Hooker and Taylor have been forgotten."

Dr. Neale's contributions to hymnology have been referred to. The *Church Times*, in a kindly notice of the two following *Sequences, Hymns, and other Ecclesiastical Verses*; and *Stabat Mater Speciosa*, says:—

"A deep and touching interest attaches to these small volumes. They are the last offerings of a dying bed to the treasury of Christian song. The harp of our last departed bard had been silent long years before he sank to rest, he who has gone but now to join him swept the chords to the latest moment of consciousness.

Resonans moribundo gutture dulce melos.

"That it was the last pledge of zeal and faith he would ever give on this side of Paradise he seems himself to have foreboded from a few prefatory words. We will not pretend to criticize the verses before us. Were their accomplished writer still amongst us in the fulness of his powers, we might perhaps ask a finishing touch here and there. Were he so long departed that the craving for his presence had been lulled to rest, we might deal with his songs as we do with those of a past generation; but remembering how heavy and how recent is our loss, we

can but quote from the pages before us with loving approval and regret. Most sweetly, most fitly, the volume of Sequences opens with a prologue "in dear memory of John Keble," which might serve for the writer's own elegy. The dying poet, speaking to the dead one, the greatest of English hymnodists singing the dirge of the greatest of English meditative bards, and leaving none behind him able to sing his own in worthy strains, is a singular and mournful picture :—

" ' If they who fought themselves the fight,
If they who ran themselves the race,
Are circled with the crown of light,
And see their Master face to face :

" ' What guerdon his, who others too
Arms, aids, encourages in strife,
Who keeps their country in their view,
And points in midst of death to life ?

" ' Such was thy task, O sweetest soul
That ever joined Christ's minstrel band,
To make those broken-hearted whole
Whom there thou standst with, hand to hand.

* * * * *

" ' And those, the Saints to whom thy lay
Still hovered near, as birds their nest,——
Were they not at the last thy stay ?
Did they not lead thee to thy rest ?

* * * * *

" ' So him they lead to Courts of Day,
So him they lead to warless rest,
While we commit, for some short stay,
Our lark of sweetness to her nest.

" ' Oh, called of God to seize his lyre
With art, and love, and hope more dim ;
So ask for that celestial fire,
That ye may say, and He inspire,
" And I too know, to build the hymn." ' "

" Saving one verse in which the ' Christian Year' is named, the whole poem might have suited the writer himself, and all the more because the other chiefs of holy song commemorated in its course are mainly those whom he above all others has made familiar to our ears and hearts :—

" ' And Bernard, minstrel of the Cross,
And Bernard, who with home-sick view
Counting all other joys but loss,
Jerusalem the Golden drew.

" ' From lowest up to highest peer
What scene on dying eyes to burst !
There Adam stands, my Master dear,
My dear and reverend Master, first.

“ ‘They also bring each Orient-gift,
John, Art’s great Doctor and her-gem,
And Cosmas, he that loves to lift
The gentle soul to Bethlehem.’

“To whom, save to himself, do we owe our knowledge of the great Abbat of Clairvaux’s Rhythm of the Most Holy Name, the Cluniac’s rapturous longings after Jerusalem the Golden, the stately verse and wonderful scriptural lore of Adam of St. Victor, chief of Latin poets, and John of Damascus, prince of the hymners of the East?”

Again:—

“Amongst those which date from his death-bed are the Sequence for All Saints’ Day, taking as its motive the erection of the Pillar which Diocletian and Maximian put up to record the utter extinction of Christianity in the Tenth Persecution; the very beautiful one for All Souls, based on the narrative of St. Paul’s shipwreck; and one at a funeral, which was used above his own coffin amidst the holy rites which preceded his interment, and which we therefore cite:—

“ ‘Why march ye forth with hymn and chant,
Ye veteran soldiers jubilant,
As though ye went to lay to rest,
Some warrior that had done his best?
—— Because we do but travel o’er
The road the Victor trod before;
Himself knows well the road we go:
The Son of Man is Lord also
Of the grave-path.

“ ‘Commit your loved one to the surge,
Without a wail, without a dirge?
To the wild waves’ perpetual swell,
To depths where monstrous creatures dwell?
—— Yes; for we lay him but to sleep
Where those blest Feet have calmed the deep:
Little we reck its ebb and flow,
The Son of Man is Lord also
Of the Ocean.

“ ‘Leave him with thousand corpses round,
Thus buried in unhallowed ground,
Interred in that same scene of strife
Where man and steed gasped out their life?
—— Yes; for our King and Captain boasts
His own elect, His glorious hosts:
His victors, crowned o’er many a foe,
The Son of Man is Lord also
Of the battle.

“ ‘Why, as across the dewy grass,
Ye through the evening churchyard pass,
Why welcome in your bells a guest
With chimings, not of woe, but rest?

—Where'er their twilight warblings steal,
 We do but ring a Sabbath peal;
 And, till the glorious Sunday glow,
 The Son of Man is Lord also
 Of the Sabbath.'"

And again :—

"The last, and by far the longest poem in the volume, is the Legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, in English hexameters, one of his very latest compositions; and specially addressed to his children, the Sisters of St. Margaret's. We have space but for one short extract :—

"Ah, but look on! Who are these, that next the unclosable portals,
 Nearest the domes and tourelles, whose sapphire is mingled with jasper,
 Gather in one, true lilies themselves, in the midst of the lilies?
 There, and beyond such a rustling of boughs, as Paradise breezes
 Draw with a kiss from the foliage of youth,—there, bulwark on bulwark,
 Rises the city that hath the foundations; whose Builder and Maker,
 Maker before all worlds—is for ever its King and its Glory,
 Light everlasting and pure, and the days of its mourning are ended;
 Ended, how should they not be, in the great Beatifical Vision,
 Dare not to ask who are these—you know it already, my Sisters;
 These are your truest of friends, your own sweet future companions;
 Each had the pearl in her hand, which the Prince in His love had prepared her,
 Each had the pearl that you bring, and the Prince in His love will accept it,
 Each in her turn heard the words whereafter can never be sorrow,—
 Sworn in His royal abode by the great King Abasuerus,—
 "What is thy prayer, Queen Esther? I grant thee the half of my Kingdom.'"

"In the volume of Sequences all is original poetry. We turn now to the great translator's last effort in that arena where his most famous prizes were won, an effort dating but a few weeks before he was himself translated from earthly speech to that of Paradise. It is the hymn of Giacomo da Todi on the Nativity, the companion poem to his far more famous one on Our Lady by the Cross, the saddest of all Christian hymns. It is held, not without reason, to be the earlier of the two, and it consists of just eleven six-line stanzas. The Latin and English are printed on opposite pages, and at the end a German version by Cardinal von Diepenbrock, Prince Bishop of Breslau. Not only has the hymn never before appeared in any English version, but the very text is printed now for the first time in this country. We shall not quote from it, because a verse or two of it gives no satisfactory notion of the whole poem, and our space does not suffer us to give it at full length. But the old cunning of hand which conquered the difficulties of Adam of St. Victor, and the not less arduous task of rendering Cosmas of Maiuma did not fail the departing poet. *Finis* may be written now at the close of his songs on earth, but rather, in the spirit and fashion of the scholars of old, we would end them with the words "Glory be to God," remembering that the song he

is even now learning is stronger and sweeter than any he sang here, and that disease and death can never hush it more."

The *Literary Churchman* says:—

"The year 1866 will be memorable with all churchmen of our generation as having seen the removal of the two great poets of the church revival of the present century. It is a coincidence, too, which has no doubt struck us all that as the poet of the '*Christian Year*' and the author of '*Eucharistic Adoration*' was called to his rest on the Thursday before Good Friday, so the poet, through whom Jerusalem the Golden has become familiar wherever the English language is known, was taken away from us on the Feast of the Transfiguration. Each of them had left his stamp upon the Church of England for all after time, and though the one had served his generation for fully a quarter of a century longer than the other, yet in the multitude of his enterprises the younger had certainly surpassed the elder. It would be an interesting speculation to follow out the many contrasts which their characters, their antecedents, and their careers respectively present; but in the small space to which we are limited all that we can do is to set down for our readers a few memoranda which may be of interest to them of the life and work of one who has, perhaps, accomplished more in a short life of forty-eight years than any other man of our generation."

Once more:—

"Of Dr. Neale's numerous literary works we cannot now stop to speak more particularly, but there is the less need, as they are familiar to every one who has in any degree kept pace with the Church literature of the age. They were not merely wonderfully numerous but wonderfully various. There were his really great works on the Eastern Church and the Patriarchate of Alexandria; there is what we must call the Science of Comparative Liturgiology of which Dr. Neale was every way the inventor; there is the exquisite fragment of the Commentary on the Psalms, the fruit of his winter in Madeira, and of which we trust there is yet more to come; there are all his poetical works and translations, by many of which, more particularly the *hymns*, he will be *popularly* known as long as the language shall endure; to say nothing of the host of minor publications, contributions to periodicals, etc., etc.—and among others to our own earlier pages;—any one of which classes of work would have been enough to make a reputation, and yet all this was carried on concurrently with the wearing toil not only of watching over the difficult fortunes of the East Grinstead Community, but also of training up its inward life and forming its permanent constitution. There was enough here to have brought a strong man to an early grave, and Dr. Neale *began* his clerical life with what was then thought a hopeless resort to Madeira!"

With similar testimonies we could fill many pages, but our space forbids it, and what we have quoted is abundant enough to shew that "a cedar is fallen in Lebanon."



CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

ON THE CONFUSION OF CERTAIN HEBREW FORMS.

(A) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשׁ.

(B) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשִׁים.

(C) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשִׁים.

(D) מִשְׁכָּן.

(E) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשׁ.

(F) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשִׁים.

There has in more than one instance been confusion in the translation of these terms; e.g., Authorized Version, Numb. xviii. 10, "In the most holy place shalt thou eat it." This is in plain contradiction to other parts of the Scriptures. Some modern versions have tried to escape from the difficulty by omitting the article in violation of grammar. Thus Diodati, "in luogo santissimo." Lausanne New Version, "*un* lieu très saint." The Hebrew is not here anarthrous, but is as (B). Now though there is sometimes a difficulty in explaining the use of the Hebrew article, and it is used in many instances where we do not use it, such is not the case in the expressions before us. We will first take the first group (A), (B), (C):—

[i.] When there is no article as (A), the words are invariably used as a predicate, and, though substantives, must be rendered in English by an adjective, "*most holy*," or thus, "*a thing most holy*." In Hebrew as in Greek the predicate does not take the article, except in particular cases, as where the proposition is convertible.

[ii.] When there is the article, and the first word is in the singular, as (B), they have invariably one of the two following senses: 1st. "*The most holy things*" (what there were will appear as details are considered). 2nd. "*The most holy place*;" or, the holy of holies within the second veil.

[iii.] With the article, and both words in the plural, as (C), they mean "*The most holy things*."

As regards the 2nd group (D), (E), (F):—

[iv.] The first of this group (D) has the article, and means *when used of a place*, "*the sanctuary*."

[v.] The second (E), a substantive, and an adjective, and no article, means "*a holy place*."

[vi.] The last (F), two substantives and the article, "*The place of the sanctuary*."

(A) מִשְׁכָּן קֹדֶשׁ = "*Most holy*."

Exod. xxix. 37; xl. 10. "The" [brazen] "altar shall be *most holy*."

xxx. 10. "It" [the golden altar] "(is) *most holy*."

xxx. 29. "They" [i.e., the tabernacle, ark, table of shew bread

and vessels, candlestick and vessels, altar of incense, altar of burnt-offering and vessels, laver and foot, all of which were anointed with the holy oil) "shall be *most holy* unto you."

Lev. ii. 3, 10; x. 12. "It" [the remnant of the meat-offering, which was to be Aaron's and his sons'] "(is) *a thing most holy* of the offerings of the LORD made by fire."

vi. 17 (10). "It" [the same] "(is) *most holy*."

vi. 25 (18), 29 (23); x. 17. "It" [the sin-offering] "(is) *most holy*."

vii. 1, 6; xiv. 13. "It" [the trespass-offering] "(is) *most holy*."

xxiv. 9. "It" [the shew-bread] "(is) *most holy* unto him [Aaron and his sons] of the offerings of the LORD made by fire."

xxvii. 28. "Every devoted thing (is) *most holy* unto the LORD." It was to be Aaron's and his sons' (Numb. xviii. 14).

Numb. xviii. 9. "Every corban [gift] of theirs in respect to ב , every meat-offerings of theirs, and to every sin-offering of theirs, and to every trespass-offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be *most holy* for thee and for thy sons." The Authorized Version here is, "Every oblation of theirs, every meat-offering of theirs," etc., thus taking no notice of the preposition ב . But the term corban is a general one, and includes the species next after enumerated. See Lev. i., ii., iii.; "If his corban be a burnt-offering," "If his corban be a meat-offering," etc.

xxiii. 13. "Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things." So the Authorized Version. It should be rendered "*things that are most holy*," as the Authorized Version correctly renders in Lev. ii. 3, and Ezek. xlvi. 12, "a thing most holy." We have here virtually, though not strictly, a tertiary predicate.

Ezek. xlii. 12. "This is the law of the house. Upon the top of the mount the whole limit thereof round about shall be *most holy*."

xl. 3. "In it shall be the sanctuary (and) the holy place." So Authorized Version. It should be "the sanctuary (which is) *most holy*," the relative, as is well known, being frequently omitted in Hebrew, as indeed it is in many cases in English.

xlvi. 12. "This oblation of the land shall be unto them *a thing most holy*." Here exactly rendered.

Dan. ix. 26. "To anoint the most holy." So Authorized Version, but this is incorrect. It should be, as in the last example, and in Lev. ii. 3, 10, "To anoint *one most holy*." Here again we have, not strictly, yet virtually, the case of a tertiary predicate. It is important to note that the Hebrew is here anarthrous. When this most wonderful prophecy is brought to the notice of Israelites, they sometimes endeavour to escape from its force by saying that the words ought to be rendered, "to anoint the most holy place," i.e., the holy of holies; but if that were the meaning, the Hebrew would have the article, as will be seen by what follows.

(B) $\text{הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$.

1st. "*The most holy place*;" or, "*The holy of holies*."

Exod. xxvi. 33. "The vail shall divide unto you between the holy (*place*), and *the most holy*."

xxvi. 34. "The ark of the testimony in *the most holy (place)*."

1 Kings vi. 16. "For the oracle (even) for *the most holy (place)*."

vii. 50. "The inner house, *the most holy (place)*."

viii. 6. "Brought in the ark of the covenant of the LORD unto his place, into the oracle of the house, to *the most holy (place)*, (even) under the wings of the cherubims."

2 Chron. iii. 8. "He made *the most holy* house." The word "house" is here expressed, and not, as is most usual, omitted; nevertheless "הֵן" is here neither predicate nor adjective. The exact translation would be, "He made the house of holiness of holinesses," *בֵּית הַקְּדוּשָׁה הַקְּדוּשָׁה*, the article being put before the last substantive, and the three first words being bound together by Maqqeph.

iii. 10. "In *the most holy* house he made two cherubims." Translation and remarks as in the last example, *בֵּית הַקְּדוּשָׁה הַקְּדוּשָׁה*.

iv. 22. "The inner door for *the most holy (place)*."

Ezek. xli. 4. "This (is) *the most holy (place)*." Though the words in this case may be a predicate, they have the article to avoid ambiguity. Indeed the preposition is convertible.

2nd. "*The most holy things*."

Numb. iv. 4. "This (shall be) the service of the sons of Kohath, in the tabernacle of the congregation (about) *the most holy things*." The Authorized Version here supplies the word "about" improperly. "The most holy things" is in this case a tertiary predicate, and takes the article as in the last example. The passage goes on to enumerate "the most holy things" in the tabernacle of the congregation, viz., the ark, table, candlestick, golden and brazen altars, shew-bread, in short the sanctuary and the vessels of the sanctuary. These, "the most holy things," were to be the charge of the sons of Kohath.

iv. 19. Aaron and his sons were to go in and cover the sanctuary and its vessels, and then appoint the several burdens to the Kohathites, "that they might live, and not die, when they approached unto *the most holy things*."

xviii. 9, 10, "This shall be thine of *the most holy things* from the fire. Every corban of theirs" [see before] "as respects every meat-offering of theirs, and every sin-offering of theirs, and every trespass-offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be most holy unto thee, and to thy sons. In the most holy (*place*) shalt thou eat it." So the Authorized Version renders the last clause. But we know that the passage cannot mean that these things were to be eaten in the holy of holies, neither can it mean "in a most holy place," for we have the article here, neither was there any place except the holy of holies which was called the most holy. But the Hebrew preposition *כִּי* has often a meaning which relieves us of all difficulty. See Gesenius' *Heb. Lex.* under this preposition B(8), "as," "like as," "in the manner of," which is very analogous to that other meaning of the same preposition, Beth essentialis (D), in

Gesenius. Render, therefore, "In the manner of," or "*like as the most holy things* shalt thou eat it," i.e., thou Aaron and thy sons; these shall be thy portion. The preposition after all, in such instances, bears very much of its primitive sense "among."

1 Chron. vi. 49(34). "Aaron and his sons offered on the altar of burnt-offering, and on the altar of incense (and were appointed) for all the work of the (place) most holy." So Authorized Version. It should rather be "for all the work of *the most holy (things)*." Not only the high priest, but the other priests had part in the services specified. The sense therefore seems to require this.

Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65. "Therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood. And the Tirshatha said unto them that they should not eat of *the most holy things*, till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim."

(C) $\text{הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַקָּדוֹשׁ} = \text{"The most holy things."}$

Lev. xxi. 22. A son of Aaron having a physical defect was not to minister, but "he shall eat of the bread of his God (both) of the most holy, and of the holy." Rather "*of the most holy things* and of the holy things." The word "bread" being here used in its general, not in its strict and special sense.

1 Chron. xxxi. 14. "Kore . . . the Levite . . . (was) over the free-will offerings of God, to distribute the oblation of the LORD, and *the most holy things*."

Ezek. xlv. 13. "They" [the Levites] "shall not come near unto me to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things in the most holy (place)," $\text{אֵל הַקִּדְשִׁים הַקְּדוֹשִׁים}$. The Authorized Version seems again to need a slight correction here, and the last clause of the Hebrew to be explicative, "*to the most holy things*." The prohibition was not merely that the Levites should not enter the holy of holies, for that, even of the priests, the high priest alone might do; but that they should not offer on the altar of burnt-offering, nor take on them the other parts of the priest's office.

xlii. 13. "The north chambers (and) the south chambers, which (are) before the separate place, they (be) holy chambers, where the priests that approach unto the LORD shall eat *the most holy things*: there they shall lay *the most holy things*, and the meat-offering, and the sin-offering, and the trespass-offering; for the place (is) holy."

(D) $\text{הַמִּקְדָּשׁ} = \text{"The sanctuary."}$

When used of a place it means "the sanctuary," including the holy place, properly so-called, and the holy of holies; e.g., Exod. xxxviii. 24, "The" [silver] "sockets of *the sanctuary*," as contrasted with the brass sockets for the pillars of the *court* of the tabernacle; "the shekel of *the sanctuary*," *ibid.*, 24. Hence it is often used alone in lieu of the more exact $\text{הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַקָּדוֹשׁ}$, where the duties of the high priest within the inner or second vail, "before the Lord," and before the mercy-seat" are in question, see Exod. xxviii. 29, 35; Lev.

xvi. 2, 3, 17, 23, 27. One passage, Lev. x. 18, will be more conveniently considered presently.

(E) *שָׁרָץ קָדֹשׁ* = "A holy place."

Exod. xxix. 31. "Thou shalt take the ram of the consecration, and seethe his flesh in the holy place." So Authorized Version; but this could not be, as we know, in *the* holy place, properly so called, viz., that wherein were the candlestick, table of shew-bread, altar of incense, nor anywhere in the sanctuary. What is meant is clear from the verse next following: "Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, etc., *by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*" Render therefore, "*in a holy place,*" i. e., somewhere within the court of the tabernacle. Lev. vi. 16(9). Here again the Authorized Version needs a similar correction. The remnant of the meat-offering, after a handful had been burnt, was, except in certain cases, to be eaten "*in a holy place,*" and what that meant the context explains, viz., "in the court of the tabernacle."

x. 13. The same correction, "*a holy place,*" here explained to be "beside the altar."

vi. 26(19). The same correction. The sin-offering is here in question, and the place where it was to be eaten was "the court of the tabernacle."

vi. 27(20). The same correction. If any of the blood of the sin-offering was sprinkled by accident on anything, this blood was to be washed away "*in a holy place,*" and it is clear that this was to be where the priests were commanded to wash when engaged in their priestly office, viz., at the laver in the court of the tabernacle. See Exod. xxx. 18—21.

vii. 6. The same correction. This concerns the trespass-offering. One law was to be for that and for the sin-offering.

xvi. 24. The same correction, and the same subject.

xxiv. 9. The same correction. The place where the shew-bread was to be eaten is here spoken of.

(F) *שָׁרָץ קָדֹשׁ* = "The place of the sanctuary."

By this is meant, not the sanctuary itself, but the place where the sanctuary stood, i. e., the court of the tabernacle. This will be clear from a comparison of the passages where this form occurs with those under the last head.

Lev. x. 17. "Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place?" So Authorized Version; but to prevent ambiguity it would be better to translate, "*in the place of the sanctuary.*"

xiv. 13. The same correction. This concerns the trespass-offering, for which and the sin-offering there was to be one law (Lev. vii. 7).

NOTE ON LEV. x. 18.—"Behold the blood of it was not brought in within the holy (place); ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy (place) as I commanded." So Authorized Version. The Hebrew in the first of these two instances is, *אֵלֶּיךָ שָׁרָץ קָדֹשׁ*. It is an example

of (D); but the word *קֹדֶשׁ* subjoined, as well as Lev. vi. 30(23), shews that "the holy of holies" is meant, and the rendering should be, "*to within the sanctuary*," or, "*to the sanctuary within*." The Hebrew in the second of the above two instances is *קֹדֶשׁ*, and is an example also of (D), but should be rendered here according to the sense of the preposition *בְּ* in Numb. xviii. 10. There is a difficulty, it is true, in this case as regards the presence of the article, since with *בְּ* in this sense it ought not to be found, but here it is only in the Masoretic pointing. In Numb. xviii. 10 it occurs in the original text itself; but the plural there removes the difficulty, as *בְּ* there may have its primitive sense "among," and "the holy things" are there certain definite and well-known ones, previously mentioned in the law. If the word in the second of the two instances in Lev. x. 18 be pointed *קֹדֶשׁ* the difficulty is removed, and the case becomes one of Beth essentialis, like *יְהוָה יִבְרָא גִבּוֹר*, "The Lord shall come *as* a mighty one:" so here, "thou shouldst have eaten it *as* a holy thing."

The publishers of that admirable and useful work, the *Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance*, would render a great service to many if they would by a small numeral distinguish the three cases (A), (B), (C), in their next edition; and if they would moreover in the same way distinguish the cases where the same verb is followed by a different preposition, *e.g.*, *קָבַץ*, when followed by *בְּ*, and when followed by *מִן*, etc., etc.

Nice.

EDWARD BILEY.

THE WAVE SHEAF AND THE PENTECOST.

In a paper of mine printed in the *J. S. L.* for last April, p. 203, I said that I had not the means of verifying Dr. Jennings's reference to R. Solomon Jarchi, respecting the mode of computing the Pentecost. A friend has since sent me a translation of the parts of his commentary which bear on the point. Thus, on Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, he says, "*From the morrow after the Sabbath, i.e., from the morrow of the good day [of Nisan 15] shall be complete*: teaches us that we should begin to count from the evening, for else they would not be complete: *the seventh sabbath, i.e., as in the Targum, the seventh week: even unto the morrow of the seventh sabbath shall ye number* *למחרת השבת השביעית*:" the "unto" [*i.e.*, the "*terminus ad quem*"] is not included, and thus they are forty-nine days; and the literal sense is, Unto the morrow of the seventh sabbath, which is day the fiftieth, ye shall number: *למחרת השבת השביעית* is transposed for *למחרת השבת השביעית*. On Deut. xvi. 9, he says, "*From such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn, i.e., from the time of the reaping of the sheaf, which is the beginning of the harvest.*" R. Solomon in these last words evidently alludes to the custom so graphically described by Maimonides in my last paper, of reaping the sheaf immediately after

the sunset which closed Nisan 15, *i.e.*, in the evening which commenced Nisan 16. Most assuredly, then, R. Solomon would not have the Pentecost computed from Nisan 16 *exclusive*; and he, as well as Maimonides, is misrepresented by Lightfoot and Jennings.

Having disposed of this matter, I crave space for some remarks on a collateral point of some interest. The Rabbis whom I have been citing all concur in explaining the *Sabbath*, mentioned in the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" (Levit. xxiii. 11, 15), to mean Nisan 15, "the feast of unleavened bread" (verse 6), on which the Israelites were charged—"Ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work therein" (verse 7). And the Rabbis seem to me to have been right in this interpretation; for if we examine the chapter throughout, we shall find similar charges given respecting other solemn days of the year, and the term "*sabbath*" actually applied to most of them, though they could not possibly all of them have fallen on the Saturday.

Thus, (1) at verse 24, it is said of Tisri 1, "Ye shall have a *sabbath*, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work therein." (2.) Again, at verses 27—32, Tisri 10 is made the "day of atonement, an holy convocation; . . . , and whatsoever soul it be that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will I destroy from among the people: It shall be unto you a *sabbath of rest*: from even unto even shall ye celebrate your *sabbath*." (3.) Again, at verses 34—36, the eight days from Tisri 15 to Tisri 22 are appointed as the feast of tabernacles; and both the first and the eighth days were to be "holy convocations; ye shall do no servile work therein:" and at verse 39 the very same eight days are appointed as the feast of ingathering of all the fruits of the year; "and on the first day shall be a *sabbath*, and on the eighth day shall be a *sabbath*." Here then we have Tisri 1, 10, 15, 22, all called *sabbaths*; and yet it is self-evident that they could not all have been Saturday sabbaths. (4.) Once more, we read at verses 37, 38, "These are the feasts of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations *beside the sabbaths of the Lord*," etc.; and at verse 8 we find that this phrase, "*the sabbath of the Lord*," means the ordinary weekly sabbath. The precept therefore means, that all the solemn days mentioned in this chapter as days of holy convocation and cessation from labour were to be regarded and observed as sabbaths, *beside* the weekly sabbaths; and that if any of them should at any time fall on the weekly sabbath, the offerings peculiar to the feast should be *superadded* to those proper to the weekly sabbath.

To apply all this to the point in hand when we read at verse 11—"on the morrow after *the sabbath* the priest shall wave it," we feel that some *particular* sabbath is referred to which has been already mentioned: but what *particular* sabbath has been mentioned? None, except Nisan 15 at verse 6, which is ordered to be kept as "a day of holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein:" it

was therefore a sabbath by description, and the very term "sabbath" (as I have proved) is in this same chapter applied to other feast days similarly described. I may be told that the last day of unleavened bread is similarly described at verse 8, and, therefore, was also a sabbath on the same principle. True, but there is an emphasis laid on Nisan 15; "On the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord:" this, therefore, was *κατ' ἐξοχήν* "the sabbath" of that feast. The Rabbinical Jews took this view of the matter, and I think rightly; and accordingly they understood "the morrow after the sabbath" to mean Nisan 16.

The Karaite Jews, however, maintained that "the sabbath" here spoken of means the weekly sabbath which fell on or next after Nisan 15. But if so, why was it not so defined? This seems an arbitrary interpretation, for which the context furnishes no authority. Yet a learned and Christian Israelite, in *The Scattered Nation* for August, p. 185, supports the Karaite view, mainly on the ground that the Pentecost is the only feast not assigned to some particular day of the month, which, of course, it could not be on the Karaite scheme: for if

Nisan 15 fell on a Saturday,	} "the morrow after the (Saturday) sabbath" {	would fall on
" Sunday,		Nisan 16.
" Monday,		Nisan 22.
" Tuesday,		Nisan 21.
" Wednesday,		Nisan 20.
" Thursday,		Nisan 19.
" Friday,		Nisan 18.
" "	" "	Nisan 17.

And so, the *terminus à quo* of the fifty days varying through all days from Nisan 16 to Nisan 22, the Pentecost itself would vary through all days from Sivan 6 to Sivan 12. But if "the morrow after the sabbath" means Nisan 16, then, as 15 days of Nisan + 29 days of Jyar + 6 days of Sivan = 50, the Pentecost would always on the Rabbinical view fall on Sivan 6, where the Jews place it. Mr. Calman winds up his argument with this query: "Wherefore did the Divine Legislator, if he understood the expression "the morrow after the sabbath" in the sense of the Rabbinical Jews, not fix, like them, the feast of Pentecost on the 6th day of the third month, instead of leaving it in that ambiguous way?"

I do not feel this species of argument would be any sufficient answer to my reasoning upon Levit. xxiii.: nevertheless, I can meet Mr. Calman's query thus. The Jews, since the Dispersion, have regulated their calender by means of a cycle and tables, and make their months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately; and this enables them to assign the Pentecost to Sivan 6. But before the Dispersion, when the holy nation was confined to the narrow limits of Palestine, they attempted to fix their calends and feasts, as I have proved from Maimonides and Abarbanel, as much as possible by the observed motions of the moon. These are most irregular; and hence there

was often uncertainty about the calends, and, therefore, about the length of the months: and two consecutive months might be both of 30 days, or both of 29 days, or one of 29 and the other of 30 days. Now between Nisan 15 and the Pentecost there were two new moons, affording ample scope for the uncertainties just hinted at; so that the Pentecost might fall on Sivan 5, Sivan 6, or Sivan 7: for

15 days of Nisan + 30 days of Jyar + 5 days of Sivan = 50.

15 days of Nisan + 29 days of Jyar + 6 days of Sivan = 50.

14 days of Nisan + 29 days of Jyar + 7 days of Sivan = 50.

The law, therefore, contemplating as strict an attention as possible on the part of Israel to the moon's real motions, did not fix the Pentecost to any specific day of the third month, seeing it might fall on the 5th, 6th, or 7th of Sivan.

Having thus answered Mr. Calman's query, I thank him cordially for drawing attention to the fact that the Pentecost was not tied by the original law to any particular day of the third month; because this fact incidentally confirms my speculations about the Jewish new moons and feasts before the Dispersion. At all events, I hold with the Rabbis, that "the morrow after the sabbath" means Nisan 16.

JOSIAH PRATT.

THE ARABIC TERM FOR *HARE*.

I HAVE perused the "Correspondence on Lev. xi. 3—7, and Deut. xiv. 6—8," in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, and have selected Mr. Young's letter, No. 17, as the subject of a few remarks.

"I do not think," says Mr. Young, "that the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Syriac* translators knew the real meaning at all of the Hebrew term *Arnebeth*." This is a mere statement of opinion, without the smallest tittle of proof or evidence.

"It only occurs twice, and in both cases they have simply transcribed the Hebrew word into their own peculiar characters." This allegation is sufficiently refuted by Mr. Gillespie's remark.

"*Freytag*, *Goliuz*, *Meninski*, *Richardson*, etc., in their respective dictionaries, give simply the word with the meaning '*hare*,' but they refer to *no author* in support of it." The dictionaries mentioned are all based on the native lexicons, and not on a regular course of reading in Arabic literature. *Richardson* (*Johnson*) never, I believe, cites any authority; the others only in the case of words and forms which are not mentioned by the oriental lexicographers, and that but sparingly. What dictionaries may be included under "etc.," I cannot say, but if Mr. Young had looked into *Willmet*, he would have found at least one author cited who uses the word.

"*Edward Lane*, whose life-work is now publishing in his *Arabic*

Dictionary, OMITS THE WORD ENTIRELY; from which I conclude that he has *not* met with it in Arabic *literature*, or in the language of *common life*." It is a pity that Mr. Young did not think twice before he penned this unlucky sentence. The word أرنب will probably appear in the third part of Mr. Lane's dictionary, under the radical رنب, where it is placed by the Arabian lexicographers, whether rightly or wrongly we need not here discuss. The word does, however, occur even in the already published portion of Mr. Lane's dictionary. Mr. Young evidently does not know that the Arabs have a special word for the buck hare, viz., خرز. Let him turn to Mr. Lane's dictionary, article خرز, and he will there read: "خرز the male of the أرنب [or hare]." The words within brackets are added by Mr. Lane himself, and shew that he *has* met with the word أرنب in Arabic literature, and knows its meaning quite well.

The plain fact of the matter is, that any Arabic scholar could easily produce passages from all periods of Arabic literature to prove that *arnab* (plural *arānib*, diminutive *urainib*) means *a hare* and nothing else; and if Mr. Young desires, I shall be willing to supply him with a few. As for "the language of *common life*," the following evidence may suffice.

Dombay, in his grammar of the vulgar dialect of *Morocco* (*Grammatica linguæ Mauro-arabicae juxta vernaculi idiomatis usum*, Vienna, 1800), gives in the *Vocabularium*, under the heading *de Quadrupedibus*, "Lepus, أرنب, *erneb*."

Ellious Boethor, an *Egyptian*, in his French-Arabic dictionary (2nd edit., Paris, 1848), has the article: "Lièvre, s.m., أرنب بري — أرنب; plur. أرانب;" i.e., "Hare, s.m., *arnab barri*" (*land arnab*, as opposed to the *arnab bahri* or *sea arnab*, a sort of fish), "or simply *arnab*; plur. *arānib*."

Catafago, a *Syrian*, in his English-Arabic dictionary (London, 1858), writes: "Hare أرنب *arnab*, أرانب *arānib*."

The naturalist Forskāl, who accompanied Carsten Niebuhr on his travels, has in his *Descriptiones Animalium* (Copenhagen, 1775), p. iv, among the "*Arabica, generis certi*," No. 20, "Lepus, Arnæb, عرب. In montibus Yemen non obviat." Being ignorant of Arabic, Forskāl has misspelled the word with ع instead of ا. His remark that the hare is not found in the mountains of Yemen clearly implies that he had met with it everywhere else.

Finally, to prove the usage of the present day on the borders of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula, I cite a passage from Dieterici's

Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande (Berlin, 1853), vol. ii., p. 82. Travelling through the *Wādī el-Arabah*, he writes as follows. "Die Beduinen zertheilten sich durch die Büsche, und hielten ihre schlechten Luntenflinten bereit. Ich glaubte, es gelte einige versteckte feindliche Spione hier aufzusuchen, und wollte mit meiner Flinte auch meine Schuldigkeit thun. Doch wie gross war mein Erstaunen, als ich hier hinter den Büschen ein paar, aus meiner Heimath mir wohl bekannte Buschbewohner enteilen sah; ein Geschrei 'idhrib el arnab,' 'schiesse den Hasen,' machte mir Alles klar."

أَضْرِبُ الْأَرْنَابَ is, therefore, at the present day, good Arabic for "shoot the hare (with your gun)." The same words, in the time of Muhammad, and very likely in that of Moses, would have meant "shoot the hare (with your arrow)," or at all events "knock her over (with a stick or stone)."

I venture to hope that Mr. Young, as well as Messrs. Gillespie and Johnstone, are now satisfied as to "what is the Arabic for hare." Regarding the *Shaphan*, there can be no doubt that the Syrian *hyrax* is meant by that term; the more so as the corresponding word ثَفْنٌ, *thofun*, is still used in southern Arabia to designate the said animal.

W. WRIGHT.

London, 1st September, 1866.

WAS THE IDOLATRY OF TERAH SABAÏSM?

THIS in reality includes the further question, Was Sabaïsm the early religion of Abraham? Maimonides, in the *Moreh Nevôchim*, asserts that it was; and in any case there seems no reason to doubt that he shared the idolatry of his fathers, of whatever character that may have been. The theory that he was the depositary of a primeval monotheistic tradition appears, on more grounds than one, to be wholly untenable. In the first place, how could such a tradition have reached him through ancestors who had plainly lost it themselves? And further, the words of Joshua (xxiv. 2) may fairly be held to imply that he had not escaped the contagion of the prevailing polytheism. He does not, it is true, distinctly affirm it: probably he abstained from doing so out of deference to the feelings of those whom he was addressing, perhaps also from a reverential unwillingness openly to connect what they had learnt to consider so great a fault with so honoured a name. But by speaking of Terah, and going out of his way, as it were, to call him Abraham's father, he reminds them of what no doubt they well knew, that the patriarch himself had been an idolator like the rest. The tradition followed by Josephus and the author of the book of Judith (v. 7, 8) points in

the same direction. The former expressly says that he was the first to avow a monotheistic creed, and to protest against the prevailing Sabaism,—the worship of the heavenly bodies,—and on this account was forced by a tumult to leave his country. The well-known legend in the Koran, quoted by Dean Stanley in his *Lectures on Jewish History* (i., 17), favours this view of the character of the idolatrous worship and of Abraham's participation in it; and it receives additional confirmation from the fact that his ancestral home was in Chaldaea, probably the original cradle of this form of worship, and certainly for many centuries the chief seat of it. Is not some light thrown upon this subject by the usage of the Jews in designating the points of the compass in a manner which implies that the speaker or observer stands with his face towards the east, the rising sun? *לפני*, *before*, is the usual term for the east: *אחרי*, *behind*, for the west: *ימין*, *the right hand*, south: *שמאל*, *the left hand*, north. The suggestion is probably not a new one, but I do not remember to have met with it anywhere. The explanation commonly given, that "one is supposed to look towards the east," without any reason assigned, is obviously no explanation at all; it is, in short, re-stating the fact in different words. As a mark left upon the language by the ancient worship of the rising sun, it is intelligible enough. Whether or not a similar usage prevails in Arabic I am not aware. Gesenius states that it is found among the Mongols, Hindoos, and some of the Celtic nations. There is no trace of it, so far as I know, in any of the modern European languages. Of course it is possible that the Hebrews may have derived the custom, as well as the tendency which they manifestly displayed* towards falling back into the worship of the "host of heaven," from Egypt, where they found the sun the chief and most conspicuous object of national adoration. And considering the extent to which Egypt certainly moulded the thoughts and habits of the subject race, the deep impression which Egyptian worship and manners left upon their national character, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that this particular custom was a remnant of a period of which some of the traces appear to have been almost indelible. Yet on the other hand, taking into account the early traditions as to the religion of their forefathers, the country whence their race originally sprung, the instinctive, almost irrepressible tendency^b of the oriental mind towards a form of worship which presents to us no attractions, of which the fascination is to us quite unintelligible, I cannot but think that we may venture to refer it to an earlier epoch,—to a time when the patriarch of their race "saw the sun rising and said, This is my Lord," and had not yet learnt to "turn his face to Him who made the heaven and the earth."

PHILIP MULES.

* See the prohibitions in Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3. The worship of the sun and moon in the time of the later kings and prophets was doubtless borrowed from their Arabian and Assyrian neighbours.

^b Compare Job xxxi. 26, and see the testimony of modern travellers as to the prevalence of Sabaism in Mahometan countries to this day.

INSPIRATION.

WITH reference to Mr. Biley's rejoinder to a letter of mine on the subject of Inspiration in your January Number, I beg leave to observe that Luke iv. 18, 19 is by no means an exact quotation from *the place* which our Lord is said to *have found*, supposing that place to be Isa. lxi. 1 ff; and that therefore the *mode of quotation* is an argument in favour of my view as stated in that letter. The Hebrew text has no words which exactly correspond to (1) *to preach the Gospel to the poor*, in the sense in which this sentence is commonly understood; or, to (2) *recovering of sight to the blind*, in St. Luke: but in their stead we read in the Hebrew (1), *to announce good tidings to the afflicted, i. e., of deliverance from captivity*; and (2), *and the opening of the prison to them that are bound*. Moreover, this latter clause has nothing corresponding thereto in St. Luke; while the words, *recovering of sight to the blind*, in St. Luke, and in the O', are a very ancient interpolation in the text of that version, (derived possibly from Isa. xlii. 7, 19,) but adopted, notwithstanding such interpolation, by our Lord. The clause also, *to set at liberty them that are bruised*, is slightly altered from Isa. lviii. 6.

The agreements and variations will best be seen by the following juxtaposition of the two passages:—

ISAIAH (HEB.).	ST. LUKE.
The Spirit of Adonai Jehovah is upon me, Because Jehovah hath anointed me to announce good news to the afflicted, He hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, To proclaim liberty to the captives, And the opening of the prison to them that are bound, Isa. lxi. 1, o'. Isa. xlii. 7, 19, o'. Isa. lviii. 6, o'. To proclaim Jehovah's year of favour.	The Spirit of the Lord is on me, Because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, To preach deliverance to the captives, And recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised, To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

I do not therefore see how we can draw any inference from this passage as to our Lord's knowledge of Hebrew—then, by the way, a dead language—because (1) the Book given to him by the Chazan or Minister might possibly have been a copy of the O' version (though this of course is doubtful), with which his quotation agrees more accurately than with the Hebrew; and (2) because if he had the Hebrew before him, or present to his mind, he would probably have given an exact version of it into Aramaic or Greek for the benefit of his hearers. There is therefore, to my mind, far less difficulty and more reverence in supposing that our Lord, as St. Luke represents, gave a loose quotation, based in the main upon the Septuagint, than in supposing that He understood and quoted Hebrew, and yet did not faithfully reproduce it.

It must also be borne in mind that Isa. lxi. proceeds from the

pen of the pseudo, or younger Isaiah as he is called, (whoever that unknown writer may be,) and that his words have a primary, although possibly not an exclusive reference to the return from the captivity. At all events, they admit of being *accommodated*, as our Lord, in my opinion, has accommodated them, to Himself and to His ministry. And while this accounts for the looseness of quotation, it is also an argument against any strict theory of verbal Inspiration.

I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with Mr. Biley when he writes, "that if the Lord and His Apostles often departed from the exact sense of the Hebrew their variations have, by the very fact of their having made them, as much the sanction of the Holy Ghost as the original Hebrew," although I can see that there is a theory of Inspiration which necessitates some such position. But the Holy Ghost cannot vary from or contradict Himself.

I have no other remark to make upon Mr. Biley's letter than to add that I spoke in my letter of January of our Lord's knowledge when on earth as the Son of Man, and not of his knowledge as the Risen Lord.

A Rector.

ON THE SITE OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

I HAVE recently read with pleasure Mr. George Warington's able essay on the *Site of Sodom and Gomorrah*, contained in your last April Number (XVII., New Series), and with most of the views there expressed I coincide. As, however, both the learned writer and yourself do not seem to know that I have already written a paper on the same subject, which was considered by the late distinguished and venerable author—the Rev. G. S. Faber—as satisfactory in proving that the sites of these ancient cities were both "at the *south* end of the Dead Sea," and not as M. De Saulcy first promulgated the statement, that one (Sodom) was at the south-west extremity of that sea, and the other (Gomorrah) near its north-west extremity. This paper, it will be seen, was published in *this* same Journal, when Dr. H. Burgess was the editor, in No. X. for January, in the year 1854. M. De Saulcy placed Sodom near a spot, called by the Arab Ciceroni *Uzdum*, where he maintained that there still existed the ruins of the town. These ruins have been subsequently searched for by the most trustworthy travellers, and have *never* been made out as the remains of any town whatsoever. The mount of salt formation, called *Gebel E'S'dum*, clearly indicates that not very far distant from it,—most probably a mile or two to the north-east *in the plain*,—must have once stood the overthrown city of Sodom. And this French traveller has, unfortunately for the likelihood of his case, laid down the situation of Gomorrah at the other, or north, end of the Dead Sea, but on the same side, and more than forty miles distant from it; at a spot termed by the Arab Ciceroni, *Gūmran*. De Saulcy apparently fixed upon it from this supposed *sameness* of name, but which Mr.

Warrington shews to be really *different*. With De Saulcy's view both Mr. Grove and Mr. Tristram have subsequently agreed. The latter traveller writes, (p. 249, *The Land of Israel*),—"we could find *no trace* of a *Wadi Gūmran*;" "nor were we more successful in discovering the remains of Gomorrah," according to De Saulcy. Again he adds, "the name of *El Gūmrah*, or any thing approaching to it, seemed quite *unknown* to our guides."

I will not resume the question, whether the site of Gomorrah should be at the north or south end of the Dead Sea, as I feel satisfied that I have already determined the question in my *Essay* published in 1854 in this *Journal*, and which the late Mr. Faber, who also wrote a paper on the subject in the October No. 1853, of the *Dublin University Magazine* considered as "perfectly conclusive."

Scripture can *alone* afford the exact evidence of the question; or, as Mr. Faber has more fully observed,—“in the way of documentary evidence we have nothing of the least weight, *except* the testimony of Moses. The much later writers to whom De Saulcy refers are, from their very lateness, no countervailing authority at all.” See *Faber's Letter, J. S. L.*, p. 241, April, No. XI, 1854. And Mr. Warrington, “looking back over the whole evidence” on the question, which he has carefully examined, very fairly and correctly writes,—“there can be no doubt as to the conclusion to be deduced from it. On behalf of the *northern* site of Sodom there has appeared no tittle of proof whatever, not even a hint. On behalf of the *southern* site has appeared proof the most conclusive, diverse, and unanimous,” (*loc. cit.*, p. 56).

That all the four “Cities of the Plain,” *i. e.* *on* or *in* the plain, or hollow, of the Jordan, and not upon the strand, or bank, or sides of the plain, or hollow, (Zoar the fifth and southernmost excepted), were destroyed by the *waters* of the Dead Sea, the Salt Sea, or the Sea of the Plain I do *not* maintain, for they were destroyed by *fire*; but that their sites were ultimately submerged, or covered by those waters is evident, and I think free from doubt.

So Mr. Warrington concludes,—“it is by no means improbable, (or ‘it is quite likely’) that the sites of some at least are now covered by the waters of the lagoon.”

Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees,
August 9th, 1866.

JOHN HOGG.

GENERAL REMARKS ON PANTHEISM.

HINTONISM is the confused statement of a profound metaphysical truth, by an unfledged student of philosophy, pitifully out of his depth in such waters. That what we sometimes call Nature, or the Material Universe, is simply force, holding a certain relation to a percipient being, science seems to be on the point of demonstrating. That phenomena, as they exist in our consciousness, are transcripts

modified in the process of perception, in other words, that they are a result of the interaction between objective and subjective, is a conclusion with which moral philosophy has long been familiar. We did not need Mr. Hinton to discover or even to expound these things. This part of his book, which is true, is not new, except in his very confused manner of stating the truth. But by what process of logic he has from such data arrived at the stupendous conclusion that man must be dead (because involved in the phenomenal sphere), is certainly little less than an arch-mystery. It is no doubt quite legitimate, poetically and as a figure of speech, to regard our descent (by birth) into the sphere of time and matter as a species of death, and our return to the eternal and spiritual (at our demise) as a species of birth. But even granting this to be literally true, we do not see how the acceptance of Hintonism is to make matters any better. If we unfortunate dwellers on this natural earth are all (spiritually) dead, we do not see how Mr. Hinton and his disciples are to become exceptions to the rule. The lamentable state of spiritual death is not to be remedied by the intellectual apprehension of a metaphysical truth. Spiritual life and death are dependant upon our *moral* state, not on our intellectual condition.

But the assumption that man must be (spiritually) dead because he has at present only a phenomenal apprehension of the objective is quite gratuitous. Perception of any kind implies vitality, and all that our present mode of perception demonstrates is, that we are, probably as a process of discipline, subject to certain conditions, as for example, of time and space—the when and where.

No doubt Nature is alive; she is so because pervaded and sustained by the immanent life of God—her divine creator and preserver. But of all her provinces the human, so far as our experience goes, is the most vital, that in which the *inner* as well as the outer life is alone effectually developed.

The truth is, Mr. Hinton, like many other talented young men, has unfortunately presumed to write a book on philosophy when he should have been still attending his classes.

J. W. JACKSON.

ON THE ADAPTATION OF THE ROMAN ALPHABET TO FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

“A *perfect* alphabet should contain a distinct symbol for each separate sound.”—*Ernest Adams*.

“Spelling is *partially*, it ought to be *entirely*, regulated by pronunciation.”—*A. J. D. D'Orsey*.

It is not generally known that the English alphabet contains a sufficient number of consonant-letters to express with accuracy all the simple consonant-sounds of the language.

The letters *b, d, f, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, z*, and *g* (restricted to

its hard sound), denote fifteen simple consonant-sounds; but five other simple consonant-sounds, *sh*, *zh*, *th*, *dh*, and *ng*, have no single letters appropriated to them. *C*, *q*, *y* are superfluous, also *j* and *x*, representing complex sounds. Employ these letters to express the five simple consonant-sounds for which we have no appropriate single characters: let *c=sh*, *j=zh*, *y=th*, *q=dh*, and *x=ng*. Every simple consonant-sound of the English language will then be furnished with an appropriate symbol by which it may be constantly represented. The complex sounds represented by *ch*, *j*, and *x*, should be denoted, in agreement with their analysis, by *tc=ch*, *dj=j*, and *ks* or *gz=x*. The aspirated *k* and *g*, which do not occur as sounds in our language, may be expressed by '*k*', '*g*'. A few additional marks would suffice to adapt the Roman consonant-letters to the expression of every variety of consonant-sound.

The vowel and diphthongal sounds may be represented as follows. Let *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and *w*, constantly signify the short vowel sounds heard in *man*, *men*, *pity*, *on*, *cup*, *foot*. The long vowel sounds commonly represented by the separable diphthongs, *æ*, *ee*, *ie*, *æ*, and *ue*, as in *mate*, *seem*, *pine*, *bone*, *tune*, may be denoted by the *acute* accent placed over the simple vowel *a*, *e*, etc. The *grave* accent may be placed over *a* and *o*, to distinguish the sound of *a* in *father*, and that of *oo* in *food*, and over *i* to mark the broad diphthongal sound of *aye*. Lastly, the *circumflex* accent may be placed over *a* to distinguish the sound of that letter in *ball*; over *i* to denote the diphthongal sound *oi*, and over *o* to denote that of *ou*.

W and *i* (in place of *y*) are coalescent when they immediately precede a vowel in the same syllable.

The *grave* and *circumflex* accents may be used with *e* and *u*, to mark peculiar foreign sounds of these letters.

If preferred, *dots at the side of the vowels* might be employed instead of the *accents*, thus: *a dot at the top=the acute*, *a dot at the bottom=the grave*, and *two dots, or a colon=the circumflex*.

The Hebrew semi-vowels may be distinguished by the common short-vowel mark, thus: *simple shv'a vocal* may be written *ı̇*, *chateph segol* *ě*, *chateph pathach* *ă*, and *chateph kamets* *ô*.

The resources of the Roman alphabet developed in accordance with the scheme thus briefly indicated, will be found adequate, I think, to express with accuracy and facility, perhaps, every variety of spoken language.

R. P. B.

PROTESTANTISM IN SCANDINAVIA.

WITH respect to the exceptions taken to my account of the philosophical school described in the article "Protestantism in Scandinavia," (*J. S. L.*, *July*, 1866,) I shall only remark,—

The existence of the passages cited by me from the Professor's works is undenied and undeniable. Of the oath taken by all pro-

fessors previous to the promulgation (about twelve years ago) of the new statutes, I extract the commencement from the University statutes. It is as follows:—

Juramentum autem quod quisque Professorum præstabit tale est.

Ego N.N. sancta promitto me in vera fide sacris scripturis patefacta, et Apostolico Nicæno et Athanasiano Symbolis breviter expressa, ac genuina Augustana Confessione et Concilio Upsaliensi recepta, ad finem vitæ perseveraturum. Dein de Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principe ac Domino Domino Rege nostro, etc., etc. . . . Ita me Deus adjuvet, etc.

The confronting of these is, to a man possessing the accomplishment of common honesty, sufficient to justify all, and more than all, that I have advanced concerning a school, which is one of the most disgraceful phenomena of an age fruitful in moral enormities.

I therefore consider myself under no obligation whatever to read either the whole or any part of what the "Philosophers" may choose to write on the subject: for a treatise, even if ever so extensive, eloquent, or cleverly written, which has for its object to justify what every man in his senses must see and know to be nothing less than a base fraud aggravated by gross perjury, is not only a flagrant insult to common sense, but a shameless violation of decency and a scandalous outrage of public morality, and as such utterly undeserving of notice.

THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE ON
"PROTESTANTISM IN SCANDINAVIA."

Sweden, July, 1866.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue Française, recueillie et publiée avec d'autres lettres relatives à la Réforme et des notes historiques et biographiques. Par A. Z. HERMINJARD. Tome premier (1512 à 1526). pp, 14 and 495. Geneva and Paris. 1866.

AMONGST the tendencies of the present day, one of the most marked is that of speculation on almost every question of religion and morals. It seems at times as if no single point were held as being truth so ascertained and known, that it can no longer be regarded as a matter of doubtful investigation. Thus it comes to pass that those who maintain dogmatic truth are frequently accused of mere traditional attachment to certain opinions; and they are said to be the opponents of "free inquiry." But it is impossible to discuss such charges unless those who bring them will first define the terms which they use. Let it be distinctly stated what is meant by "free inquiry;" is it intended that we should understand unbounded liberty of speculation,—a voyage without chart or compass? or does it mean simply a reverential inquiry as to what God has revealed for our learning in His Word, and how far conventional notions may really be in accordance with that unerring chart? Not a few who profess themselves to be the firmest friends of "free inquiry" have not as yet answered these questions definitely even in their own minds: hence, when speaking of the Reformation, they use at different times language of a very inconsistent kind. If the question is the subjection of the human mind to mere pretended authority, then the Reformation is spoken of in terms of the highest admiration, as that which freed so many from traditional shackles: but if dogmatic trust is in question, and when it is shewn how firmly and definitely that was held by the Reformers, then all this apparent admiration seems at once to vanish, and such terms are applied to the Reformers and their work as shew that they are regarded as the imposers of new restrictions on human thought, or as the perpetuators of old superstitions. Hence modern speculation will at times use for its own purposes the names of Reformers and the work of the Reformation; whilst at others both are spoken of without respect, and as if all that they did were repudiated. But there is such a thing as our shewing a proper deference to those who have gone before us, without as a matter of necessity approving their acts or defending their principles as a whole.

To this end it is essential that their principles be rightly known and understood: for it is most certain that not a few of those who discuss the Reformation, whether in the way of praise or blame, are peculiarly devoid of any real apprehension of the principles involved and the objects sought. It would be needless to restate that the

primary point always was, "How can a sinner be justified before God?" were it not that in this question, and in the answer, "*Propter Christum per fidem*," were involved the groundwork of all further inquiry. It was thus acknowledged that we stand in a condition of alienation from God, and that all that brings us near and teaches us must be of God. Those who thus apprehended the fundamental principle of our relation to God, if accepted "*propter Christum*," might go in to learn all that had been revealed for their instruction. "*Est enim Scriptura, schola Spiritus Sancti, in qua ut nihil prætermisum est scitu et necessarium et utile, sic nihil docetur nisi quod scire conducatur. Quicquid igitur de prædestinatione in Scriptura proditur, cavendum est ne ab eo fideles arceamus: ne videamur aut illos maligne fraudare Dei sui beneficio, aut Spiritum arguere ac suggillare, qui ea vulgarit quæ utile sit ullo modo suppressi. Permittamus, inquam, Christiano homini cunctis, qui ad eum diriguntur, Dei sermonibus mentem auresque reserare, modo cum hac temperantia, ut quum primum Dominus sacrum os clauserit, ille quoque viam sibi ad inquirendum præcludat. Hic optimus sobrietatis terminus erit, si non modo in discendo præeuntem semper sequamur Deum, sed ipso finem docendi faciente, sapere velle desinamus,*" (Calvin, *Instit.* iii., xxi. 3.)

These remarks, though stated in connection with one particular subject, are of general application, as shewing the true principles of the Reformation, both as to the extent and the restrictions of inquiry, and as to the authoritative place which belongs to Holy Scripture as declaring those things which a Christian has to receive without appeal, as being written for his learning by the Spirit of God.

It is well in the present day for minds to be directed to the Reformation itself; not to any traditional apprehension about the Reformation, but to that which the men living really thought, did, and wrote; when they had so full an earnestness of purpose, and such real conscience as to their principles that they were ready to sacrifice possessions, liberty, or life, for the maintenance of what they were persuaded to be true. There are few things which will ever bear any comparison with correspondence in bringing us into a kind of personal acquaintance with the actors in the scenes of past ages: how fully this has been felt in connection with the letters of Luther arranged and edited with such care by De Wette, and with those of the English Reformers, forming so important a part of the publications of the Parker Society. This leads us to attach considerable importance to the undertaking of M. Herminjard, the first volume of which lies before us.

The editor states his object to be that of gathering together in one collection the letters of those who in the countries which are French in language, laboured closely or remotely for the establishment of the Reformation. Such a collection, even while we bear in mind what a vast number of documents must have perished in the last three hundred years, enables us to know what the French Reformers really did and taught: for enough is still extant for us to form a very correct general estimate. It is not needful that every column of an ancient

temple should stand in its place, and that the frieze should be uninjured, to enable us to know the order of architecture, the proportions, and the skill of the sculptor.

In the first volume M. Herminjard has given the extant correspondence to the end of the year 1526. In the earlier years of this first period the documents are of course very few, and they rather belong to the Introduction to the Reformation than to the Reformation itself. They are, however, an important, it might almost be said necessary, introduction: for they shew the steps by which different actors were led on, and how their minds and spiritual apprehensions were trained for the work. Some of these documents are not strictly correspondence; and in such cases, where the original was in Latin, M. Herminjard has contented himself with giving a French translation; a reference is always added, so that the version may be verified with the published original. These documents consist of Prefaces and Dedications, which although replete with personal feeling and sentiment, have what may be called a public character.

M. Herminjard gives the first place, in point of time, to the Dedication in 1512 by Jacques Le Fèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis) of his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to Briçonnet, then Bishop of Lodève in the south of France. This dedication is well worthy of the place assigned to it; for in it Le Fèvre avowed principles which, if carried out, would of necessity introduce a system very different from that of Rome: it is a document comparatively little known: for forming as it does a part of a book of considerable rarity, it has been but little noticed in later times: we have, however, been familiar with it for more than twenty years. The volume of Le Fèvre has a critical as well as a religious interest; for in the commentary on St. Paul's Epistles he has recourse continually to the original Greek. His previous labours on the *Psalterium Quincuplex* (1508) were important in upholding the authority of the Word of God, and subsequently the French translation of the New Testament by him was one of the most important aids to the Reformation.

For some years following 1512 but a few letters exist which bear even indirectly on the French Reformation. In 1521 they become more numerous; and from 1522, when Le Fèvre issued the first part of his French Testament with an earnest introductory address to Christian readers, they are sufficient in themselves to supply a kind of outline of the French Reformation. Names come before us not of precursors as it were, such as Le Fèvre, Cornelius Agrippa and Briçonnet, but of labourers such as Farel and Ecolampadius.

The number of the letters and other documents in this volume is one hundred and ninety-five (including five in the Appendix and one irregularly numbered): of these, fifty-three were, previously inedited. Great pains appear to have been taken to collect the existing remains of correspondence, and the Editor most fully acknowledges his obligations to those who have aided him by their researches.

At the head of every letter, whether French or Latin, there is

given a summary in French of the contents: short but decidedly useful foot-notes are subjoined, explanatory of the subjects referred to or the persons mentioned; and the references to other portions of the correspondence have a great convenience, for they aid in combining the miscellaneous materials into one consistent whole. The original orthography, whether Latin or French, has been preserved,—a thing which has more importance than might at first sight be apparent: for there is always danger in the endeavour to modernize such documents, lest some feature should be changed, and lest some sentiment expressed obscurely by the writer should be inadvertently modified.

M. Herminjard in his Prospectus expresses his intention that his collection of the Correspondence of the Reformers who were French by language, shall extend to the year 1565; the whole will he supposes be comprised in from eight to ten volumes, similar to the one already issued. We regard the one before us as the earnest and the sample of a collection of peculiar importance and interest, exhibiting great diligence and research in the collection of the letters, and proper care as to editorship and annotations. We trust that further portions of these documents of the French Reformation may appear with as little delay as will be consistent with careful editing.

Those who regard Protestantism as merely Negative Theology, will find themselves utterly mistaken as to this collection: for instead of there being the mere rejection of Romish errors, there is the earnest assertion of Scripture truths, the reception of which was in fact the ground on which Romish dogmas were cast aside. Protestantism was far more a protest *for* the doctrinal truths of God's Word than *against* those things which had been added to it; although in some respects the two are inseparably connected. It is well for this to be seen and acted on, now that not a few profess to think that such foundation-truths as the reality of our Lord's vicarious sacrifice, the eternal condemnation of those who reject the Gospel, and the absolute veracity of all Holy Scripture, are points which admit of "free inquiry:" in such a case the term only means, in the mouths of those who use it, that they have rejected all these verities, regarding the revelation of God as less certain than their own individual speculations. He who makes allegiance to the sovereign a subject of indifferent inquiry, plainly shews that as to all real obligation he has taken the side of those who have cast it off.

Essays for the Times on Ecclesiastical and Social Subjects. By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. London: Elliot Stock.

THE author of these Essays is already known to some portion of the literary world by his *Modern Anglican Theology*, a book which appeared some few years ago, but which has not, we believe, been very extensively read. Nor do we anticipate any wide circulation of the Essays before us, as they are, judging from our own knowledge of Wesleyans, chiefly upon topics in which few feel interested, and are written in a style too high and differing too much from that in which

the majority of the members of that church have been brought up. The Essays, including an introductory one on the "Relations between Wesleyan Methodism and the Established Church," are twelve in number. They embrace subjects of very varied character and interest, as the mere enumeration of their titles will shew. Here we may read of "The Vocation and Training of the Clergy;" of "The Established Church—Defects and Remedies;" of "The Puritan Ancestors and High-Church Parents of the Wesleys;" of "Kingsley and Newman;" of "Pusey's *Eirenicon*;" of "Archbishop Manning and Doctor Pusey on the workings of the Holy Ghost among Separatists and Schismatics;" of "The History of Heterodox Speculation;" of "The Bible and Human Progress;" of "The Origin, Causes, and Cure of Pauperism;" and of "Popular Education." All subjects of some interest, which we are invited to study from a Wesleyan-Methodist point of view; and that we may make no mistake as to our stand-point (although the author has "touched on questions" with no sectarian view), we are told, at the outset, that he himself is "a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church," and that he "desires to offer a very few words of explanation in regard to the relations of Methodism to the Church of England."

If any Churchmen have been believing in the probability of a reunion between Wesleyanism and the Established Church, we should advise them to read this introductory Essay. Although we do not believe the separation is so wide as is here represented, or that any desire for reunion is extensively felt among members of the English Church, it may be well to know how such men as Dr. Rigg and William Arthur express themselves upon this subject. They have no hesitation in saying, that there is not the remotest possibility of the Wesleyan Methodist Church ever being absorbed in the Church of England, and doubt whether, out of the many hundreds of Wesleyan ministers, and of the hundreds of thousands of Wesleyan communicants, there are altogether a score of persons who would not smile with supreme amusement if such a proposal were presented to them. We cannot help thinking that Dr. Rigg, in making a statement like this, judged the feelings of Wesleyans from his own experience in large towns, altogether ignoring his humbler brethren of the smaller towns and villages of England. He ought to know what the "local preachers" and the "itinerants"—or many of them—are, who fill the pulpits in these less favoured parts, and he ought to know what effect a journey from Liverpool to a small town in Kent or Sussex has upon a well educated Wesleyan—he becomes wearied with the "platitudes" of his class meetings, shocked with the irreverence of his prayer meetings, amazed at the ignorance doled out with no stint from the pulpit; and, as a refuge from indifference or worse, he goes to the parish church. This is no ideal sketch; we have known such cases more than once or twice, and among members of Wesleyan families well known in the world. Such people, fallen on such unhappy parts, would not, we imagine, "smile with supreme amusement" at a pro-

posal for reunion with the Established Church. Still we agree with the author where he says, at the close of this introductory Essay,—*“Methodism is not approaching nearer to the Church of England. No real Methodist could ever find himself content and at home in the stately but cold cloisters of the Anglican Church. Methodists much prefer their own sanctuary, which, though it be less and lowlier, has in it much more of the life and joy and fellowship which befit the communion of saints.”* We say we agree with the author, but only so far as we have italicized his remarks, while the latter we altogether deny.

We confess to a feeling of unsatisfactoriness with the perusal of the Essay on the Established Church. The author himself does not seem at home with his subject, and has indulged in a style of writing which would cause, in some circles, not a little amusement, on account of the patronizing air which pervades it. Here is a specimen:—

“To begin with the lecturer himself: Mr. Sandford [Archdeacon of Coventry] belongs to a class of clergy [what class?] of whom we imagine not a large number now survive. We presume that, although a dignitary in the Church of England, he is himself a native of Scotland, probably of the Scottish border. . . . It is forty years since Mr. Sandford entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. He has been from the beginning an active parish clergyman, has sustained the office of Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, and has for a number of years past had official charge of the important Archdeaconry of Coventry. He is a man of business, of experience, and of energy. Most carefully, however, does he disclaim the character of a speculative philosopher or theologian. ‘My subject,’ he says at the close of his last lecture, ‘has led me to speak chiefly of the Church’s active life. It indeed best became me to handle topics with which I am myself familiar. But am I, therefore, unmindful of men of more sedentary lives and recondite pursuits?’ And he prefaces his discussions by this modest sentence: ‘Had any course of lectures, addressed to what may be deemed by some the more immediate necessities of academic thought, been before the electors, it would not have been my privilege to address you to-day.’ Now we have no doubt that, as Mr. Sandford is evidently a man of high and honourable principles, so he is a modest man; and, therefore, we would not put to an improper use such candid admissions as these. We do not doubt that the Archdeacon is a divine of some learning, and that he was *fairly competent* to the duties of Examining Chaplain so long as he held that office. At the same time, no one can carefully read this volume without coming to the conclusion that, although the author must of necessity have written much, he is no master of style. His writing is not ineffective, and at times approaches eloquence; it is always manly, unpretending, unaffected, and thoroughly earnest; but the craft of English composition has evidently not been a cherished study with him.”

We can imagine the amusement with which that “true son of the Church,” that “good Churchman,” with his “exalted Anglicanism,” that “fairly competent divine of some learning,” Archdeacon Sandford, would have read this curious criticism, but we think it altogether beneath one who aspires to be a “ruler in Israel,” to allow such a paragraph to stand in a volume which professes to deal with matters “of primary and pressing moment at the present time.”

As we have said above, we do not anticipate for the book any wide circulation, but we believe it will find its way into the libraries of the more educated members of the author’s church, by many of whom it will be valued for the information it contains, and for the views of men and things propounded therein.

J. M. C.

Die Wunderthaten des Herrn in Bezug auf die neueste Kritik betrachtet.

Von F. L. STEINMEYER. Berlin, 1866 : Wiegandt und Grieben.

THIS work forms the first of a series of apologetic treatises in answer to Strauss, and other writers of his school. The author, in his introduction, sketches out very clearly the line of argument he intends to pursue. Of the two great classes into which Strauss's objections to the credibility of the Gospel history may be divided,—those, namely, which are founded upon alleged contradictions, signs of late composition, and other literary indications of unguineness; and those which are founded upon inherent improbabilities in the events themselves, and chiefly upon the asserted impossibility of miracles;—Dr. Steinmeyer rightly chooses the second as the most proper to be first considered, as being the most fundamental and important. His mode of dealing with these objections is, however, peculiar. The radical question of the possibility of miracle he passes by, as belonging properly to the domain of philosophy, not theology, the very foundation of theology being the belief in a personal God, to whom miracles must be physically *possible*. All attempts at explaining the occurrence of miracles, regarded as material facts, he puts on one side as fanciful and presumptuous; miracles, he holds, are the direct result of the personal action of God, without intervention of agency or force of any kind; of course, therefore, quite inexplicable. His object is to explain the occurrence of miracles regarded as *spiritual* facts; that is, to investigate the motives which led to them, the objects which they were designed to accomplish, and so, their physical possibility being taken for granted, to establish the further point necessary to a reasonable faith in them—their *moral* credibility. In other words, his problem is this: assuming that Jesus Christ really was a heaven-sent Messenger, having for his object the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth, to prove that the miracles which He is recorded to have wrought are credible and consistent. The scope of the book being thus limited, its usefulness is of course limited also. To any one sympathizing with Strauss's pantheistic basis, the real stronghold of his argument, such reasoning as that of Dr. Steinmeyer must seem very much like begging the question. So again, in a great measure, with those who hold naturalistic views on miracles; Dr. Steinmeyer is equally at issue with them, but there is nothing in his book to convince them of their error. An answer to sceptical assaults on miracles the book is not, therefore, in any sense; a preventive against sceptical doubts concerning miracles, however, it is. The first step towards scepticism in this particular is the feeling that miracles are a burden to faith, that they hang about the Gospel as a dead weight, inseparably connected with it, it may be, but connected after a lifeless manner, so as to be hindrances, not helps, to its reception. The doctrines of the Gospel appeal to the spirit of man, and, so far as his spirit apprehends them, they are sure to be willingly received; but miracles, regarded materially, appeal to the intellect, and to the intellect they are essentially and necessarily difficulties. Hence their rejection, even by those

who still sincerely hold the doctrines connected with them. Precisely then as in the case of doctrines which, intellectually apprehended, give offence, the only way to maintain or restore real faith is to remove them from the sphere of the intellect to that of the spirit, to cause them to be felt as living truths, instead of reasoned on as bare propositions; precisely so in the case of miracles, the only real antidote to scepticism is spiritual apprehension. Once get a man to feel that great truths, in which he has a deep personal interest, are not only connected with, but actually live in, and form the essence of, miracles, and his intellectual difficulties, though still as great as ever, have lost their power to disturb. Thus it is, no doubt, that among rationalists the most stupendous of all the Gospel miracles—the incarnation and the resurrection of Christ—have been of all others those least doubted of, just because in these they have discerned spiritual realities, spiritual significance, as they have not in the rest. To extend this spiritual apprehension to the whole class of miracles wrought by Christ is the true cure and preventive, then, of intellectual doubts concerning them; and this is precisely the tendency of Dr. Steinmeyer's volume. The common apology for miracles, that they were intended as evidences of the divine mission of Christ, on account of which His teaching was to be received, His authority recognized, is wisely put on one side. Thus regarded, they still have to do solely with the intellect, the satisfaction of the reason, and only therefore to those who intellectually feel no difficulties in miracles can this apology be acceptable. The sceptic who doubts whether miracles ever occurred or could occur at all, is only likely to be prejudiced against the doctrines by being told that the former were intended as evidences of the latter. In the same way, Dr. Steinmeyer declines to ground his argument upon any merely general view of miracles, as that they were manifestations of divine power, etc., without any special connection with the work of Christ. What he aims to show is, that they were each one of them organically connected with that work, and as essential a part of Christ's mission as His teaching, death, or resurrection. And this he does, on the whole, very successfully. He divides the miracles wrought by Christ into four groups: 1st. Those which were simply signs or *symptoms* of the in-coming Kingdom of God, having no deeper meaning than that which plainly lay on their surface, the advent of help for all kinds of human woe, the position which this active care for others held in regard to the law of the sabbath, the need of faith as a prerequisite, etc. 2nd. Those which, in addition to this kind of significance, were also *symbolical* of other and deeper blessings of a spiritual nature, such as the forgiveness of sins, the restoration of the openly vicious and fallen, the quickening of spiritual discernment, etc. 3rd. Those which were themselves *testimonies* to special and characteristic features of Christ's mission, as of His victory over Satan and death by casting out devils and raising the dead. 4th. Those which were *prophecies* of future dispensations in regard to the Church and the world, such as the ingathering by human instrumentality of great multitudes into the

Church, the provision for temporal wants both for teachers and taught, the judgment upon unfruitful profession, etc. The classification of particular miracles under one or other of these heads is sometimes indeed, rather arbitrary; the special exposition of each occasionally open to objections in regard to details. But, on the whole, the execution of the plan is well worthy of its conception, the object proposed is fully and satisfactorily attained, and a very important contribution made to sound exegesis. As already remarked, we cannot regard the book as at all fitted to convince or even silence the thorough sceptic. Its method is right enough, but it does not begin far enough back. A man must first believe in a personal God, believe in the divine mission of Christ, before Dr. Steinmeyer's argument will have any hold upon him. For the believer troubled with intellectual doubts concerning miracles, it is, on the other hand, exactly the thing that is wanted, raising him above his doubts into the higher sphere of spiritual apprehension, making him regard miracles no longer as the clogs upon faith, as the bare formal credentials of the Gospel message, but as themselves an essential part of that message, full of life and meaning, incentives to faith, the very outbreathings of God coming home to the Divine in man with resistless power. Nor is its value limited to these. If faith in miracles is to be preserved within the Church of Christ, it must be by their being set before believers in this their true character. For the student and minister, therefore, such a book as this of Dr. Steinmeyer will prove invaluable, as furnishing the materials and direction for such teaching in a more abundant measure than perhaps any other book we could name, though the English reader has indeed the work to a considerable extent already done to his hand, in the treatise of Archbishop Trench.

The Œdipus Judaicus. By the Right Hon. Sir W. DRUMMOND.
New edition revised. London: Reeves and Turner.

THE republication of this book is perhaps a sign of the times. The faith of not a few is shaken in reference to sundry portions of the Old Testament; but no definite system of explanation has been generally adopted. Hence those who doubt of the Bible, doubt of one another and cannot agree what they should call it, or how they should explain it. Such circumstances are favourable to the growth of a crop of rival theories, all of them candidates for the honour of being the true one. For anything we can see, Sir W. Drummond has as much in his favour as some of his competitors,—perhaps more. This, however, is not saying very much; for where a theory is radically unsound, as we believe his to be, no learning, literary excellence, or plausibility, will secure extensive and permanent success. We admit the learned research, the ingenuity, and the calmness which generally characterize the work; and yet we think few will read it without recording their experience in the well-known words: "After this I awaked, and behold, it was a dream!" The author believes that the ancient Jews had their esoteric as well as their exoteric doctrines, and that the for-

mer were concealed under innumerable types and symbols, generally unknown to their descendants. He believes further, that he has found the key to many of the mysteries he assumes; and the object of his book is to place his invention in the hands of the select few who can appreciate it. He very strongly objects to many statements in the Old Testament, taken literally, but escapes from rejecting it by supposing it very extensively allegorical. We are surprised, and well-nigh ashamed at some of the charges he brings against the Old Testament; for he comes before us as a scholar, and should not avail himself either of the errors or the weapons of ignorance. For example, he says, "It is monstrous to be told, if the sense be taken literally, that the infinite mind shewed its *back parts* to Moses." Our common version certainly mentions "back parts;" but no critic would be so absurd as to say it bears the gross interpretation the objector puts upon it. The same plural Hebrew word certainly means that which is behind, or at the back of anything (see Exod. xxvi. 12; 1 Kings vii. 25; 2 Chron. iv. 4; Ezek. viii. 16); but we are utterly unable to perceive any food for aught but cavil in its use in Exod. xxxiii. 23. If our translators had put the word "back" alone, probably no objection would have been thought of. Moses was not to witness the full blaze of God's present glory but was to be allowed to gaze upon its departing manifestation, its train and retinue.

Sir W. Drummond finds in the portions of the Old Testament to which he calls our attention, embodiments of astronomical ideas, zodiacal allegories, astrological calculations, and the like. He collects much information about the zodiacs of ancient nations, as well as about their mythology. He sees mysterious meanings in divers Hebrew words and Scripture facts, etc. From Gen. xlix, he learns that a sign of the Zodiac was appropriated to each of the sons of Jacob. The fourteenth of Genesis is found to be an accumulation of astronomical symbols. So also the tabernacle and temple, with their utensils. The like principle is applied to the whole book of Joshua, and a part of Judges. The paschal lamb is connected with the "ram" of the Zodiac.

Our objections to the book are too numerous to be mentioned; certainly we must defer them for the present. Were it not for the animus which pervades it, we should fancy its author only designed it to be an ingenious amusement. Were it not for that animus, therefore, the book would be very harmless; and now that we are accustomed to violent and depreciatory language towards the Old Testament; we hope the transparent absurdity of the opinions often advocated by Sir W. Drummond, will do much to render it altogether innocuous. Meanwhile we advise our learned friends to read it as a curious specimen of what may be done with the Bible.

Apollonius of Tyana, the pagan Christ of the third century. An Essay by ALBERT REVILLE. London: J. C. Hotten.

THIS essay originally appeared in a French theological review, and has been translated in a very readable style for the information of

English readers. The author is well known in the theological world for his learning and talent, and therefore needs no introduction from us. He gives an account of the circumstances under which Philostratus wrote the so-called life of Apollonius early in the third century, supplies us with a summary of the work, and expounds at length his own theory. The theory is that the book was written in the interests of a reformed paganism, and that in it Apollonius is meant to be set forth as a sort of counterpart of Jesus Christ. The supposed resemblances are indicated and justified; but it is admitted that the aim was a failure. We have read the essay with interest, but it has not convinced us; and we are still inclined to believe that Philostratus rather had Pythagoras than Jesus as his model. Dr. Réville himself admits a partial parallel with St. Paul, and apparently other allusions to Apostolic men. Viewed religiously the "Life" is in favour of paganism; and viewed philosophically it favours Pythagoreanism. No doubt Philostratus wished to set forth both paganism and Pythagoreanism in an attractive light; but we regard the asserted parallels with Christ as accidental rather than intended. The subject has already been discussed in the pages of this Journal [see *J. S. L.*, Oct. 1862]; and it may seem unnecessary to add to what has been already said. However, two remarks may be added: first, that M. Réville advocates his theory with much ability; and secondly, we think he has grievously exaggerated in some of his details. With regard to Apollonius himself, it is possible that he really lived; but the record of Philostratus abounds in fabrications so gross that the biography has no historical value. Its value arises from its faithful representation of the thoughts and wishes of enlightened pagans when it was written. It is undoubtedly a very curious production, and, considering the extraordinary amount of discussion it has raised, ought to be better known. Good service would be rendered by an accessible edition of it in English, as Berwick's translation is by no means a common book.

The first Man and his place in Creation, considered on the principles of Science and Common Sense, from a Christian point of view. With an Appendix on the Negro. By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. London: Longmans.

WE are happy to meet with Dr. Moore on the ground occupied by this book. As a plea for what may be called the anthropology of the Bible it is exceedingly able and well-timed. The scientific theories which have almost overwhelmed us of late years, are dealt with in a proper manner. Any man of common sense who observes their number, and phases, and contradictions, will at once infer that their common self-confidence is unjustifiable. They cannot all be right; indeed, can more than one of them be right? Dr Moore has done a good deal to satisfy intelligent and unbiassed minds, that anthropological science is right in proportion to its harmony with Bible principles, and wrong in proportion to its rejection of them. In the sum and substance of his work we

cannot but agree with him ; and our difference of opinion on some details will not prevent us from giving the work our hearty recommendation.

Whence did I come? is a question of no modern invention. To shew "*unde genus hominum*" was the wish of philosophers as well as poets in ancient times ; indeed the desire to learn this must have been very general if we may judge from the accounts which have been left us in the old mythologists, historians, philosophers and poets. Recent attempts to solve the problem, apart from a special intervention of God, in a distinct creative act, have made more or less impression, but there is not much chance of their supplanting the old Biblical teaching, and that of the mythologies which recognize a voluntary supernatural agency. The origin of man is not all ; we are called on to inquire into the whole of his past, and into his present place in nature, and even into the probabilities of a misty future. Men of science do not shrink from these herculean labours, involving the study of countless facts, phenomena, relations and contingencies. The Bible forbids not such endeavours ; but what is the position which it ought to occupy in relation to them? Is it to be ignored? Certainly not : and those who would ignore it commit a great mistake. Is it to be treated as untrue? Certainly not, unless it can be refuted ; and this is impossible, for no one is likely to prove its statements false. Men may discover, or think they discover, another possible solution ; but a possible solution is not necessarily true. Over every possible solution that may be imagined the Bible has an immense advantage, for its solution is also possible, suggesting an adequate cause for phenomena, and a reasonable explanation not contradicted by facts, and at the same time claiming to be true and divinely authorized.

Dr. Moore is a Christian philosopher well informed on scientific subjects, and therefore able and anxious to confront facts with Scripture. It may be objected that he is not an impartial witness, but he is not less so than those who believe they can come to the truth without the Bible, and therefore ignore it. He wishes to prove the Bible true. He does : and a very laudable wish it is. But he does more ; he gives innumerable reasons for accepting and adhering to the Scriptural account, and for rejecting explanations which militate against it. The idea of man's being a development from some lower form has always seemed to us most objectionable. No corresponding developments take place or have taken place in historic times. Such a development would be a tremendous physical miracle,—moral miracle,—intellectual miracle. The development must have been at least of two individuals of different sexes, about the same time and near the same place. It must have included the addition of physical, moral, and intellectual qualities, as well as in the modification, expansion, or destruction of such qualities previously existing in the parent stock. A spoken language, the moral consciousness, anticipation of the future, the need of fire, and other matters, have to be accounted for. In a thousand ways the river must have risen higher than its source, and the favourite maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit*, must have been reversed.

We have not space to give a summary of the twenty-four chapters of Dr. Moore's volume, but we have found them most interesting and instructive. The language is clear and forcible, the facts are well selected, and the conclusions are distinctly stated, while a high moral and religious tone is conspicuous throughout. The weakest portion is in our opinion the chapter in which the author advocates the probability of Hebrew having been the primeval language. On this point we confess to serious doubts, and are willing to believe that we neither know nor can know the fact. As for the origin of language we think it sufficient to admit that God made man with the organs of speech, and with a mind capable of framing ideas and prompted to give them utterance. Of the perfection or imperfection of the primeval language we know nothing; but we cannot doubt that the Creator took care it should be adequate to the earliest wants of his creatures in their communications with each other and with him.

A Plea for a New Translation of the Scriptures. With a Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. A. DEWES, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

A SCHOLAR of some pretensions once said in our hearing, "I hate it." He meant the Authorized Version. Others have gone to the opposite extreme, and regarded it as all but perfection. We agree with neither. The Book is the glory of English literature, but it is desirable its text should be corrected, and its revision effected. It would not cease to be the English Bible for this, any more than Westminster Abbey ceases to be Westminster Abbey because the Dean and Chapter ordain repairs equivalent to a "restoration." In these days of Church restoration it would be well to proceed to Bible restoration. Obsolete and rude words and phrases are as much out of place and inimical to comfort as high backed pews *et hoc genus omne*. Errors in the text are as much to be deprecated as anomalies and incongruities of architectural detail. The mischief is, that those who are so zealous for restoring churches, and even church services, furnish the largest contingent of opposers of Bible revision.

We have often said, and we say again, that we want a revised version. The people want it. Our Bible teaches witches and witchcraft, and so favours foolish superstitions, and gives a handle to vulgar infidels. But we do not now discuss the subject. Our object is to shew that we thoroughly approve of the aim of Mr. Dewes, whose essay is another protest against the "let-alone" system. We commend this essay to the attention of our readers, whatever their desires in the matter. The translation of the Epistle to the Romans is rather provisional than final, rather a specimen than a finished work. It has numerous good points, but it does not meet the difficulty of popular adaptation. It is better fitted for the thoughtful and intelligent than for the multitude. However, we thank the author for keeping the question before the public.

The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy. Edited by MARY CARPENTER. London: Trübner.

RAMMOHUN ROY died in October, 1833, and many of the present generation never heard of him. He was a Brahmin of noble birth who renounced Hindooism, and advocated Unitarian principles. His great ability and activity raised him up many friends as well as opponents. In 1831 he came to England, where he died. The book before us contains a biographical sketch by the late Dr. Lant Carpenter; to which are added numerous documents, extracts and observations. It is illustrated with a full-length portrait, etc. The work will help to preserve the memory of a remarkable man, of whom, although we differ from many of his opinions, we can only speak in terms of respect. He emancipated himself from the errors of his countrymen, and laboured hard to teach the new principles which he espoused. When we consider the many excellencies of his character, we are forced to say, would that he had been altogether one of us! Such a desire to be informed respecting him cannot do better than read Miss Carpenter's interesting volume.

The Sure Word of Prophecy: a Course of Lectures. By Rev. J. R. ECHEIN, M.A. London: Nisbet and Co.

THESE lectures were delivered in St. James's Church, Ryde. They are nine in number, and principally treat of unfulfilled prophecy. Copious notes take the form of an appendix. They advocate a visible, personal reign of Christ upon earth, after his second coming, but the author differs in numerous details from sundry leaders of the millennial school. Like many other books of its class this is very earnest, and its language is forcible, but we cannot undertake to pronounce a critical opinion on the views advanced. Our answer to well nigh all the millennial theories which have been offered for our acceptance is *non possumus*, and such must be our answer to this. At the same time we believe that students of unfulfilled prophecy will find the lectures of Mr. Echein very suggestive and interesting, even though they may not agree with all that is said in them.

Lectures on the Second Coming and Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By W. KELLY. London: W. H. Broom.

MR. KELLY is decidedly a master of Scripture; his acquaintance with it is wonderful. This is not all: he is deeply in earnest, fluent if not eloquent, and endowed with a far more than ordinary share of learning. While, therefore, we do not receive all his conclusions, we admit the sterling character of his book, which for its soberness and solidity may be favourably contrasted with many frothy publications upon the same class of subjects. We do not profess to devote our space to such subjects, and therefore we will only mention that Mr. Kelly believes the true Church of Christ will be taken out of the world before the great tribulation which is to come upon the Jew and Gentile. He

supports this view, as all his views, with much force and ability. Apart from his personal opinions, the author introduces many valuable criticisms and expositions of texts. There is nothing to offend any, and all may read the work with substantial profit.

Thecla: a Drama. By HENRY BLISS. London: Williams and Norgate.

Two Theclas appear in early Christian literature; one at the very commencement of the fourth century, and one in the age of Nero. This last is a great Saint in some of the churches; and there is extant, a curious apocryphal tale, known as *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The lady is probably a creation of Oriental imagination, but she is named by some of the ancient fathers, and the Church of Rome gives her a place in the calendar (Sept. 23). Mr. Bliss has prefixed her name to a drama of considerable interest. The form he has adopted is that of dialogue, chiefly in rhyming couplets. The principal characters are Nero, Helius, Galba, Seneca, Statilia, and Thecla. These characters are drawn with consistency and spirit, and indeed the whole composition is marked by great animation and force. As a poem, it is of a superior order, and will be read with pleasure by such as have ability and taste to appreciate it.

The complete Works of Thomas Brooks. Edited, with Memoir, by Rev. A. B. GROSART. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: Nichol.

WE have here two more volumes of the series of Puritan divines. We have frequently noticed and recommended this series, and our readers are aware of the general character of its theology. Thomas Brooks was one of the greatest of the later Puritans, and some of his writings have maintained their popularity to our own day. Mr. Grosart's memoir is very interesting, and his edition is carefully and accurately printed. Brooks is not simply doctrinal, but eminently practical and experimental. Those who would acquaint themselves with the varied phases of the profound and earnest Christian life of men whom many misrepresent, and more misunderstand, should study this publication. The work appears in quite an attractive form, and is singularly cheap. Vigorous thought, vigorous language, and versatile learning, are all to be found here. Of course, much is quaint and old-fashioned, but this detracts not from the merit of the writings.

Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. By PAUL BAYNE. Edinburgh: Nichol.

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By W. GOUGE, D.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: Nichol.

THESE are two volumes of the quarto series of old commentaries issued by Mr. Nichol. Biographical notices are prefixed to each. Bayne's work is a copious Commentary, occupying more than 400 pages, and was preached at Cambridge, where the author died in 1617. It is a curious specimen of minute analysis and constant application of texts.

Like many other works of the class, it has running through it a marked controversial tinge. Those were days of controversy, and preachers were not at all content to adopt the smooth and quiet strain of their modern successors. The Romish system, of course, was a perpetual theme; but not the only one, as is evident from the thoroughness with which all doctrinal and practical points are gone into.

Dr. Gouge preached his exposition in Blackfriars, where he was pastor, from 1608 to 1653. He was a man of mark in his time, and appears to have merited all the respect that was shown him. The *Commentary upon the Hebrews* is the substance of his Wednesday's lectures during thirty years. It comprises a wonderful mass of criticisms, observations, inferences, etc., many of them well worthy of attention.

Both the books of Bayne and Gouge will be found highly suggestive, and prove a great help to any who are expounding the Epistles in the course of their ordinary ministrations. Intelligent private Christians also, may consult them with advantage.

Biblical Commentary on the Books of Samuel. By C. F. KEIL, D.D., and F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated by Rev. J. MARTIN, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job. By F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated by Rev. F. BOLTON, B.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THE critical and theological principles of the authors of these two volumes, are well known and extensively appreciated. The work on Samuel will be an appropriate companion to the similar expositions of the historical books already published, and no one who has them should be without this.

The first volume on Job contains a copious introduction, and a commentary upon twenty-two chapters of the text. It promises to be a valuable help towards the understanding of this curious portion of Scripture. At present we only call attention to it, but we hope to notice it at length when the second volume has appeared. The author assigns the composition of Job to the age of Solomon.

From Pole to Pole: a Handbook of Christian Missions, for the use of Ministers, Teachers, and others. By JOSEPH HASSELL. London: Nisbet and Co.

A COMPACT and comprehensive history and sketch of ancient and modern missions, according to their geographical distribution. An immense amount of fact is brought together, and we are enabled to realize the greatness of the efforts which the Church of Christ has made to extend itself in the world. The book abounds in statistics, and no pains have been spared to give it completeness. We have no hesitation in saying that it should be possessed and read by all who take an interest in its important subject.

The Liturgy, and the manner of Reading it. By G. F. GODDARD.
London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons.

THIS treatise is upon a subject in which all the clergy are interested, but which does not receive that attention which its practical importance requires. The author has taken pains to expound his views with precision, and to supply such instructions as will be useful to those for whom he writes. To shew more distinctly the structure of the Liturgy, he has introduced the Latin forms of various portions of it. We have no doubt the book will be a real advantage to such as will give it their patient study and attention.

A short summary of the Evidences for the Bible. By the Rev. T. S. ACKLAND, M.A. Oxford and London: Parker and Co.

WE cannot help saying that this unpretending little book is one of considerable merit. It does not take up all the questions bearing upon the subject, but it deals with the more important of them in a superior style. The author has well studied his subject, and his treatment of it is clear, calm, intelligent, and forcible. Here and there, perhaps, we should suggest an alteration; but, as a whole, the work is one which we can confidently recommend as fitted for usefulness among a large class. We hope it will have every success.

Memorabilia Ecclesiæ: a Selection of Passages of interest connected with the History of the Christian Church. By HENRY GRANT.
Vol. I. London: Hatchard and Co.

THIS volume contains a sort of summary of Church history during the first six centuries. The author is avowedly a compiler, and although the structure of his work might be improved, it contains very much matter which will be useful to persons who have little time for such studies, that is—to the mass of readers. The facts collected are generally to be relied upon; at the same time, we must think some of them are more than doubtful.

Baptism: its Institution, its Privileges, and its Responsibilities. By the Rev. J. H. TITCOMB, M.A. London: Hunt and Co.

THE plan of this journal prevents us from entering into the subject of Mr. Titcomb's little work. We can, nevertheless, speak well of its plan, spirit, intention, and general execution. The clergy and members of the Established Church, will find in it a calm and moderate statement of the author's views. It is religious in spirit and practical in form, and the writer seeks to build upon a scriptural basis; we need scarcely remark, that the opinions advanced are most in accordance with those of the evangelical school.

The Koran and the Bible; or, Islam and Christianity. By J. M. ARNOLD, B.D. Second edition. London: Longmans.

THE author of this work is an experienced Arabic Scholar, and has

brought together much curious and instructive matter respecting the subjects about which he writes. The first edition was called *The Natural History of Islamism*; the second differs from it in its title and in some details which have grown superannuated. The author is a zealous promoter of evangelization among the Mohammedans, and will give all the profits of his book to the "Moslem Mission Society." We have often consulted the volume since its original appearance, and have found it so useful, that we have much pleasure in bearing witness to its superior merits.

A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. By H. GRENVILLE.
London: J. R. Smith.

WE have here a harmony of the Gospels, followed by copious notes. Preceding the synopsis, varied introductory matter, chiefly relating to the Gospel miracles, is introduced. It is quite beyond our power to say the book is faultless, but we can recommend it as a most convenient and useful manual for reference and consultation.

The Bible and its Interpreters. The Popular Theory: the Roman Theory: the Literary Theory: the Truth. W. J. IRONS, D.D.
London: Hayes.

THE title indicates the topics and arrangement of this convenient and useful book. Dr. Irons is too well known to need any introduction, and his pages are characterized by that force of reasoning, lucidity of style, and religiousness of spirit for which he is famous. Dr. Irons hits the nail on the head in what he says of the Bible in its relation to the supernatural. We like his book very much.

Société Nationale pour une Traduction Nouvelle des Livres Saints en langue Française. Séance d'ouverture, le 21 Mars, 1866, à la Sarbonne. Rapport et discours. Paris: Dentre.

A VERY laudable scheme, but one which will find it hard to resist the hostility it must inevitable provoke. We, nevertheless, wish it all possible success. This first report is very interesting.

The Athenian Year, and its bearing on the Eclipses of Thucydides and Ptolemy, and the Metonic Cycle. By F. PARKER, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

MR. PARKER labours most assiduously in his endeavours to rectify and settle ancient chronology. His latest publication is one which has all the recommendations for which we have praised his preceding works. It is highly ingenious and interesting, and will to many be conclusive.

The Book of God. The Apocalypse of Adam Oannes. London: Reeves and Turner.

THE author of this book is anonymous, and wisely so, for his own sake and for that of his friends. Very few men would like to be known as

the author of a book like this; and very few would wish to find him among their friends. The book abounds in learning ill-digested and ill-applied. Persons in search of the curiosities of literature will find it every way worthy of attention.

A Suggestive and Homiletical Commentary on St. Luke. By W. H. VAN DOREN, D.D. London: Reeves and Turner.

ONE characteristic of this work is the brevity of its notes. This enables the author to get into one page as much thought as usually stretches over four or five. The tone of the book is religious, and its editor is well informed and industrious. We think every clergyman who sees it will favourably regard it. It will be unquestionably a great help to any one who lectures or preaches on the the third Gospel.

Ueber die Judische Angelologie und Dæmonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vorn Parsismus. Von Dr. ALEXANDER KOHUT. Leipzig: 1866. (From the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der D. M. G., etc.*, IV., Band No. 3.) 8vo. pp. 105.

WE have in this essay a very learned discussion on the connection between the Jewish doctrines in reference to angels and spirits, and Parsism. This subject assumes a higher degree of importance at present than it has usually held in Biblical studies, from the discussions which have taken place, and the controversies which have been going on latterly in regard to the Book of Daniel. The battle-field in regard to Daniel has rather changed within the last twenty years. The old objections are, in the main, the groundwork of all the modern attacks upon the genuineness of this portion of Scripture, but the attack is made in a different manner. The attention also which has been bestowed on the *Zend Avesta* (we use the common appellation) in late years has also very much altered the state of these controversies on one point, viz., the connection between the doctrines of the Bible and those of the ancient Parsees. It must be observed, however, that our knowledge of the *Zend Avesta* is almost in its infancy. It is only lately that any *real* knowledge of the Zend text has been acquired, and even now that knowledge is very imperfect. The professors of that language are obliged very often to speak with stammering tongue, and very indistinct utterances. And this we say, not with any intention of casting any opprobrium on this study. Windischmann and Spiegel have made great advances in these studies, after the profound researches of Burnouf, and Westergaard, and others; and Bleek has placed the results of Spiegel's work within the reach of English readers unacquainted with German. Nor must Hang be omitted, for he has laboured in this same field with much success, although his results and Spiegel's occasionally clash; and it will require time and further investigations to determine where the truth lies.

Dr. Kohut has worked chiefly upon one department, as far as the present treatise is concerned, viz., to ascertain how far the notions of the Jews regarding spirits and angels are derived from the ancient

Parsees, whose faith is supposed to be contained in the *Zend Avesta*. The fact is, that this book, as Dr. Pusey has remarked, has no history. The conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., was the death-blow to the supremacy of this religion. It disappeared from the history of the world, and its professors sought safety from persecution in obscurity and seclusion; its books were unknown in Europe, and the *Zend Avesta*, the great code of Parsism, made its appearance before the European world only at the end of the eighteenth century! What accretions the original code may have received is a problem of no ordinary difficulty to solve. Undoubtedly there are many parts far more ancient than others; but the later parts of the book probably occupy a very large proportion of its bulk.

The question of the derivation of the Jewish doctrines from those of the Parsees is one with which all Biblical students who give much attention to the Book of Daniel are tolerably familiar. At one time the notion that the Jews borrowed their Angelology from the Persians in Babylon was very prevalent in Germany, but a few years ago the tide was rather turning. The writer of this review, after considerable study of the subject, entirely rejects the fundamental proposition of Dr. Kohut's essay. Dr. Kohut maintains that it is perfectly clear, and has been completely proved, that the Jewish exiles in Persia and Media incorporated much of the Zoroastrian religion with their own; and that especially the doctrine of angels and genii, and "the interior economy both of heaven and hell" were borrowed entirely from Parsee sources, and thus imported into the Old Testament. It is impossible, in a short notice, to argue this great question, but we do not think Dr. Kohut does very much towards proving this point. He makes argumentative capital out of very small data; *e. g.*, Ahura-masda calls himself "the watcher" (in the *Ormazd-Yasht*, § 17). But this is only one out of a number of titles in the same sentence! This is one instance of the tendency to argue largely from slight data, which we have observed, and which we mention simply to apprise our readers that this is a work which requires to be read with caution. The author is very learned, and brings a large mass of materials to illustrate the subject, which may be used by those who reject, as well as those who agree in his views. He divides his discussion very properly into two distinct chronological periods. 1. The Scripture Times. 2. The Talmudic Times. That there was much intercourse with Persia in Talmudic times is undoubted, and this part of his essay is very interesting, although some of it is very fanciful and wild. He is extremely learned in the Talmud, and the quotations from this and other Jewish sources render the essay very useful to those who are investigating the subject. He compares the Talmudic and the Parsee names of spirits and angels, and illustrates them with much cleverness. The soundness of his conclusions is quite a different question! But every student of this deeply interesting subject will feel himself much indebted to Dr. Kohut for his large collection of valuable materials.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff. By

ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff. London: Rivingtons. WE have read this charge, delivered in July last, with very much satisfaction. Its local topics interest but little perhaps beyond the diocese to which they apply: but the bishop enters largely into matters which have become of universal importance: The Education of the Clergy; Latitudinarianism; The various forms of unbelief and scepticism which are prevalent; and, more fully than on any other subject, Ritualism, occupies his lordship's attention. We are unwilling to give our own opinion upon some of these, preferring rather to quote the words of the charge, so that our readers may judge for themselves as to the tone of the bishop's remarks and his own view of the changes which seem to be taking place. We may remark that a spirit of charity and moderation, a desire to bear with the idiosyncrasies of others, distinguishes the whole of this admirable charge.

On the necessity there is for the clergy to keep pace with the age, we read:—

“At my last Visitation I reminded you that, as clergymen, we were loudly called upon to keep pace with the progressive activity of the age. Permit me again to refer to the subject. No doubt it is impossible in the nature of things that we can all be proficient in literature or science. But even they who have been least favoured with the ability or opportunity of attaining such a proficiency, may incur the doom of the unprofitable servant, if from indolence, worldly-mindedness, or any other motive, they do not cultivate to the utmost the faculties—or even the one talent—which God has given them. It may be that by His blessing our attainments, even if they be but small, may suffice for the confirmation of some doubting spirit, or convince some wavering brother of the sin of unbelief. At any rate we have our own responsibility to look to, whatever be the success which it may please God to give us. The question in the day of judgment will be, Have we done what we could? The studious man, if he cannot himself solve every difficulty that presents itself, will at least have had his mind exercised by reason of use, and have a better chance of knowing where the requisite information may be found for the refutation of error and confirmation of the truth, than if he had never troubled himself with these matters. For we are not to suppose that the pretensions of these Free Inquirers to the exclusive possession of literature and science are as well founded as they are vauntingly put forth.”

To Ritualists and their opponents, to *all* earnest-minded Churchmen, we commend the remarks on the absolute nothingness of such questions when we consider the awful spread of infidelity in our larger towns and cities; the insensibility to all religious forms whatever which characterizes so great a portion of our artizans, and the ignorance and depravity of the poor.

“Supposing I had altogether mistaken the case, and that the embarrassments of which I had spoken had no real existence, would it be wise, would it be charitable, would it be the part of true piety, would it be an imitation of our Lord's own conduct, would it be the way to habituate our people to that spiritual worship which alone is acceptable to God, were we to busy ourselves in the resuscitation of dormant forms of religious worship, the attempted revival of which would be an occasion of offence, and, if persevered in, must prove a source of discord and weakness? And all this, while Infidelity, as we have just seen, is thundering at our gates, and, instead of weakening each other's hands, we ought to be striving together in defence of “those things which are most surely believed amongst us.”

With one other quotation we heartily commend this charge to our Clerical readers, as the thoughtful production of one whose age and position entitle him to speak with authority; feeling sure that an attentive perusal cannot but do good to the reader. Of the tendency of extreme ritualism we read:—

“It cannot, however, be denied that concurrently with this Ritualistic movement, Sacramental doctrine, not distinguishable, at least by ordinary minds, from that of the Church of Rome, has been unblushingly put forth by members of our own body; and it is the knowledge of this fact that has stirred up a feeling of indignation and alarm throughout the length and breadth of the land. To resume an antiquated and obsolete dress might be deemed an act of indifference or folly, at which we might afford to smile. But if these Vestments are intended to prepare the way for the reception of doctrines which our Church has deliberately renounced as contrary to the truth of God’s Word, those persons who adopt them with any such feeling may rest assured that no power on earth will induce her faithful members to surrender their birthright; if Ritualism is abused for such a purpose, it will itself be cast aside, but the Truth, like its divine Author, will abide for ever.”

Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians; with a new translation. By WILLIAM KELLY. London: G. Morrish.

Mr. KELLY has produced such a scholarly version of this admirable Epistle as we should expect from him. But like almost all modern versions with which we are acquainted, it wants a certain popular element. Thus it is almost a photograph of the Greek to say “in order that we should be unto [the] praise of his glory, that have fore-trusted in the Christ.” Yet no such sentence or utterance would naturally come from the lips or pen of an Englishman. We believe for all that, that the Holy Ghost can speak in good vernacular English; and that it is the preponderance of this element which is the great charm of the Authorized Version. The old Rheims and Douay version is simply barbarous and grotesque, and very few Roman Catholics would read it till Dr. Challoner made a revision almost equal to a translation; and even now his book is full of passages in the worst taste. Perhaps this is why so many papists read our version.

Mr. Kelly’s translation will aid thoughtful persons who cannot read Greek. His lectures will aid those pious and thoughtful persons who seek to be edified as well as instructed. They are characterized by much devout earnestness, and a constant endeavour to develop the ideas and teachings of the sacred text. We are not aware what denomination Mr. Kelly belongs to, but he continually appeals to Christians as spiritual persons, and regards the Church as made up of such. The manner and tone of the book must be every way commended.

Intercourse and Intercommunion among Christians; Rome and England. Two Essays. By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

OUR excellent coadjutor, the author, is tolerant and comprehensive, clear and forcible; and in these Essays has said much that claims the

attention of all in our times of conflict. He has made many things plain; but if he has demonstrated one thing more fully than another, it is that exclusivism characterized neither the primitive Church nor that of England at the Reformation. "Substantial unity amidst accidental diversity" is his principle, and we accept it. A rigid and exclusive uniformity is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and tends to make the Church a mere machine. The days for despotism in Church as in state are past, and the attempt to restore them is an anachronism. A large amount of personal liberty must be allowed to men in matters of religion, and personal differences on secondary points must not prevent union, communion and co-operation. Sinking our differences, we should combine for the promotion of common objects, and chiefly for enabling the Church to do that for which its Founder established it in the world.

A Memento of Kissingen. 1866. A Sermon by the Rev. G. L. HALLETT, B.C.L. London: Rivingtons.

ON the tenth of July in this year, the Bavarian watering-place, Kissingen, was surrounded by the Prussian army; "and after a brave and obstinate defence," was taken. On the following Sunday the English visitors returned their humble and hearty thanks to God for their deliverance from the dangers and troubles of the past week. At this service Mr. Hallett preached the Sermon before us, and in obedience to a request from his hearers consented to publish it. It is full of such thoughts of gratitude as would present themselves to a pious mind under similar circumstances, and was listened to, we have no doubt, with the same kind of feelings by the congregation. We are glad to find that our countrywomen tended the sick and dying after the battle. The Sermon is dedicated to the Dean of Westminster.

A Layman's Faith; Doctrines and Liturgy. By a Layman. London: Trübner and Co.

THIS little book is clearly and intelligently written. In the first part the author rapidly sketches the religious history of the world, in its connection with divine revelation. In the second part he reviews Bossuet's exposition of the doctrines of the Catholic church. Herein the author rejects sacerdotalism and sacramentalism as exemplified in the Churches of Rome and of England. In the third part he treats of a written creed, which he accepts, so far as the Divine Being is concerned; it comprises one God; Jesus Christ as the outward manifestation of that one God, in the flesh; and the Holy Spirit as the manifestation of that one God, in the soul of man. He does not allow the "Trinitarian view of persons and offices in the Deity." The fourth part is on sundry doctrines of the Romish and protestant churches; the fifth, on the practices of Christians; and the sixth on a liturgy. The book deserves to be read as a sign of the times, but we should be sorry to see all its principles adopted; some of them, indeed, are very objectionable.

The New Testament for English Readers ; containing the Authorized Version, with a revised English Text, marginal references, and a critical and explanatory Commentary. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Vol. II., Part II., The Epistle to the Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation. London: Rivingtons.

WE are glad to see the completion of this useful and important work. The concluding portion comprises about 230 pages of prolegomena, and 600 pages of text and commentary. The prolegomena correspond with the books discussed in the remainder of the volume, and abound in curious and valuable information. Dr. Alford favours the opinion that Apollos has the best claim to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that it was perhaps written at Ephesus in A.D. 68—70. The epistle of James was, he thinks, written about A.D. 45, and we are pleased to find him adopting this early date, borne out as it seems to be by the features of the entire composition.

1 Peter, he thinks, was written between A.D. 63 and 67, and at Babylon on the Euphrates, where St. Peter was accompanied by his wife and Mark, whom he calls his son (chap. v. 13). The Rheims notes on the verse just mentioned are as usual contemptible—railing at Protestants, and shirking all the difficulties of the passage. Dr. Alford accepts 2 Peter as genuine and canonical, and as written later than the other. The three epistles ascribed to St. John also, are received as his. Jude and Revelation too, are accepted as genuine,—the latter as written about A.D. 95 or 96.

A great many other points are discussed in the introduction which bears marks of patience, carefulness, and candour, as well as judgment. Of the revised version and notes we are at present scarcely in a position to speak, as we have only been able to refer to a number of isolated passages. But thus far, it is some satisfaction to us to find our own explanations in harmony with those of the learned Dean. We have been gratified, moreover, by the outspokenness of the annotator on sundry topics which we will not now specify. It is not every one who dares to be honest, or believes he can afford to be honest in expounding Holy Scripture. Dr. Alford is one of the frankest expositors we know. He is occasionally undecided and a little obscure in what he says, but this arises from the indecision which actually prevails in his mind at such times. Some say he changes his mind. He does so, and when he does he says so, which is better than altering your opinion and still advocating it, for that is hypocrisy. There is one matter about which our author has not changed, and that is his purpose and endeavour to give learned Englishmen a pure Greek text, and to help all Englishmen to the true meaning of the true text. In this double work he has held fast his integrity, and has won for himself a position among Biblical scholars, which many may envy, but none can deny. We are not now referring to his opinions on special details, of which we say nothing, but with allusion to his Greek and English Testaments as a whole. The latter we hope to be able to

notice more fully hereafter, and in that hope we only repeat the expression of our conviction that every candid and intelligent English reader will find it a storehouse and armoury, from which he may draw copious supplies in every time of need. If any are inclined to consult the book in a carping and unfriendly mood, let them read the concluding paragraph of the introduction; if after that they can speak unkindly, they will deserve to be treated with contempt and disgust. We say not this to deprecate fair criticism, but that dog-in-the-manger spirit which is not unknown in theological circles.

A Handbook of Sanskrit Literature: with Appendices descriptive of the Mythology, Castes, and religious Sects of the Hindus. By G. SMALL, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

THIS is a very convenient and useful manual, and will be welcome to others besides candidates for the India civil service, and missionaries to India. The author has himself resided in India, and is now engaged as a teacher of Oriental languages; he has, therefore, had peculiar opportunities for preparing for such a work as this, which he truly believes to be desirable. His aim has been to compile and arrange in a handy form such information on his subject as may be required for preliminary studies or casual reference. In his introductory chapter he gives a summary account of the Vedas and Vedic literature; and this is followed by a like notice of the Dharma Sastras, or Shasters, supplementary to the Vedas. The second portion of the work treats of philosophical literature and systems. The third part is occupied with poetical and miscellaneous literature. A brief outline of Hindu mythology is contained in the first appendix; and in the second, a sketch of Hindu castes and religious sects. It will be seen that the work contains just such information as is often wanted by students, and not always to be found at a short notice. The author mentions, as his chief sources, the names of some of the principal scholars in this department. We have examined the book with care, and have confidence in recommending it as a very intelligible and comprehensive account of matters, which may be often recondite, but which are always interesting. The literature of India is a marvel, representing as it does the thoughts of many men and of many ages in a region with no regular or intimate communication with the ancient nations of whom we know most. Its topics are innumerable, and its volumes to be counted by myriads. We cordially welcome the aid now supplied for a more general acquaintance with Hindu literature, philosophy, and mythology.

Notes and Reflections on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By ARTHUR PRIDHAM. London: Longmans.

THOSE who are acquainted with Mr. Pridham's preceding publications of the same order, will be glad to see the present one. It "is

written," says the author, "in the interest of no class of sectaries, but of 'all who in every place call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.' It claims to be a faithful (though surely most inadequate) exposition of the apostle's words; and its publication is in the hope that, by divine mercy, it may prove a seasonable aid to some who, with right desires, but defective knowledge, are seeking a refuge from the harassing diversities of modern religious opinion." He says again: "as the aim of this work is not to flatter spiritual dilettantism, but to help and comfort *souls*, such critical matter only has been introduced as may meet in some fair measure the reasonable expectations of those for whom it is intended." These extracts accurately describe the work, and indicate its spirit. It is thoroughly scriptural and orthodox, according to our way of thinking, and its criticisms are generally just and fair, though not always to our liking. The note on 1 Cor. xi. 27 we object to. Mr. Pridham says the Authorized Version is "unfaithful in translating η by 'and.'" This is not right, although it is an old accusation of the papists. The reading *καὶ* ("and"), as shewn by Tischendorf in his seventh edition, is that of the Alexandrian and other MSS., as well as of sundry ancient fathers and versions, including copies of the Latin Vulgate itself. This, however, is no great matter, when a book is so generally excellent as the one before us. The copious expository remarks or meditations, are profoundly religious, and well fitted to edify the right-minded reader.

The Liturgies of 1549 and 1662. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Masters.

THIS elegant little volume consists of a preface, out of the Communion office, according to the two books of 1549 and 1662. It cannot fail to be interesting now that so many have their attention turned to the subject. The two offices, with their rubrics, are printed on opposite pages, so that any one can compare them throughout with facility.

Some of the following arrived too late for notice in the present Number:—

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. New Series. Vol. 2, Part I. London: Trübner & Co.

Tracts for Thoughtful Christians. No. 2. Hades; or, the Invisible World. By the Author of *Destiny of Human Race*. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

Apostolic Baptism, a purely Apostolic Office. Printed for Thoughtful Consideration.

The Sunday Reader. July and August.

Colonial Church Chronicle. July, August, September.

Church Builder. July.

Letter to a Friend leaving the Church of England for that of Rome. London: Rivingtons.

- Bibliotheca Sacra*. July. London: Trübner.
- Frauenspiegel. Lebensbilder Christlicher Frauen, etc.* Anna Lavater. London: Williams and Norgate.
- The Critical English Testament.* Being an adaptation of Bengel's *Gnomon*, with numerous notes, shewing the precise results of Modern Criticism and Exegesis. Edited by Rev. W. L. Blackley, M.A., and Rev. James Hawkes, M.A. Vol. 1, The Gospels; Vol. 2, Acts and Epistles to 2 Thessalonians. London: A. Strahan.
- Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel, mit vielen unbekannten Briefen, etc.* Von Dr. C. A. H. Burkhardt. Leipsic Vogel.
- Der Römerbrief und die Anfänge der Römischen Gemeinde.* Von Dr. W. Mangold. Marburg: Elwert.
- Der Beweis des Glaubens. Monatschrift zur Begründung and Vertheidigung der Christlichen Wahrheit für gebildete.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann.
- Le Fils de l'Homme, Conférences sur l'humanité de Jesus.* Par Frank Culin. Geneva: Cherbuliez.
- Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita recensuit, vitam auctoris enarravit A. Kuyper.* 2 Vols. Amsterdam: F. Muller.
- Die drei ersten Evangelien Synoptisch zusammengestellt, von H. Sevin.* Wiesbaden: Niedner.
- L'Ecole Critique et les Apotres.* Par E. de Pressensé. Paris: Meyrueis.
- Cœlestis Urbs Jerusalem. Aphorismen nebst einer Beilage.* Von Dr. H. Lämmer. Freiburgun: Breisgau.
- Il Libro del Cohelet tradotto dal testo Ebraico, con Introduzione critica et Note, di D. Castelli.* Pisa: Nistri.
- Dunasch ben Labrat über einzelne Arabischer Uebersetzung des A. T., etc.* Edited, with notes, by Dr. R. Schröter. Part I. Breslau.
- Vierteljahrsschrift für Deutsche und Englische Theologie.* Von Dr. M. Heidenheim. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Le Signe de la croix avant le Christianisme.* By G. de Mortillet.
- Jepheti ben Eli Karaitæ in Proverbiorum Salamonis caput XXX Commentarius.* Arabic with Latin Version. By Z. Auerbach. Bonnæ.
- Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.* Gr. Eng. London: Masters.

Messrs. Williams and Norgate have in the press a new translation of all the "False Gospels" now extant. This volume is to be followed shortly by the remaining Apocryphal books of the New Testament—Acts, Epistles, and Revelations. The translator is Mr. B. Harris Cowper, who will supply carefully prepared introductions, notes, etc. No version of these writings into English has been made for above a century, and no complete collection has ever been published in this country.

MISCELLANIES.

Archæological Congress.—*Sir John Lubbock on the present state of Archæological Science.*—My object on the present occasion is to vindicate the claims of Archæology, to point out briefly the light which has, more particularly in the last few years, been thrown on ancient times; and above all, if possible, to satisfy you that the antiquaries of the present day are no visionary enthusiasts, but that the methods of archæological investigation are as trustworthy as those of any natural science. I purposely say the methods rather than the results, because, while fully persuaded that the progress recently made has been mainly due to the use of those methods which have been pursued with so much success in geology, zoology, and other kindred branches of science, and while ready to maintain that these methods must eventually guide us to the truth, I must also admit that there are many points on which further evidence is required. Nor need the antiquary be ashamed to deny that it is so. Conceding then frankly that from much of what I am about to say some good archæologists would entirely dissent, I will now endeavour to bring before you some of the principal results of modern research, and especially to give you, so far as can be done in a single address, some idea of the kind of evidence on which the conclusions are based. I must also add, that I confine my observations, excepting where it is otherwise specified, to that part of Europe which lies to the north of the Alps, and that by the Primeval period I understand that which extended from the first appearance of man down to the commencement of the Christian era. This period may be divided into four epochs: first, the Palæolithic, or First Stone Age; secondly, the Neolithic, or Second Stone Age; thirdly, the Bronze Age; and lastly, the Iron Age. Attempts have been made, with more or less success, to establish sub-divisions of these periods, but into these I do not now propose to enter: even if we can do no more as yet than establish this succession, that will itself be sufficient to shew that we are not entirely dependent on history.

We will commence then with the Palæolithic age. This is the most ancient period in which we have as yet any proofs of the existence of man. There is, however, a very general opinion that he did exist in much earlier times. Indeed, M. Desnoyers has already called attention to some bones from the Pliocene beds of St. Prest, which appear to shew the marks of knives; and Mr. Whincopp will, I believe, exhibit one from the Crag, which certainly looks as if it had been purposely cut. Neither of these cases, however, are quite conclusive; and as yet the implements found in the river-drift gravels are the oldest traces of man's existence,—older far than any of those in Egypt or Assyria, though belonging to a period which, from a geological point of view, is very recent.

The Palæolithic age.—1. The antiquities referable to this period

are found in beds of gravel and loam, or, as it is technically called, "loess," extending along our valleys, and reaching sometimes to a height of 200 feet above the present water-level. 2. These beds were deposited by the existing rivers, which then ran in the same directions as at present, and drained the same areas. 3. The Geography of Western Europe cannot therefore have been very different at the time those gravels were deposited from what it is now. 4. The Fauna of Europe at that time contained the mammoth, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the urus, the musk-ox, etc., as well as the existing animals. 5. The climate was much colder than it is now. 6. Though we have no exact measure of time, we can at least satisfy ourselves that this period was one of very great antiquity. 7. Yet man already inhabited Western Europe. 8. He used rude implements of stone: 9. Which were never polished, and of which some types differ remarkably from any of those that were subsequently in use. 10. He was ignorant of pottery; and, 11, of metals.

1. These beds of gravel and "loess," which have been most carefully studied by Mr. Prestwich, extend along the slopes of the valleys, and reach sometimes to a height of 200 feet above the present water-level.

2. That these beds of gravel and loess were not deposited by the sea is proved by the fact that the remains which occur in them are all those of land or fresh water, and none of marine species. That they were deposited by the existing rivers is evident, because they never contain fragments of any other rocks than those which occur in the area drained by the river itself. As, then, the rivers drained the same areas as now, the geography of Western Europe cannot have been at that period very different from what it is at present.

3. The Fauna, however, was very unlike what it is now, the existence of the animals above mentioned being proved by the presence and condition of their bones.

4. The greater severity of the climate is indicated by the nature of the Fauna. The musk-ox, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the mammoth, the lemming, etc., are arctic species, and the reindeer then extended to the south of France. Another argument is derived from the presence of great sandstone blocks in the gravels of some rivers, as, for instance, of the Somme; these, it appears, must have been transported by ice.

5. The great antiquity of the period now under discussion is evident from several considerations. The extinction of the large mammalia must have been a work of time; and neither in the earliest writings nor in the vaguest traditions do we find any indication of their presence in Western Europe. Still more conclusive evidence is afforded by the conditions of our valleys. The beds of gravel and loess cannot have been deposited by any sudden cataclysm, both on account of their regularity and also of the fact already mentioned, that the materials of one river-system are never mixed with those of another. To take an instance: the beds in the Somme valley are entirely formed of debris from the chalk and tertiary beds occupying

that area. But within a very few miles of the head-waters of the Somme comes the valley of the Oise. This valley contains remains of other older strata, none of which have found their way into the Somme valley, though they could not have failed to do so had these gravels, etc., been the result of any great cataclysm, or had the Somme then drained a larger area than at present. The beds in question are found in some cases 200 feet above the present water-level, and the bottom of the valley is occupied by a bed of peat, which, in some places, is as much as 30 feet in thickness. We have no means of making any accurate calculation; but even if we allow, as we must, a good deal for the floods which would be produced by the melting of the snow, still it is evident that for the river to excavate the lower part of its valley to a depth of more than 200 feet,^a and then for the formation of so thick a bed of peat, much time must have been required; if, moreover, we consider the alteration which has taken place in the climate and in the Fauna, and, finally, remember also that the last 1,800 years have produced scarcely any perceptible change,—we cannot but come to the conclusion that many, very many, centuries have elapsed since the river ran at a level so much higher than the present, and the country was occupied by a Fauna so unlike that now there existing.

6. Man's presence is proved by the discovery of stone implements. Strictly speaking, these only prove the presence of a reasoning being; but, this being granted, few, if any, would doubt that the being in question was man. Human bones, moreover, have been found in cave deposits, which, in the opinion of the best judges, belonged to this period; and M. Boucher de Perthes considers that various bones found at Moulin Quignon are also genuine. On this point long discussions have taken place, into which I will not now enter. The question before us is whether men existed at all, not whether they had bones. On the latter point no difference is likely to arise; and, as regards the former, the works of man are as good evidence as his bones would be. Moreover, there seems to me nothing wonderful in the great rarity of human bones. A northern country, where the inhabitants subsist by the chase, can never be otherwise than scantily peopled. If we admit that for each man there must be a thousand head of game existing at any one time, and this seems a moderate allowance,—remembering also that most other mammalia are less long-lived than men,—we should naturally expect to find human remains very rare as compared with those of other animals. Among a people who burned their dead, of course this disproportion would be immensely increased. That the flint implements found in these gravels *are* implements, it is unnecessary to argue. The regularity of their forms, the care with which they have been worked to a cutting-edge, clearly prove that they have been *intentionally* chipped into their present forms, and are not the result of accident. That they are not forgeries we may be certain—firstly,

^a Many persons find a difficulty in understanding how the river could have deposited gravel at so great a height, forgetting that the valley was not then excavated to anything like its present depth.

because they have been found *in situ* by many excellent observers,—by all, in fact, who have looked long enough for them; and, secondly, because they are stained like the gravel in which they occur. Moreover, as the discolouration is quite superficial, and follows the existing outline, it is evidently of later origin. The forgeries, for there are forgeries, are, of course, dull lead colour, like other freshly-broken surfaces of flint. This evidence then justifies us in concluding that the implements are coeval with the beds of gravel in which they are found.

8. Without counting flakes, we shall certainly be within the mark if we estimate that 3,000 flint implements of the Palæolithic Age have been discovered in northern France and southern England. These were all of types which differ considerably from those which came subsequently into use, and they are none of them polished.

9. and 10. From the same evidence, I think we may conclude that the use of metal, as well as of pottery, was then unknown, as is the case, even now, among many races of savages.

(Sir John Lubbock also referred to the researches in caves of this period, alluding especially to the labours of Messrs. Busk, Christy, Falconer, and Pengelly.)

II. We now pass to the later Stone, or Neolithic Age, as to which the following propositions may, I think, be regarded as satisfactorily established:—1. There was a period when polished stone axes were extensively used in Europe. 2. The objects belonging to this period do not occur in the river-drift gravel beds; 3. Nor in association with the great extinct mammalia. 4. They were in use long before the discovery or introduction of metals. 5. The Danish shell-mounds or *kjökkenmöddings* belonging to this period; 6. As do many of the Swiss lake-dwellings; 7. And of the tumuli or burial-mounds. 8. Rude stone implements appear to have been in use longer than those more carefully worked. 9. Hand-made pottery was in use during this period. 10. In Central Europe the ox, sheep, goat, pig and dog were already domesticated. 11. Agriculture had also commenced. 12. At least two distinct races already occupied Western Europe.

We take these in order.—1. That there was a period when polished axes and other implements of stone were extensively used in Western Europe is sufficiently proved by the great numbers in which these objects occur. For instance, the Dublin Museum contains more than 2,000, that of Copenhagen more than 10,000, and that of Stockholm not fewer than 15,000. 2. The objects characteristic of this period do not occur in the river-drift gravels. Some of the simple ones, as, for instance, flint flakes, were abundant both in the Neolithic and Palæolithic periods. The polished axes, chisels, gouges, etc., however, are very distinct from the ruder implements of the Palæolithic Age, and are never found in the river-drift gravels. Conversely, the Palæolithic types have never yet been met with in association with those characteristic of the later epoch. 3. Nor do the types of the Neolithic Age ever occur in company with the Quaternary Fauna, under circumstances which would justify us in regarding them as coeval. 4. The

implements in question were in use before the introduction or discovery of metal. It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that implements of stone were abandoned directly metal was discovered. For certain purposes, as for arrow-heads, stone would be quite as suitable as the more precious metal. Flint flakes, moreover, were so useful and so easily obtained, that they were occasionally used, even down to a very late period. Even for axes and chisels, the incontestable superiority of metal was for awhile counterbalanced by its greater costliness. Captain Cook, indeed, tells us that in Tahiti the implements of stone and bone were in a very few years replaced by those of metal: "A stone hatchet is at present," he says, "as rare a thing as an iron one was eight years ago; and a chisel of bone or stone is not to be seen." The rapidity with which the change from stone to metal is effected depends on the supply of the latter. In the above case Cook had with him abundance of metal, in exchange for which the islanders supplied his vessels with great quantities of fresh meat, vegetables, and other more questionable articles of merchandize. The introduction of metal into Europe was certainly far more gradual; stone and metal were long used side by side, and archæologists are often much too hasty in referring stone implements to the Stone Age. It would be easy to quote numerous instances in which implements have been, without sufficient reason, referred to the Stone Age, merely because they were formed of stone. The two Stone Ages are characterized, not merely by the use, but by the exclusive use of stone to the exclusion of metal. I cannot, therefore, too strongly impress on archæologists *that many stone implements belong to the metallic period*. Why, then, it will be asked, may they not all have done so? 5. The Danish shell-mounds are the refuse heaps of the ancient inhabitants, around whose dwellings the bones and shells of the animals on which they fed gradually accumulated. Like a modern dust-heap, these shell-mounds contain all kinds of household objects; some purposely thrown away as useless, but some also accidentally mislaid. These mounds have been examined with great care by the Danish archæologists, and especially by Professor Steenstrup. Many thousand implements of stone and bone have been obtained from them; and as, on the one hand, from the absence of extinct animals and of implements belonging to the Palæolithic Age, we conclude that these shell-mounds do not belong to that period, so, on the other hand, from the absence of all trace of metal, we are justified in referring them to a period when metal was unknown. 6. The same arguments apply to some of the Swiss lake-dwellings, the discovery of which we owe to Dr. Keller, and which have been so admirably studied by Desor, Morlot, Troyon, and other Swiss archæologists. While in some, objects of metal are very abundant, in others, which have been not less carefully or thoroughly explored, stone implements are met with to the exclusion of metallic ones. It may occur perhaps to some that the absence of metal in some of the lake-villages and its presence in others is to be accounted for by its scarcity, —that, in fact, metal will be found when the localities shall have been

sufficiently searched. The settlements in which metal occurs are deficient in stone implements. Take the same number of objects from Wangen and Nidau, and in the one case 90·7 will be of metal, while in the other the whole number are of stone or bone. This cannot be accidental: the numbers are too great to admit of such a hypothesis. Neither can the fact be accounted for by contemporaneous differences of civilization, because the localities are too close together; nor is it an affair of wealth, because we find such articles as fish hooks, etc., made of metal. 7. We may also, I think, safely refer some of the tumuli or burial-mounds to this period. When we find a large tumulus containing a number of flint implements, it is evident that it must have been erected in honour of some distinguished individual, and when his flint daggers, axes, etc., which must have been of great value, were deposited in the tomb, it is reasonable to conclude, that if he had possessed any arms of metal, they also would have been buried with him. This we know was done in subsequent periods. In burials of this period the corpse was either deposited in a sitting posture, or burnt. 8. It is an error to suppose that the rudest flint implements are necessarily the oldest. The Palæolithic implements shew admirable workmanship. Moreover, every flint implement is rude at first. A bronze celt is cast perfect; but a flint one is rudely blocked out in the first instance, and then, if any concealed flaw comes to light, or if any ill-directed blow causes an unintentional fracture, the unfinished implement is perhaps thrown away. Moreover, the simplest flint flake forms a capital knife, and accordingly we find that some simple stone implements were in use long after metal had replaced the beautifully worked axes, knives and daggers, which must always have been of great value. The period immediately before the introduction of metal may reasonably be supposed to be that of the best stone implements, but the use of the simpler ones long lingered. Moreover, there are some reasons to believe that pierced stone axes are characteristic of the early metallic period. 9. Hand-made pottery is abundant in the shell-mounds, the lake villages, as well as in the tumuli which appear to belong to the Stone Age. No evidence that the potter's wheel was in use has yet been discovered. 10. The dog is the only domestic animal found in the shell-mounds; but remains of the ox, sheep, goat, and pig appear in the lake-villages. There is some doubt about the horse, and the barn-door fowl as well as the cat were unknown. 11. The presence of corn-crushers, as well as carbonized grain and flax, in the Swiss lake-dwellings, proves that agriculture was already pursued with success in Central Europe. Oats, rye and hemp were unknown. 12. At least two forms of skull, one long and one round, are found in the tumuli, which appear to belong to this period. Until now, however, we have not a single human skull from the Danish shell-mounds, nor from any Swiss lake-dwelling which can be referred with confidence to this period.

III. We will now pass to the Bronze Age.

1. It is admitted by all that there was a period when bronze was

extensively used for arms and implements. The great number of such objects which are preserved in our museums places this beyond a doubt. 2. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that stone implements were entirely abandoned. Arrow-heads and flakes of flints are found abundantly in some of the Swiss lake-villages which contain bronze. In these cases, indeed, it may be argued that the same site had been occupied, both before and after the introduction of bronze. The evidence derived from the examination of tumuli is, however, not open to the same objection, and in them objects of bronze and of stone are very frequently found together. Thus it appears, from the investigations recorded by Mr. Bateman, that in three-fourths of the tumuli containing bronze (twenty-nine out of thirty-seven), stone objects also occurred. 3. Some of the bronze axes appear to be mere copies of the stone ones. No such simple axes of iron, however, are known. 4. Many of the Swiss lake-villages belong to this period. A table furnished me by Dr. Keller places this beyond a doubt, and gives a good idea of the objects in use during the Bronze Age, and the state of civilization during this period. 5. The presence of metal, though the principal, is by no means the only point which distinguishes the Bronze Age villages from those of the Stone period. If we compare Moosseedorf, as a type of the last, with Nidau, as the best representative of the former, we shall find while bones of wild animals preponderate in the one, those of tame ones are most numerous in the latter. The vegetable remains point also to the same conclusion. Even if we knew nothing about the want of metal in the older lake-villages, we should still, says Professor Heer, be compelled, from botanical considerations, to admit their great antiquity. Moreover, so far as they have been examined, the piles themselves tell the same tale. Those of the Bronze Age settlements were evidently cut with metal; those of the earlier villages with stone, or, at any rate, with some blunt instrument. 6. The pottery was much better than that of the earlier period. A great deal of it was still hand-made, but some is said to shew marks of the potter's wheel. 7. Gold, amber, and glass were used for ornamental purposes. 8. Silver, zinc, and lead, on the contrary, were apparently unknown. 9. The same appears to have been the case with iron. 10. Coins have never been found with bronze arms. To this rule I only know of three apparent exceptions. Not a single coin has been met with in any of the Swiss lake-villages of this period. 11. The dress of this period, no doubt, consisted in great part of skins. Tissues of flax have been found, however, in some of the lake-villages, and a suit of woollen material, consisting of a cloak, a shirt, two shawls, a pair of leggings, and two caps, was found in a Danish tumulus, evidently belonging to the Bronze Age, as it contained a sword, a brooch, a knife, an awl, a pair of tweezers, and a large stud, all of bronze, besides a small button of tin, a javelin-head of flint, a bone comb, and a bark box. We have independent evidence of the same fact in the presence of spindle-whorls. 12. The ornamentation on the arms, implements and pottery is peculiar. It consists of

geometrical patterns, straight lines, circles, triangles, zigzags, etc. Animals and vegetables are very rarely attempted, and never with much success. 13. Another peculiarity of the bronze arms lies in the small size of the handles. The same observation applies to the bracelets, etc. They could not be conveniently used by the present inhabitants of Northern Europe. 14. No traces of writing have been met with in any finds of the Bronze Age. There is not an inscription on any of the arms or pottery found in the Swiss lake-villages, and I only know one instance of a bronze cutting-instrument with letters on it. 15. The very existence of bronze proves a considerable and extensive commerce, inasmuch as we only know two countries, namely, Cornwall and the Island of Banca, whence tin could have been obtained in large quantities. There are indeed very few places where it occurs at all. The same fact is proved by the great, not to say complete, similarity of the arms from very different parts of Europe. 16. Finally, as copper must have been in use before bronze, and as arms and implements of that metal are almost unknown in Western Europe, it is reasonable to conclude that the knowledge of bronze was introduced into, not discovered in, Europe. Two distinguished archæologists have recently advocated very different views as to the race by whom these bronze weapons were made, or at least used. Mr. Wright attributes them to the Romans, Professor Nilsson to the Phœnicians. The first of these theories I believe to be utterly untenable. In addition to the facts already brought forward, there are two which by themselves are, I think, almost sufficient to disprove the hypothesis. First, the word *ferrum*, iron, was used as a synonym for a sword, which would scarcely have been the case if swords had been usually made of some other metal. Secondly, the Romans never entered Denmark; it is doubtful whether they ever landed in Ireland. Yet while 350 bronze swords have been found in Denmark, and a large number in Ireland also,^b I have only been able to hear of a single bronze sword of the typical leaf-shaped form in Italy; this is in the Museum of Parma; and the National Museums at Florence, Rome and Naples do not appear to contain a single specimen of the bronze swords which are, comparatively speaking, so common in the north. That the bronze swords should have been supposed to be introduced into Denmark by a people who never came there, and from a country in which they are almost unknown, is surely a most improbable hypothesis. It is, no doubt, true that a few cases are on record in which bronze weapons are said to have been, and very likely were, found in association with Roman remains. Mr. Wright has pointed out three, one of which, at least, I cannot admit. Under any circumstances, however, we must expect to meet with some such cases. The only wonder to my mind is that there are so few of them. As regards Professor Nilsson's theory, according to which the Bronze Age objects are of Phœnician origin, I will only say that the

^b The Museum at Dublin contains 282 swords and daggers; unluckily, the number of swords is not stated separately.

Phœnicians in historical times were well acquainted with iron, and that their favourite ornaments were of a different character from those of the Bronze Age. If, then, Professor Nilsson is correct, they must belong to an earlier period in Phœnician history than that with which we are partially familiar. It would now be natural that I should pass on to the Iron Age; but the transition period between the two is illustrated by a discovery so remarkable that I cannot pass it over altogether. M. Ramsauer, for many years head of the salt-mines at Hallstadt, near Salzburg, in Austria, has opened no less than 980 graves, apparently belonging to an ancient colony of miners. The results are described and the objects figured in an album, of which Mr. Evans and I have recently procured a copy from M. Ramsauer himself. We hope soon to make this remarkable find known in a more satisfactory manner; for the moment I will only extract the main facts which are necessary to my present arguments. That the period to which these graves belonged was that of the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages is evident, both because we find cutting-instruments of iron as well as of bronze, and also because both are of somewhat unusual, and, we may almost say, of intermediate types. The same is the case with the ornamentation. Animals are frequently represented, but are very poorly executed, while the geometrical patterns are well done. That the passage was from bronze to iron, *and not from iron to bronze, is clear*; because here, as elsewhere, while iron instruments with bronze handles are common, there is not a single case of a bronze blade with an iron handle. This shews that when both metals were used for weapons the iron was preferred. The conclusions to which I have endeavoured to bring you are these:—1, there was a period when bronze was extensively used for arms and implements; 2, stone, however, was also in use, especially for certain purposes, as, for instance, for arrow-heads, and in the form of flakes for cutting; 3, some of the bronze axes appear to be mere copies of the earlier stone ones; 4, many of the Swiss lake-villages belong to this period; 5, this is shewn, not merely by the presence of metal, but also by other arguments; 6, the pottery of the Bronze Age is better than that of the earlier period; 7, gold, amber, and glass were used for ornamental purposes; 8, silver, lead, and zinc appear to have been unknown; 9, this was also the case with iron; 10, coins were not in use; 11, skins were probably worn, but tissues of flax and wool were also in use; 12, the ornamentation of the period is characteristic, and consists of geometrical markings; 13, the handles of the arms, the bracelets, etc., indicate a small race; 14, writing appears to have been unknown; 15, yet there was a very considerable commerce; 16, it is more than probable that the knowledge of bronze was introduced into, not discovered in, Europe.

IV. The Iron Age is the period when this metal was first used for weapons and cutting-instruments. During this period we emerge into the broad and, in many respects, delusive, glare of history. No one, of course, will deny that arms of iron were in use by our ancestors at the time of the Roman invasion. Mr. Crawford, indeed, considers

that they were more ancient than those of bronze, while Mr. Wright maintains that the bronze weapons belong to the Roman period. I have already attempted to shew, from the frequent occurrence of iron blades with bronze handles, and the entire absence of the reverse, that iron must have succeeded and replaced bronze. Other arguments might be adduced; but it will be sufficient to state broadly that which I think no experienced archæologist will deny, namely, that the objects which accompany bronze weapons are much more archaic than those which are found with weapons of iron. That the bronze weapons were not used by the Romans in Cæsar's time, I have already attempted to prove. That they were not used at that period by the Northern races, is distinctly stated in history. We will, however, endeavour to make this also evident on purely archæological grounds. We have several important finds of this period, among which I will specially call your attention to the lake-village of La Tene, in the Lake of Neuchâtel. At this place no flint implements (excepting flakes) are met with. Only fifteen objects of bronze have been found, and only one of these was an axe. Moreover, this was pierced for a handle, and belonged, therefore, to a form rarely, if ever, occurring in finds of the Bronze Age. On the other hand, the objects of iron are numerous, and comprise 50 swords, 23 lances, and 5 axes. The other find of the Iron Age to which I will now refer is that of Nydam, recently described at length by Mr. Engelhardt, in his excellent work on "Denmark in the Early Iron Age." At this place have been found an immense number of the most various objects: clothes, brooches, tweezers, beads, helmets, shields, coats of mail, buckles, harness, boats, rakes, brooms, mallets, bows, vessels of wood and pottery, 80 knives, 30 axes, 40 awls, 160 arrow-heads, 100 swords, and nearly 600 lances. All these weapons were of iron, though bronze was freely used for ornaments. That these two finds belonged to the Roman period is clearly proved by the existence of numerous coins belonging to the first two centuries after Christ, although not one has occurred in any of the Bronze Age lake-villages, or in the great find at Hallstadt. It is quite clear, therefore, that neither bronze nor stone weapons were in use in Northern Europe at the commencement of our era. A closer examination would much strengthen this conclusion. For instance, at Thorsbjerg alone there are seven inscriptions, either in Runes or Roman letters, while, as I have already stated, letters are quite unknown, with one exception, on any object of the Bronze Age, or in the great transition find at Hallstadt. Again, the significance of the absence of silver in the Hallstadt find is greatly increased when we see that in the true Iron Age, as in the Nydam, and other similar finds, silver was used to ornament shield-bosses, shield-rims, sandals, brooches, breast-plates, sword-hilts, sword-sheaths, girdles, and harness, and was used for clasps, pendants, boxes and tweezers, while in one case a helmet was made of this comparatively rare material. The pottery also shews much improvement; the forms of the weapons are quite different, and the character of the ornamentation is very unlike, and much more

advanced than, that of the Bronze Age. Moreover, the bronze used in the Iron Age differs from that of the Bronze Age, in that it frequently contains lead and zinc in considerable quantities. These metals do not occur, except as impurities, in the ancient bronzes, nor even in those of Hallstadt. These finds clearly shew that the inhabitants of Northern and Western Europe were by no means such mere savages as we have been apt to suppose. As far as our own ancestors are concerned, this is rendered even more evident by the discoveries of those ancient British coins which have been so well described and figured by Mr. John Evans ("The Coins of the Ancient Britons"). And now, before I sit down, suffer me to make two practical suggestions. The first is, that, in the Authorized Version of the Bible, we should in future omit the date 4004 B.C., which now stands before the first verse of Genesis. No geologist or archæologist believes this to be true, and it is wonderful that a truth-loving people as we are should continue to print the Bible with that which we all believe to be a mis-statement at the very commencement. Secondly, I cannot but think that it would be well if the Government would appoint a Royal Conservator of National Antiquities. We cannot put Stonehenge or the Wansdyke into a Museum; all the more reason why we should watch over them where they are; and even if the destruction of our ancient monuments should under any circumstances become necessary, careful drawings ought first to be made, and their removal ought to take place under proper superintendence. We are apt to blame the Eastern peasants, who use the ancient buildings as stone-quarries, but we forget that even in our own country, Abury, the most magnificent of Druidical remains, was almost destroyed for the sake of a few pounds; while recently the Jockey Club has mutilated the remaining portion of the Devil's Dyke, on Newmarket heath, in order to make a bank for the exclusion of scouts at trial races. In this case, also, the saving, if any, must have been very small, and I am sure that no society of English gentlemen would have committed such an act of wanton barbarism if they had given the subject a moment's consideration. But I have already occupied your attention longer perhaps than I ought; much longer, at any rate, than I at first intended. I have endeavoured, as well as I was able, to bring before you some of the principal conclusions to which we have been led by the study of primeval antiquities, purposely avoiding all reference to history, because I have been particularly anxious to satisfy you that in archæology we can arrive at definite and satisfactory conclusions on independent grounds, without any assistance from history; and, consequently, as regards times before writing was invented, and before written history had even commenced. I have endeavoured to select only those arguments which rest on well-authenticated facts. For my own part, however, I care less about the facts than the method. For an infant science, as for a child, it is of small importance to make rapid strides at once; and I confess, therefore, without hesitation, that I care comparatively little how far you accept our facts or adopt our results if

only I have succeeded in convincing you that the method is one which will eventually lead us to sure conclusions, and that the science of Pre-historic archæology rests undoubtedly on a sound and solid foundation.

Palestine.—Mr. Cyril C. Graham wished to bring more prominently before the public the claims of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which has been established for the accurate and systematic investigation of the archæology, topography, geology, and natural history of the Holy Land for Biblical illustration. The Fund had now existed for one year only, but during that period considerable success had been achieved. In pursuance of the plan adopted by the committee in 1865, Captain Wilson, of the Royal Engineers, and Lieutenant Anderson, his able assistant, were sent out to Palestine with a view of making such a general survey of the country as would enable the promoters of the Fund to fix on particular points for further investigation. The expedition had been constantly employed in the country from December, 1865, to May, 1866, with eminently satisfactory results. Though we had long known the sites of Jerusalem and the other larger cities of the Holy Land, now for the first time had an attempt been made to explore in a true scientific spirit the regions which lay between the more considerable towns. They had fixed with accuracy the scene of Samson's life, the tomb of Joseph, the well where Christ had spoken to the woman of Samaria, and the beautiful summer palace of Solomon. Two debated questions had been definitely settled—the confluence of the Jaddok with the Jordan, and the course of the Wady Surar. A series of detailed maps had been carefully formed from most accurate observations for time and latitude, representing the whole back-bone of the country from north to south, including the Lake of Gennesareth and all the water-courses descending to its western shores. The nature of the country, especially in the south, was very unfavourable for rapid reconnaissance, and it was unsafe to trust the eye in places which had not been actually visited. Many errors had crept into existing maps in this way, and the maps now made had been constructed to remedy the defect. Though great difficulty arose in the exploration of the country, owing to the small number of travellers who could speak the language, and also to the fact that nearly all visitors to the Holy Land used to traverse the same route, yet much might be done by a judicious and careful examination of those traditions which were preserved by the Arabs in all their original completeness. Materials had been collected for making fifty plans, with detailed drawings of churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, and tombs existing in various parts of the Holy Land, while the Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions which had been discovered had been referred to Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum. The most interesting ruins of Palestine were the remains of the synagogues. They all lay north and south, had their gateways in the southern end, the interior being divided into five aisles by four rows of columns, and the two northern corners formed by

double engaged pillars. The position of Chorazin had been fixed with tolerable accuracy, and great light had been thrown on the site of Capernaum by tracing the ancient system of irrigating the plain of Gennesareth, while the valley where David and Goliath fought had been nearly ascertained. Excavations had been made, and most interesting remnants of synagogues and churches brought to light, and had been continued by Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus. A series of 160 photographs had been taken, comprising views of sites, details of architecture, inscriptions, etc., the Samaritan Pentateuch, and a few natural objects.

The Dean of Westminster said that there were some persons whose names had not been mentioned in connection with the exploration of Palestine, and whom it would be unjust to pass over on such an occasion. Miss Burdett Coutts—whose name had become a synonym for munificence—had subscribed £500, with the intention of ascertaining the best means of providing Jerusalem with water, which it very much needed. This could be done only by a complete survey, which was undertaken by Captain Wilson, and was the precursor of the great series of expeditions to promote which the Exploration Fund had been established. As it had been said, the discoveries in connection with the synagogues had been extremely interesting, and had dissipated the opinion so commonly held that these structures were built rudely, and without any attention to beauty of form. Now, it had been ascertained that they possessed great architectural excellence. The gradual approach of the recognition of the site of Capernaum must possess very pleasurable anxiety for the student of Bible history, for there the Saviour spent the greater part of His life on earth. No care had been formerly spent in these expeditions; but now every instrument of discovery which science could devise or suggest was made available for the objects which the promoters of the Fund were endeavouring to advance. He cordially recommended it to the support of the public, and especially to that of the Members of the Archæological Society.

Mr. Layard, M.P., Colonel Fraser, late Commissioner in Syria, and Professor Porter, another oriental traveller, addressed the Meeting.

Mr. Emanuel Deutsch on Semitic Palæography and Epigraphy.—Closely connected as the sciences of Palæography and Epigraphy are with almost every province of historical, chronological, linguistic, and archæological studies, their Semitic branch was, Mr. Deutsch said, perhaps of the greatest importance of all. It is only our own generation that seems to have become alive to the fact that our knowledge both of the East and the beginnings of the West must be sought, or at least complemented, in the East. Considering that most of those earliest Hellenic ornaments—vases and gems, vessels and garments, animals and vegetable substances, weights and measures, and even musical instruments, mentioned in the oldest remnants of Greek literature, the Homeric writings—were imported into Europe, together with their Semitic names, by Semites, it must, indeed, be evident at

once how large must be the share of Semitism in the origin of modern civilization. Semite arts and sciences, gods and inhabitants, were grafted upon Indo-Germanic strata, and the peculiarly happy union of the two principal elements of culture produced the vast glory of the antique. He then traced the figures of our own alphabet, the very name of which but denotes the first two Semitic letters, through the dark stages of Etruscan, Old-Italic, Old-Hellenic, etc., back to the rude scrawls of pre-historic Phœnician stone-cutters; and further our own mode of writing from left to right, through the boustrophedon, or writing both ways, as the ox ploughs, to the primitive manner of writing from right to left, in Semitic languages, and as those Eastern nations that have adopted the Arabic character still do. There was, Mr. Deutsch said, a strange kind of fascination connected with that peculiar study; it was, to a certain extent, like following the forms of the characters drawn by the hand of some great man, or some one peculiarly dear to us, from the stage of their full development and vigour to the first childish scribbles, through all the phases of intervening years, with their many events. We should, probably, find them always different, yet always alike in their broad outline. The wide vista displayed to us by a retrospective glance at all the tribes and idioms that made use of this alphabet, which suddenly, as it were, found itself called upon, poor and vowelless as it was, to serve them all to its best abilities, is amazing. No less the extraordinary adaptability it proved in this emergency, and the infinite variety of shapes it subsequently had to assume, according to time and clime. These and a crowd of other speculations lifted the discipline which led to them almost out of the humble sphere of a philological handmaiden to that of a mistress of an immense domain; not only yielding much solid, substantial produce in the way of scientific results, but also giving full sway to those larger and deeper thoughts of the universal solidarity of humanity, which almost touch the realms of poetry.

Semitism, in its earliest and most wide-spread influence upon Europe, is chiefly represented by the Phœnicians. To their insignificant country it was given to do what neither Egypt nor Assyria, with all their perfection of industry and arts, were able to do, viz., to supply the link between the East and the West. Communicating, by Arabia and the Persian Gulf, with India and the coast of Africa, towards the Equator, and on the north, along the Euxine, with the borders of Scythia, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, with Britannia, if not with the Baltic, they introduced the elements of culture to the remotest ends of the earth; everywhere planting colonies, erecting temples, and laying the foundation for a more humane life than the aborigines in most of those far-off lands had ever dreamt of. An outline of Phœnician commerce, which comprised almost every conceivable object of home or foreign growth or manufacture; further, of Phœnician art,—“in gold and silver, in brass and iron, in purple and in blue, in stone and in timber, in fine linen and precious stones,”—of which so infinitely little has survived; and of Phœnician religion,—a symbolical worship of

natural phenomena, of abstract ideas, and of allegories and special Numina,—followed; and the complete identity of many deities thus created with classical deities was dwelt upon. A sketch of Phœnician literature, which must have been most extensive, and completely in accordance with their high state of cultivation and refinement, was then given. This literature consisted, first, of a vast number of theological, or rather theogonical works, as whose authors are reputed the gods themselves, and which were only accessible to the priests, or to those initiated in the mysteries. From the allegorical explanation of these writings sprang a vast cosmogony, insignificant fragments of which only have come down to us, mutilated and misinterpreted by their Greek reporters. Next to this sacred literature stands their didactic poetry, somewhat related to the Orphic. We further know of their erotic works, of works on history, geography, navigation, agriculture,—in short, of almost every modern branch of science and belles lettres.

But all this wealth of literature has perished, and the scanty extracts that may have survived in foreign literatures cannot be looked upon as really authentic. For genuine and unadulterated “literature” we must look to the original monuments themselves; to inscriptions on coins and weights, on votive tablets, on sacrificial stones, on tombstones, and on sarcophagi. Broken utterances, faintest echoes though they be, out of them there might once be reconstructed more of the life of that wonderful nation, that had so many things in common with the English, than has hitherto been dreamt of.

Before proceeding to speak of these monuments themselves, and principally of those most recently excavated, Mr. Deutsch alluded to a notion which seems to be still abroad, that the Phœnician, being a lost language, which is only now being recovered by degrees, offered the same amount of uncertainty in some of its decipherings as hieroglyphics, cuneiforms, etc., were supposed still to offer. The only difficulties that present themselves to the Phœnician decipherer consist either in the newness of terms met, which do not offer any Semitic analogies; or in their peculiar orthographical or grammatical forms; or, finally, in the similar shapes some of the characters (B, D, and R principally) exhibit. But here, again, the difficulty is soon solved by the context; almost with the same ease with which the vowels are supplied in any Semitic language, or the sometimes missing diacritical points in any of the idioms written in Arabic characters.

Mr. Deutsch next enumerated the most important recent discoveries on the soil of Phœnicia (Sidon) and her numerous colonies, first giving an outline of the history of Phœnician investigation in Europe. Phœnician finds have been very frequent of late years. While up to the middle of the last century hardly anything was known of the existence of Phœnician inscriptions, there is scarcely a museum in Europe now which does not boast of one or two lapidary or numismatic monuments, that have to tell some tale or other in the aboriginal tongue of Canaan. Since Pococke’s discovery of thirty-one inscrip-

tions on the site of ancient Citium, Malta, Sardinia, Carthage, Algiers, Tripoli, Athens, Marseilles, and a host of other places, have given up a number of these eloquent contributions to the history of the Semites who once dwelt upon these spots. The most extensive find lately made consists of nearly a hundred inscriptions, excavated on the site of ancient Carthage,—all votive tablets, with but two exceptions. One of these exceptions is a precious sacrificial tariff, which complements in the happiest way a similar sacred document, found some years ago at Marseilles. The other is probably a tomb-stone, erected by a father to his son. Another highly interesting monument was excavated about three years ago in Sardinia, and consists of the base of an altar, inscribed with a trilingual (Latin-Greek-Phœnician) legend. A comparison of these three translations, or rather paraphrases, among themselves, leads to most interesting results in many branches of Greek, Roman, and Phœnician antiquities, and chiefly in comparative hierology; while the Phœnician inscription itself, the largest of the three, is perhaps one of the most curious ever discovered, yielding a number of new linguistic, mythological, and orthographical items. After dwelling upon other bilingual, Assyro-Phœnician, Græco-Phœnician, etc., remnants, and upon the excavations by recent French explorers and their results, Mr. Deutsch turned to the Himyaritic inscriptions, lately embodied in the collections of the British Museum, consisting of votive bronze tablets, found in South Arabia, and couched in a long-lost idiom, the nearest approach to which is traced in the present Amharic: allied to Ethiopic and Hebrew. The numerous Hebrew inscriptions which have of late been brought to light, the tomb-stones from Aden (with several Himyaritic Alephs), the many hundreds of tomb-stones copied in various parts of the Crimea, some of which bore very remote dates indeed, the inscription on the "Tomb of the Kings," with its double (Syria and Hebrew) characters, the family vault of the "Bene Chezir," indicated by a Hebrew inscription in archaic square characters on the "Tomb of St. James," with ligatures such as were only found on the so-called "Chaldeo Egyptian" papyri, and the other minor epigraphs discovered by Renan, De Saulcy, De Vogüé, and others, in their various exploratory tours in the Holy Land, were briefly explained. Finally, Mr. Deutsch described the photographs with Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions (see *Athen.*, No. 2018), consisting chiefly of representations of the famous Samaritan Scroll, inscriptions on synagogues in Galilee, and the probably most ancient Samaritan epigraph on a stone immured in a wall of a mosque near Nablus,—the reading of which he has been able fully to restore,—which were brought home by the first expedition set on foot by the Exploration Fund. From the future activity of this association Mr. Deutsch expected valuable results, also for those sciences which had formed the theme of his paper.

Mr. Deutsch concluded by briefly recapitulating the various points of interest connected with the pursuit of these studies, and the large gain derived from them for the varied disciplines of human knowledge.

Semitic palæography and epigraphy supplied one of the strongest links in that chain which binds the remotest ages to our own, and visibly represent, as it were, the undying continuity and solidarity of civilized humanity.—*Athenæum*.

Mahomet.—To form a correct appreciation of such a man is one of the most difficult tasks of history, and in order rightly to do it, it is necessary to fathom the abysses of the human conscience itself, and to endeavour to discriminate between the confused boundary-lines of good and evil which lie within it. Every one is aware how insidiously the promptings of self-advantage, vanity, or ambition, are apt to mix themselves up with nobler passions, and ultimately to supplant them altogether. The beginnings of self-deception in such cases are always difficult of apprehension. If such is the case with ordinary persons, in the case of a career like Mahomet's it is impossible to separate entirely real enthusiasm from self-deception and imposture. That he went through these stages no candid inquirer can doubt. Perhaps it may be an approximation to the truth if we said that while in a state of oppression at Mecca his career was made up of much real enthusiasm, and little deceit, but that at Medina, inflated by the possession of absolute power, urged on by the insatiable promptings of ambition, and intoxicated with the fumes of sanguinary and merciless vengeance, his career, was a mixture of immense and shameless imposture, still leavened with bursts of the old enthusiasm. As he assumed the character of a prophet, one is naturally led to compare him with the mighty spiritual leaders of the chosen people of his own Semitic race, whose majesty Michael Angelo alone has fitly been able to interpret, with Moses, with Elijah, with Isaiah, and with Ezekiel; yet the Arabian is but a sorry and barbarous counterfeit of these grand types of humanity. One chapter of Hosea or Amos contains more grandeur of soul and more literary value than the whole of the Coran. Thus, in his highest flights, Mahomet never rises above the dignity of a coarse and ignorant imitation of a Hebrew prophet; while in his lowest abasement, as in the scene of the massacre of the Coraitza, for example, he looms through history with the sanguinary darkness of a king of Dahomey or Ashantee. As the founder of a religion, it would be blasphemy to name him in the same breath with one to whom he presumed to declare himself a rival, of whose mission and incarnation he could appreciate neither the beauty, the spotlessness, nor the truth. Place side by side a narrative of the origin of Christianity and a narrative of the origin of the faith of Islam, and without another word of argument the divinity of the one and the humanity of the other are apparent. But if we compare Mahomet with another founder of a religion, Bouddha, Bouddha appears, in his doctrine of self-abnegation and in his spiritual conception of human nature and the destinies of man, to stand as much above Mahomet as Mahomet does above the founder of American Mormonism. As in Mahomet's moral conduct of life, so in all his religious conceptions, there is a coarseness and

grossness suited only to the semi-barbarous nations who have remained faithful to his creed. The distinguishing mark, however, of Mahomet's whole life and character is a savage incongruity; he was a strange mixture of barbarity and gentleness, of severity and of licentiousness, of ignorance and elevation of character, of credulity and astuteness, of ambition and simplicity of life, of religious conviction and low imposture; but the most astonishing trait of his character, and that which made him indeed a great man, was an invincible belief in himself, in the ever-present protection and favour of God, and in the destiny of the religion he was to found. The indissoluble tenacity of his belief in spite of the tremendous difficulties which beset his career, forms the real grandeur of his character.

Mahomet is the only founder of a religion of whose personal appearance we possess authentic details. He was a little above the middle height, strongly but sparsely made, with broad shoulders and a slight stoop; his hair was black, and in the prime of life clustered over his ears; his moustache and beard were also black, the latter abundant and reaching some way down his chest; his forehead was large, with a vein on it which swelled when he was angry; his complexion was fair for an Arab; his eyes were large, black, and piercing, but bloodshot and restless; his teeth were white and well formed, but stood apart; his walk was so rapid that people had to run to keep up with him, and his gait is described as being like that of a man striding downhill. He was simple in his apparel; he never wore silk but once in his life, and then threw it aside in disgust, saying it was no fit dress for a man. His general attire was white and red or striped cotton; like all Arabs, he had no taste for comfort, and the luxurious refinements of artificial life were not known to him, or would have been despised had they become so; a bed of palm tree fibre, a low hut of burnt tiling with a palm-tree roof, would have been by him preferred to a palace. Still he was in some things of extremely delicate and sensitive taste, as in the use of perfumes and in his distaste for unpleasant odours. At Medina he once sent back a dish of mutton to the sender untouched, because it was flavoured with onions, saying that they were disagreeable to the angel who visited him; he never travelled without toothpicks and antimony for his eyes; he was a good listener in conversation, and never in shaking hands was the first to withdraw his own; he was not addicted to any of the games or sports of which the Arabs were passionately fond, and was, in all things, most unlike the heroic ideal of Arab character.

The Prophet could little foresee in the triumph of his later years that his own country of Arabia would, as later travellers have verified, be the country of all the East in which Mohammedanism occupies the least place in the belief of the inhabitants. The Arab race, however, will ever have a romantic and intellectual interest for the observer of history, as the last surviving nationality of that great Semitic family so mysteriously and prodigiously active in the obscure dawn of civilization, who built stupendous cities and engaged in the work of industry

and commerce on a gigantic scale; who were inspired by the sublimest conceptions of religious belief and of the theocratic government of the universe before the Indo-European race had even made its appearance upon the theatre of the world. It was the Semitic family which covered the plains of Mesopotamia and the valley of the Euphrates with cities fit rivals of the Aramaic capitals of Nineveh and Babylon; which laid the foundations of primeval civilization in Ethiopia and Southern Arabia; which from Tyre and Carthage crossed the most distant oceans with their fleets; which have left behind in the Hebrew Scriptures a monument of their former spiritual supremacy more venerable and more imperishable than any structure raised by the hands of man. They are the only race, besides the Indo-European, who have had any important share in the dominion of the civilized world, in the evolution of spiritual and religious truth, and they alone share with the Aryan races the possession of the highest type of physical beauty and intellectual culture.—*Edinburgh Review*.

On some Mediæval Maps of Africa by Arabian Geographers.—Having read parts of the notice in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, of Mr. Baker's "Albert Nyanza," or the "Little Luta Nzige" of Speke, and as the following passage is not correct, I trust you will allow me to add what I have previously written on some Arabian maps of Africa, executed during the Middle Ages, as they indisputably prove that the Arab merchants were early acquainted with the great equatorial lakes from which the Nile derives its principal waters, though *not* its *sources*. "We stated," says the writer (page 168, No. for July, 1866), "in a former paper on this subject (*Quarterly Review* for July, 1863), that an Arabian map, about the year 800, had been recently brought to light from Lelewel's 'Géographie du Moyen Age,' representing the *source* of the Nile as being *in a lake*."

In correction of the statement as made in that number (227, page 278), I wrote in the autumn of 1863, as follows: "The statement respecting *Ben Musa's* Arabian map being taken from the July number (1863) of the *Quarterly Review*, must be corrected, for I find that the date of it is A.D. 833, and not '888.' And 'the Nile is placed on it,' as *flowing out* of a large reservoir lake, but not '*rising in it*,' on the Equator, named 'Kura Kavar,' and the *sources* or feeders of *that lake* are represented by *six rivers*, which *run into* it from the south.—See Plate I., 'Tabula Almamuniana,' in Lelewel's atlas, 'Géographie du Moyen Age.' This is considered the *first* Arabic map, and to have been constructed in the time of Almamoun (or *El Ma'mûn*), about A.D. 830."

Again, the reviewer continues (page 168, *Quarterly Review*, No. 239), "A still later map, by an Arabian geographer, Edrisi (A.D. 1154), has recently been published in a German work ('Geschichte der Erdkunde,' von Oscar Peschel, Münch, 1865), in which *three* great lakes are represented as connected with each other, and the Nile as issuing from the most northerly. This indicates the three great lakes, the Victoria Nyanza, the Tanganyika, and the Albert Nyanza."

"This *same* Arabian map I described in 1863 thus: "Two other important maps are given at No. X. in Lelewel's Atlas, the larger one being entitled, 'Tabula Itineraria Edrisiana,' and the second, 'Tabula Rotunda Rogeriana,' of the date A.D. 1154. In this last we see *two* lakes at the Equator, from the *north-western* of which the river *Kauga* (or *Kanga*=*Congo*?) takes its origin, and flows to the west. This lake, from its position, probably indicates the little Luta Nzige. The *second*, or larger lake, on the Equator, may be the Nyanza; the *west* lake, in about 8° of south latitude is, perhaps, the Tanganyika; and the *east* lake, that called Baringo, which has not yet been investigated, although it is evidently placed too far south. The head rivers of the two southern lakes proceed from the 'Mons Komr,' and the 'Fons Nili;' but the range, being situated in lat. 12° S., is most likely given from Ptolemy. Lelewel calls the 'Tabula Rogeriana' the 'Mappemonde' of the geographers of Sicily. It was preserved and described by Edrisi, and was the result of researches made and related by an African Mussulman at the Court of Roger, King of Sicily, who reigned from A.D. 1130 to 1154."

In addition to the descriptions of those maps, I have also given accounts of several other mediæval maps of Equatorial Africa, as may be seen by those scientific persons who wish to know what geographers of their own country have long ago written and published. My memoir, from which these extracts are taken, was published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. viii., part i., in September, 1864, and consequently the *year before* Peschel's work, now brought forward by the reviewer, but which new book I have not yet seen.—JOHN HOGG.—*Athenæum*.

The Mosque of Omer.—During a recent visit to Jerusalem I read Mr. Fergusson's two books on the ancient topography of that city and on the Mosque of Omer; and I find the following objections to Mr. Fergusson's theory that that mosque was built by Constantine.

The door on the Kiblah or south side is not an invincible objection to the building being a mosque; besides, it is not certain that it has always existed. One of the attendants of the mosque told me that it had been opened on account of the darkness of the building. If the door always existed, it may also always have had, as at present, a wall with a *mihrab*, screening the door and the worshippers within from passers by outside. Mr. Fergusson does not seem to have noticed this, which does away with his great objection to a door on the Kiblah side.

The arches of the inner circle immediately surrounding the rock are pointed, which Mr. Ferguson admits to be contrary to his theory, p. 112, and they are made of alternate black and white marble, an essentially Arab style of decoration. The arches of the Mosque of Cordoba have lately been found to be of alternate red bricks and white stones.

The entablature which joins the columns and supports the arches

of the second row of columns or screen of the dome of the rock is only a development and improvement of the single beam that unites the columns in the Mosque of El Aksa.

The dome, which contains in its gallery pointed windows, was restored and re-gilt in 718 A.H. according to the inscription, by Al Mansur Ibn Kalaun, one of the Memluk Turkish Sultans of Egypt (the same who was in correspondence with James the Second of Aragon about pilgrimage to the Holy Places).

The capitals of the Mosque of the Rock did not appear to me by any means identical. Mr. Fergusson seems to be wrong in calling the basketwork capitals of the Aksa, of which he has given a drawing, p. 109, Arab work, since one such is in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the north side of the choir, or principal Greek chapel; and there are others in the underground chapel of St. Helena.

The plan called a "vile figuration" of Adamnanus (left out of Mr. Fergusson's second work) tells against him, since the octagon building would not have been constructed by Constantine as it now stands, if it had had doors only on the north-east and south-east, and there are still entrances on the north-east and south-east to the dome of the Holy Sepulchre, as in Adamnanus's plan.

The Mosque of the Rock, having corners, might possibly have been called square, but at any rate it certainly could hold 3,000 people: the inhabitants say many more.

Mr. Fergusson has lost sight of the passage of Eusebius to the effect that the propylæa of Constantine's basilica touched the street of the bazaar on the eastern side (quoted by Dr. Robinson, vol. iii. page 263), which is confirmed by the remains of granite columns still near the bazaar, as mentioned by Dr. Robinson, vol. iii., page 168; this passage is inapplicable to the strip of graveyard between the Haram and the valley of Jehoshaphat.

The Turrus Antonia, according to Josephus, stood on a high rock; there is none such, except under the Turkish barrack at the north-west end of the Haram.

The rock of the mosque is only a short pistol-shot from the wall of the Haram platform, or Temple or city wall according to Mr. Fergusson, which is too near for a garden and a tomb. Mr. Fergusson calls the rock of the mosque Mount Zion; if the Holy Sepulchre had been there, it is impossible that that circumstance should not have been alluded to by the Apostles or the Fathers.

Mr. Fergusson has omitted to account for the very massive northern wall of the Haram (commonly called that of the Pool of Bethesda), which has no reason for its existence according to his theory, but which is easily explained as that of the fosse separating Antonia from Bezetha.

The short distance from Mr. Fergusson's Antonia to his Golgotha (a slant across the Haram) is inconsistent with the Gospel narrative, and the number of incidents represented in the *Stations*. The stress laid by Mejd eddin (not Mejr eddin, as this name is mis-spelt by both

Dr. Robinson and Mr. Fergusson), and the other Arab historians, and the sayings of the prophet quoted by Dr. Robinson, vol. i., p. 300, make it highly improbable that this rock, which the Arabs so esteemed, should have been hidden away underground in the Aksa, as Mr. Fergusson supposes: and the circumstance of the rock is sufficiently exceptional to account for the form of the Mosque of Omer, or of Al-Mamun, and to set aside Mr. Fergusson's conclusions as to the impossibility of its being a mosque.—A PILGRIM.—*Athenæum*.

Royal Society of Literature.—July 4. Sir C. Nicholson, Bart., in the Chair.—Mr. Vaux read a paper "On a Greek Inscription from Thessalonica," which had been procured by the Rev. D. Morton, through the kindness of R. Wilkinson, Esq., H.M. Consul, Salonica. This inscription is of much interest, as confirming the statement of St. Luke in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that Thessalonica was governed by officers, called *Politarchs*; a title, curiously enough found in no work of classical times. Mr. Vaux traced the history of this inscription from its first publication by Muratori, in 1740, through the successive works of Pococke, Beaujour, E. D. Clarke, Leake, Swan, Cousinery, Beeckh, etc., and shewed that, though some of the later copyists had recorded the inscription with tolerable fidelity, none of them had produced a rendering of it so perfect as that shewn in the photograph sent to Mr. Morton by Mr. Wilkinson.—Sir Patrick Colquhoun reader a paper "On the Nature and Origin of Romaic Greek," in which he pointed out that this dialect is, properly, the language of the lowest trading classes, and may be considered as a sort of Greek *Lingua franca*. It can hardly be held deserving the name of a language, nor would really be deemed to be so by any except the so-called "Modern Greeks." It has little or no connection with the artificial language which has been invented by newspaper-writers, authors and the bar, and is wholly useless as the exponent of the ideas of any persons except the poorest and humblest classes.

Archæological Institute.—July 6. The Marquis Camden, K.G., President, in the chair.—The Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., gave a short notice of certain vestiges of the earlier occupants of Anglesey; he described some very ancient interments brought to light, about 1860, on the estates of the late R. Trygarn Griffith, Esq., at Carreglwyd. The bodies, which had been of unusually small stature, had not been burnt; they were deposited in rudely formed cists of stone, probably covered over by a sepulchral hillock. According to popular tradition, a great conflict took place near the spot between the inhabitants and the Danes. A large upright stone still marks the battle-field. Mr. Stanley placed before the meeting a photograph of a very elaborately ornamented urn found at Rhosbirio, in a grave closed in by slabs of stone; there were no ashes or bones in this beautiful vase, which is of the class designated by Sir R. Colt Hoare and other antiquaries, "drinking cups," doubtless used as depositories for food in the tomb. Specimens have been found

in Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Scotland; none had hitherto, as Mr. Stanley stated, occurred in Anglesey or North Wales.—Professor Buckman read an account of implements and weapons of flint found in Dorset, especially on his own farm at Bradford Abbas; “cores” of flint from which flakes have been struck off, also knives, arrow-heads and other relics, of which specimens were shewn, occur in abundance. Of these the Professor offered a classified arrangement. Some of the arrow-heads shew great skill and perfection in manufacture, and are assigned to an early period—no barbed specimen having been found. Many objects have been collected that may have served, probably, in scraping skins; others have been used as hammers, or implements of uncertain purpose. Various flints, undoubtedly wrought by man, are to be found in several parts of Dorsetshire.—Mr. F. Boyle read a memoir on the ancient tombs of Nicaragua, and on the races that seem to have occupied that district of Central America. He pointed out the characteristics and distinct funereal usages of these peoples, the Chontals, by whom the mountains were inhabited, the Caribs, and the Toltecs,—the latter having been the early occupants of the shores of the great inland lake of Nicaragua. Mr. Boyle described the examination of several remarkable burials, and brought numerous relics that throw light on the arts and usages of the early Indian races at a very remote period.—Mr. B. Williams invited attention to a Roll, belonging to the Hon. Fulke Greville, and shewing the state of the lordships, manors, etc., in the Marches of Wales, 10 Henry VII., as enrolled in the Court of Exchequer; a document of singular interest in regard to the conditions of the Principality and adjacent counties in the fifteenth century.—A brief account was given, by Mr. G. Scharf, of the examination of the grave, apparently of one of the early abbots of Westminster, accidentally brought to light immediately in front of the high altar. A chalice and patin of base metal, with remains of the crosier found in the tomb, were shewn by the Dean of Westminster, and called forth some remarks from Mr. Franks in regard to the usages connected with the interments of abbots and dignitaries in the Middle Ages.—Mr. Scharf also read a paper “On the curious historical Picture now exhibited at South Kensington, and hitherto regarded as portraying Queen Elizabeth’s visit to Hunsdon House in 1571.” He pointed out, however, that it really represents the Queen’s visit to Blackfriars in 1600, to do honour to the marriage between Anne Russell, grand-daughter of the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Hertford; and it is recorded that Elizabeth was conveyed from the waterside in a litter borne by six knights. Mr. Scharf proceeded to identify the distinguished persons who appear in this remarkable painting, which was executed, as he believes, by Isaac Oliver, the celebrated miniature-painter, long resident in Blackfriars.—Mr. J. Gough Nichols offered some remarks on the locality of Blackfriars, as seen in the picture; the details may not be given with much reality; but the house of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, seems to be shewn. It was afterwards known as Hunsdon House, and was the scene of a memorable catastrophe, by the fall of

one of the floors, when an assemblage of Roman Catholics had congregated, in 1623. The house stood near the theatre in which Shakspeare was a partner. The site is now occupied by the printing-offices of the *Times*.—An account of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, found at Melton Mowbray, and of various weapons and relics accompanying the numerous deposits, was sent by Mr. T. North, of Leicester.—Mr. J. B. Waring exhibited a large series of drawings of stone monuments and illustrations of the ornamental art of the earliest periods in various European countries.—Mr. Hewitt brought some large maps of Eastern China, obtained in that country by Col. Gordon, R.E., and found to be of the greatest precision in their details.—Mr. Dodd contributed some Italian and German MSS. of the fifteenth century; and Mr. J. Rogers sent a large medal of rare occurrence, found at Carminow, in Cornwall.

Palestine Exploration.—On Thursday, June 28, the committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund assembled in the Asiatic Society's rooms to receive Captain Wilson's report. Among other photographs made by the exploring party were several of ruins of edifices in Galilee of the greatest interest, on some of which there are ancient Hebrew inscriptions; also photographs of Samaritan MSS. of high antiquity, and of the celebrated Samaritan stone from Nabulus. These photographs have been submitted by the committee to Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum, and that gentleman has reported to the following effect:—

I. The first set of photographs consist of three representations of that most important scroll of the Samaritan Pentateuch used at Nabulus—the only one existing in the form of a roll. Although purporting to be written by the great-grandson of Aaron himself, it has, by modern investigators, together with the Samaritan Recension itself, been placed some centuries after Christ. There can, however, be no doubt as to its being, if not the very oldest, yet one of the oldest MSS. of that Recension. The silver case which incloses this scroll is particularly interesting, as representing in raised work the whole ground-plan of the Tabernacle, with all its sacred vessels and implements, together with the much-contested measures, etc., with corresponding inscriptions attached to each minute particle.

II. Two photographs are taken from different pages of another Samaritan Pentateuch, in quarto, also in sacred use among the Samaritans, and hardly less revered than the scroll. One of the pages taken contains the interesting interpolation which follows the Ten Commandments in the Samaritan Recension, and which refers to their holy mountain of Gerizim.

III. Two Hebrew Inscriptions, one from Kefr-Birim in Galilee; the other from a small village near Kedes. The first is found on a lintel which, with two strangely-carved upright columns, are the only standing remains, probably of a synagogue of the second or third century A.D. Popular tradition assigns to Simon ben Yochai, the fabulous author of the Zohar, the building of numerous sacred edifices

on this spot,—supposed to be the burial-place of many biblical personages, and still forming a place of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. The inscription was copied about a year and a half ago by M. Renan; but this photograph, though minute, is much clearer, and certainly much more correct in the form of the characters,—a circumstance of vast importance in the young science of Semitic palæography; principally as regards the lately much-contested question of the age and primitive shapes of the square Hebrew character. It contains a prayer for the peace of the sacred edifice, the name of the builder, and perhaps even his native place (if *Lud* or *Lydda* be read for the second *Levi*). The second inscription has come out too much blurred to be read at present, apart from the circumstance that the greater portion of it is entirely obliterated by time. A rubbing will probably yield a more satisfactory result.

IV. The most vital discovery, however, which Mr. Deutsch has been able to make has led to his full and complete restoration of probably the oldest Samaritan epigraph in existence. Conjectures and guesses, more or less correct, have been rife about it ever since 1844, when it was first published, by Rödiger, from a drawing made by Schultz. The monument in question consists of a stone immured (upside-down) in the southern wall of a minaret belonging to a Mohammedan Sanctuary, near Nabulus, called by the natives Hyzn Yusuf (the mourning [of Jacob] for Joseph), or the “mosque of the green tree;” with reference to a legend which makes a barren tree on the spot, under which Jacob mourned, cover itself with green leaves, when Joseph’s garment was brought to him *from Egypt*. The last copy taken by Dr. Rosen in 1859 leaves three of its ten lines incomplete, apart from the comparative and unavoidable want of minute accuracy in the characters engraved after a squeeze, taken, as it were, topsyturvy. Several additional characters, which he now discovered in each of the hitherto incomplete lines, have enabled Mr. Deutsch to fix the reading of the whole stone finally. He thereby corroborates, in some instances, the happy conjectures made by Rödiger against Rosen and Blau. The contents of the stone are, briefly,—an abbreviated form of the Ten Commandments as found in the Samaritan Recension (8 lines); a sentence taken from the interpolated passage following these Commandments in the Samaritan Codex (line 9); and, finally (line 10), the formula, “Arise, O Lord!” “Return, O Lord!” which is of frequent occurrence in Samaritan worship.

Mr. Deutsch concludes by expressing his hopes for the future activity of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as upon other fields, so also upon that vast and much-neglected one of Semitic Palæography; an activity of which the present first fruits form a most promising earnest.

The Samaritan Photographs by the Palestine Exploration Fund.—In your Journal of Saturday last, a brief account is given of the list of photographs of Samaritan objects taken under the auspices of the

Palestine Exploration Fund, and submitted by that society to the inspection of Mr. Deutsch of the British Museum, with his report thereon. As I take great interest in Palestine archæology, and especially in Samaritan matters, I trust I may be allowed to make a remark or two with regard to the photographic copies of the Samaritan Law, especially since the photograph made for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his visit to the Holy Land, seems to be a blunder, if we are to judge from the copies of it published. And, firstly, it is a mistake to suppose that the Samaritans at Nablous have but *one* scroll. I have myself seen and examined three, which bear much similarity one to the other, and are kept in similar gilt cases. It is, therefore, of importance to know what assurance we have that the photographs in question were made from the famed ancient roll, and not from one of the others. I have been a witness, on more than one occasion, when the priest imposed upon travellers, who were anxious to see the celebrated scroll, by shewing them one of the other two rolls instead of the true one itself, and this need cause no surprise when it is remembered with what jealousy it is guarded, and how rarely it is exhibited to any one but themselves.

We are further told that in the opinion of modern investigators this ancient copy, together with the Samaritan Recension itself, was written some centuries after Christ. With regard to the antiquity of the Recension itself, this opinion is quite gratuitous, and it would be highly interesting to know from what data these investigators have arrived at the conclusion respecting the ancient copy.

In conclusion, let me add, it is equally a mistake to suppose that the quartos are regarded with any peculiar reverence. It is true they are carefully kept as valuable transcripts; but they are never used by the priest to read publicly from, as they are not esteemed sufficiently sacred; none but the rolls are used for that purpose, and the most ancient of these is only shewn to the congregation once a year, namely, on the day of Atonement.—Rev. JOHN MILLS in *Athenæum*.

Since the preceding appeared, the *Athenæum* has printed the following:—After reading Mr. Mills's letter of the 7th of July, I saw Priest Amram, and noted down from him the following statements:—1. That H.R.H. the Prince of Wales *did* see the most ancient roll of the Samaritans. 2. That the portion of it photographed by Mr. Bedford was written, and added to fill a decayed place, about sixteen centuries ago. 3. That he (Amram) would only undertake to affirm positively that the book Deuteronomy (excepting a gap, now patched with paper, before the record of the Law) is in the handwriting of Abishua. 4. That the Tarikh (Deut. vi. 10, etc.) runs as follows:—"I, Abishua—son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, the priests, to them be honour from Jehovah and His Will—wrote this holy book in the door of the Tabernacle, on Mount Gerizzim, in the year thirteen in the reign of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan, with its boundaries. Praise Jehovah." 5. This roll is exhibited at the seven feasts each

year. 6. In conducting service, reading from a roll, reading from a quarto, and repeating from memory, are considered modes equally sacred. 7. Lieut. Anderson was not permitted to photograph the "Abishua MSS." One of the three rolls usually shewn to visitors was opened to him for that purpose. 8. The Samaritans assert that when Ezra changed the letters, he also partially altered the matter of the Pentateuch. 9. In their chronology stands the entry, "that in the year 4281 from Adam, and in the nineteenth year of the priesthood of Jehoiakim, Jesus, the son of Mary, was crucified in Cursed Salem" (Arusalem). 10. The relationship between Jews and Samaritans remains pretty much as of old.

Yours, etc., JOSEPH BARCLAY.

Consecration of a Synagogue.—The Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, writing on Sept. 5th, gives the following account of the ceremony:—"To-day the large synagogue which has been built here lately in the Oranienburger Strasse was consecrated. A façade in the Eastern style of architecture, surmounted by three mosque-like domes, which abuts upon the street, hardly prepares one for the splendid interior, which is of great size and fashioned according to Moorish architecture on the model of the Alhambra. The walls, the pillars, and tall pointed arches, covered with carving exquisitely traced and of most delicate workmanship, rise high to support a roof heavy with mouldings and interlacy of pattern, which, as well as the sides, the columns, and the vaulted arches, is picked and adorned with a variety of colour, at once solemn and gorgeous. Near the end of the internal synagogue furthest from the entrance, raised on a marble platform, stands a Moorish dome supported upon four columns, each about 18 feet high, round which twine, on a white ground, golden vine-leaves, the dome itself being decorated with white and gold: from the centre of this dome hangs a small red lamp, in which softly flickers a flame that is kept burning perpetually; for the blue and silver curtain beyond it, hanging between the two furthest columns that support the dome, covers the recess in which are kept the holy books of the law, and which occupies the position in the Jewish synagogue that is given to the altar in most places of worship. High-branched golden candlesticks on the nearer edge of the platform burn in front of the hallowed recess, and around the pulpit and reading-desk, while above the dome hung a heavy chandelier full of lights, behind which, in a circular recess, were placed the choir and musicians. It was striking to those unaccustomed to the Jewish ceremonial to find on entering that the whole of the men who filled the large body of the synagogue, though evidently impressed with deep reverence for the spot and with the solemnity of the occasion, kept their heads covered, while it was almost as surprising to some who had before been present at worship in a similar place, to find that the women were not, as is usual, confined to a separate and concealed portion of the building, but filled the galleries, and, though separated from the other sex, were perfectly visible. Most of the wealthy and celebrated German members of the

Jewish nation were present, and many well known men who do not own that creed were also there, among others Count Bismarck. A deep silence prevailed; most sat perfectly still, and those who did speak spoke only in the lowest whispers. Suddenly the music rose with a mighty crash of trumpets, organ, harp, and cymbal, and the choir burst out into the Hebrew psalm—"Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." As the rabbis, clothed in long flowing black robes with broad white scarves and wearing the head-dress, entered at the door, preceded by bearers of lighted candles, and began to move slowly up the centre aisle, followed by those who carried large and heavy silver models of the sacred vessels that belonged to that synagogue which was raised thousands of years ago, before the eyes of the ancestors of the Israelites who met together to-day in Berlin had caught sight of Pisgah, or had marked in the distance the undulating ground of the valley of the Jordan. Slowly the procession during the song of the choristers moved up the long aisle, wound up the steps on to the marble platform, and paused in front of the curtain which hung before the sacred ark. Then the music suddenly ceased, and, during a profound silence, broken only by the voice of the minister, the Chief Rabbi came to the front of the platform and gave his benediction in Hebrew; after which, with a loud clang of trumpets—faint symbol of the voice which spoke through the thunders of Sinai—the veil which covered the opening of the ark was drawn rapidly asunder, and the Rabbi, taking the holy vessels from their bearers, deposited them one by one in the recess, while the choir sung in Hebrew the psalm, "Throw open your doors, that the King of Glory may come in." When the voices of the singers had died away, the curtain was closed as rapidly as it had been opened, and the choir sang a hymn in German, after which the Rabbi preached a sermon in German, in which he contrasted the present happier condition of his people with their persecutions in the Middle Ages, and concluded his discourse with the hope of the near coming of a common Messiah, at whose advent all manner of men would be drawn together as brethren. . . . The synagogue which was consecrated to-day is said to be the largest and most beautiful place of worship at present possessed by the Jews in any part of the world. The ceremony, simple but grand, was most imposing, and had a visible effect upon many who were present, for not a few who were there regarded this public establishment of their religion here, not only under the tolerance, but even under the sanction and approval of the government, as an augury of a speedy arrival of the day when their scattered tribes, drawn together out of many lands, would, after ages of exile and suffering, return to the long lost land and ever dear city, banished from which, by a high decree, they have wandered for so many centuries homeless and friendless throughout the world.

Female Education in India.—There is at present a female school in Calcutta—the Bethune school—and this may be made the starting-place of a new course of things if it receive proper assistance. The

lady who superintends it (Miss Pigott) has lately made a proposal which, if accepted, may begin the progress of female education throughout India; but something of the kind which she suggests—namely, the opening of a female normal school—is absolutely indispensable. The want of competent teachers at moderate cost is now an almost insuperable bar to female education, save in the richest Hindoo families. A few “raw Sanscrit pundits,” as they are described, are the only alternative to native Christian governesses, who are said to possess a “very poor knowledge of Bengalee literature” and “to stand at too great a distance from popular sympathy, by reason of their heterodox faith, to render themselves useful to a desirable extent.” As to European tutoresses, there are few who can undertake to teach Bengalee; besides that, their services would prove too expensive. Miss Pigott proposes to supply the lack of well-trained native governesses by opening a normal Hindoo school for educating a number of elderly women; the school to consist at present of fifty students only. As the proposal has only been made in the spring of the present year, we are unable yet to make any report as to its acceptance. But with or without well-trained teachers, the education of Hindoo women is hopeless till the baneful custom of early marriages is exploded. It is a mere farce to commence at five or six years old a training which is to be stopped at eight or nine. Hindoo girls, as things are now, are mothers at an age when our girls are beginning the serious work of education, just as our girls are so too often at the age when their brothers proceed from school to college. To discourage and denounce child-marriage is, therefore, the first step of Brahma reform. Next follow marriages contracted by parents, neither husband or wife having seen each other till the bond is irrevocable. Again, both to abolish caste and enable men and women to have free choice in marriage, the intermarriage of the different castes is needful. This is a gigantic step in the view of Indian conservatives, one almost too great to be attempted. To help towards it, a special society has been formed within the Brahma Samaj, calling itself the Society of Brothers of East Bengal. Its programme, which lies before us, contains the resolution which each who approves of the objects of the society is requested to sign, and to which a good many names of gentlemen of different castes are attached. The resolution runs:—“I, A. B., etc., do hereby solemnly resolve to promote the cause of intermarriage (of castes), widow marriage, and female education by all means in my power.” The society further calls on each member to set apart a sixteenth of his income to afford relief to brethren who may suffer excommunication and distress in consequence of their defiance of Hindoo custom in these matters. So strongly rooted, however, is superstition in the minds of women who, like the Hindoos, have been brought up under its influence, that the Brahma fathers and husbands find the greatest difficulty in converting the inmates of their zenanas to their own religion. About six families only are said to be united in the adoption of the new religion. Among them are some ladies who have composed hymns of considerable merit,

used in the public worship of the Samaj. So much interested are the Brahmos generally in these female conversions, that the *Indian Mirror* of April, 1865, records the death of a Brahmo lady whose last moments seem to have been peculiarly happy with the greatest gratification, as of an event of much promise. The last intelligence records the formation of a "Brahmica Samaj" in the heart of Calcutta, where native ladies regularly congregate for the worship of the one true God." The congregation commenced with thirteen.—*Fraser's Magazine*.

Fruit and Flowers of the Holy Land.—Most of the fruit-trees mentioned in Scripture are to be found in the gardens round Jaffa (Joppa), Caiffa, Tyre, and Sidon, the most extensive orchards in the country. Many of these we have already mentioned, as the date-palm, fig, almond, and pomegranate. The orange and the lemon, now so common, and the chief product of Jaffa, are more modern introductions, and the citron was the only fruit of the kind cultivated during the Scripture period. The quince is very common, and is called the apple, yet though fragrant and tempting looking, it is astringent and disagreeable when eaten raw, but is largely used in making the conserves and sweetmeats, of which the Eastern ladies are so fond. The true apple we hardly ever saw, except in highest mountain regions, nor will it flourish in so warm a climate. Several writers who have talked of it as grown at Askelon and Jaffa have evidently confounded the quince and the apple. But the tappuach or "apple" of our version must refer to some fruit well known and esteemed. It was a fragrant fruit: "the smell of thy nose (is) like apples" (Cant. vii. 8), and a beautiful fruit, "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver" (Prov. xxv. 11). I would identify this fruit with the apricot. Everywhere the apricot is cultivated, and yields most abundant crops from Damascus to Jaffa. Next to the fig, it is the fruit of most general consumption, and certainly can yield to none either for fragrance or for beauty. Nor is there any reason to believe that it is a very recent introduction into the country, or, indeed, that it has been introduced more recently than the vine, since both are natives of the same region, Eastern Armenia, and would naturally be among the very first cultivated fruits brought into Syria by its Mesopotamian colonists. Under the shadow of these fruit orchards, in the gardens "watered by the foot," where the labourer turns with his foot the little rills from the well, to the roots of each tree, or round each bed in turn, are cultivated carrots, onions, pumpkins, melons, and above all, cucumbers. The water-melon is also largely grown on the sandy hillocks outside, and reaches an enormous size, equalling the pumpkin in bulk and weight. "The lodge in the garden of cucumbers"—the rude wattled hut, where some decrepid old fellâh sits from morning to night, and from night to morning, to scare away the wild boars and jackals, "the little foxes that spoil the grapes," and to warn off human pilferers—may still be seen in many a plot of unfenced or ill-paved garden ground, an apt type of squalor and desolation. The consumption of melons, and espe-

cially of cucumbers, is prodigious, nor have the indigestible qualities of the latter been as yet discovered in the East. The ordinary dinner of the children of the poorer classes is a hunch of barley or millet bread, with two good-sized cucumbers, which are eaten with the rind, and on which the lads thrive and are hearty. We habitually followed their example without any ill effects. When from the plains we ascend into the less sultry hill-country of Galilee, there is little new to remark in the botany. Visiting, as we did, the neighbourhood of Tabor and Nazareth almost monthly from November to June, we had an opportunity of noticing the succession of its flowers, from the very earliest appearance of the crocus after the autumnal rains, to the last arums and astragaluses which survive the scorching heats of May. The frosts of winter are seldom severe, as is evidenced by the predominance of the olive-tree in all the sheltered valleys, while in some favoured nooks, even close to Nazareth, the date-palm bears its fruit. But on the whole we feel we are approaching a more northern flora. The woods about Tabor and to the north are composed generally of the same trees as clothe Carmel, but the proportions are changed, the oaks more decidedly predominate, the wild olive has disappeared, the storax-tree is less abundant, while the hardier shrubs, as the bay-tree, partially supplant it, the woodbine (*Lonicera implexa*) becomes common, and in the higher grounds we notice for the first time the wild pear-tree. In some of the olive-yards the oriental mistletoe (*Viscum cruciatum*) grows in profusion on every tree, and is the staple-food of the noisy jays which swarm there, while its solid mass of glossy but deep green foliage and bright crimson berries, relieve with much beauty the blue foliage and purple fruit of the tree which supports it. The mistletoe seems, however, to be more tender than the olive-tree, and we did not observe it on the higher grounds, while, as we approach Hermon, we find the European mistletoe (*Viscum album*) on the poplars. The walnut-tree gradually supplants the olive in the higher parts of Galilee, and its fruit is gathered green for the manufacture of oil. But in its floral riches Galilee certainly surpasses the plains, and rivals the hill-country of Judæa. Labiates and leguminous plants abound; the catalogue of the names of which could only interest the botanical student. These supply the inhabitants of Galilee with one of their staple products in the honey which they yield. The bees are not here wild as in the southern wilderness, though of the same species, *Apis faciata* (erroneously named by me *Apis ligustica* previously). Every peasant in Galilee is a bee-master, and the hives, which are simply great tubes of half-burnt clay, about a yard and a half long, and closed at each end with mud, excepting a small aperture in the middle, are piled one upon another to the number of from twenty to thirty in the form of a pyramid in the yard of every house. Dead boughs of trees are stuck around them, partly for shade and partly to assist the bees in alighting. Their bee is smaller than ours, more wasp-like in appearance, with bright yellow bands on the abdomen; and the produce of honey is enormous, while the stocks are never, after the barbarous fashion too common in this

country, destroyed so soon as they have stored a harvest for their owners.—*Sunday Magazine*.

Modern Hebrew Superstitions.—Of the many beliefs which are current in the Hebrew nation, but not credited by those in whose minds there is one spark of enlightenment, we will select a few for illustration. All dreams come to pass according to the interpretation that is made of them by the person to whom they are revealed; consequently, dreams should only be told to friends (what a fortune to realize as a favourable interpreter of dreams!) An apparition has power to become visible and to injure any particular person who may happen to be by himself in the dark. If two persons be together, an apparition may become visible but cannot hurt either, but if three persons be together, no apparition can be visible; if, however, there be one candle alight, it is a safeguard against all evil spirits. What an apparition consists of, and why it should injure any one, does not appear. Evil spirits rest on all heaps of rubbish, and, therefore, it is dangerous to tread on all such. There is also a belief in witches and their power to injure any one who flings away the tops of green turnips or carrots without untying them. Some of the Jews wear a sort of charm about them consisting of a few cabalistic words written on parchment by a rabbi. There are numerous other spiritual beliefs not taught by the religion of Moses, and evidently the result of ignorance and its natural offspring, superstition, which are generally credited amongst the Jews of Poland and Germany, but the superior education and enlightenment of the English Jew teaches him the folly of superstition. Formerly, when a man was married he used, at the marriage ceremony, to walk round his intended wife three times to see if she really were the right woman he proposed to take as a wife, because of the deceit practised on Jacob by Laban, who first married his son-in-law to his eldest daughter, Leah, under the assurance that it was his daughter Rachel; but such ceremonies are no longer in existence, the English Jew uniting with his religion a spirit of enlightenment and liberalism.—*Cornhill Magazine*.

Egyptology.—Dr. Brugsch has issued the prospectus of a "Hieroglyphical and Demotic Dictionary," which is to contain "the words and groups most used in the sacred and popular languages, and writings of the ancient Egyptians, their definition in French, German, and Arabic, with notes on their affinity with the corresponding words in Coptic." It will be published in twelve parts, each consisting of 100 pages. The text will be lithographed, printed on writing paper, and interleaved. The work will contain the results of Mr. Brugsch's studies, and his researches during twenty years bestowed upon Egyptian philology. Messrs. Williams and Norgate will receive the names of subscribers in this country.

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NOTICE TO THE READER.

THE present number will conclude the actual series of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. Several reasons have led to this decision. It is found desirable to limit each series to a manageable number of volumes, and ten being a manageable number, it has been now adopted. The rapid change in the current of English theological thought, from quiet investigation, to violent controversies about rationalism and ritualism, if the Editor may use those words, has practically taught the necessity of a change in the plan of the Journal if it is to continue. One way or another, he finds himself compelled to resort to a kind of *coup d'état*. When he purchased the Journal five years and a half since, he hoped that his risk would at most not go beyond that of editing and writing gratuitously. He has been deceived. Not only is the purchase-money irrecoverably sunk, and the whole of his labour without return, but he sees himself in presence of growing responsibilities. This will never do. The collaborateurs who have in effect so freely sacrificed their valuable contributions, are also to be remembered. At any rate the world should not be led to suppose that either Editor or contributors have received any payment for their work. It has been a labour of love and a source of positive expense to those by whom it has been kept up. Under the circumstances, the Editor has resolved not to go on in the same way any longer; certainly he will no longer be responsible for material loss. Dr. Kitto, the honoured founder of the Journal, had to take the same step, and he was wise to do it, for the wear and tear of anxious and unrewarded toil for the good of others is enough, and a mere literary man without a fortune should not be called upon for more.

If the Journal is continued, as it probably will be, the commercial risk will be guaranteed by zealous friends, most of whom will undertake to supply free articles as they have done before. New supporters and writers will also put their hand to the plough. The staff thus constituted will endeavour to co-operate with each other and with the Editor, who is willing still to conduct the Journal. This co-operation will lead to valuable and important results: the basis of the publication will be wider, and though it will not forfeit its old character for learned research and discussion, it will handle more freely the questions which agitate the public mind, and promise to involve consequences of no trifling character. The Journal will of course ever be on the side of God and truth, but it will fearlessly deal with matters which it has hitherto either avoided or handled very delicately. It is proposed that the writers should not be required to advocate one side only, but that men of opposite opinions should state their views and reasons, and analyze and sift each other's arguments.

The foregoing observations are perhaps premature, and are certainly not official, but it may be taken for granted that in future the Journal would be more popular in its form, and would not shrink from the problems and topics of the hour. It would under the altered arrangement have a claim to wider sympathy, and in our day might expect to be read with more extended interest. In the present announcement no pledge is given even of continuing the Journal, though after what has happened it is to be expected, and is certain, if a few more come forward to share the really insignificant burden. Perhaps it will be said that if the risk is insignificant, why repudiate it? The Editor, whose proprietorship has been a diminishing quantity, does not feel required to work and pay too, and is not in a position to do it; therefore with gratitude to God for helping him to do so much, he proposes to occupy a rather different, but he trusts, a no less useful place.

The *res angustæ domi* of Horace have been predicated of a very long series of "poor authors," and are hardly to be counted a disgrace in an age of sensationalism and centralization of patronage. Sensational Dives is clothed in purple and fine linen, and your plodding literary explorer and toiler gets none of his patronage, and but little of any body else's. Yet the domain of quiet writers, thinkers, and scholars is of immense importance, and if they did not investigate it, it would be bad for the popular writer, preacher, controversialist. Nobody disdains to make use of the results of scholarship, and almost nobody will condescend to buy the scholar's books. There are exceptions, noble exceptions, and we are proud of them, but we have no public provision or spirit to hold up the student who toils and drudges to add to the wisdom of the world. Our newest memory of unrequited erudition and toil is summed up in the name of our kind coadjutor, now in heaven, Dr. HINCKS.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE GOSPELS TESTED BY
AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR CONTENTS.

BY THE REV. C. A. ROW.

(Concluded from Vol. XI., page 312.)

THE phenomena presented by the parallel discourses which we have already considered have proved the following points. The use of the same identical words and grammatical constructions in the synoptics can only be accounted for on the supposition that they have been derived from a common source in the Greek language. The verbal variations, and the additions found in a discourse as we read it in one evangelist, compared with the form in which it stands in another, no less distinctly prove that the original form of the discourse as it first existed in the Greek language must have undergone considerable variations prior to its having been incorporated into the pages of our Gospels. Many of the variations are reports of the same ideas with considerable diversities of verbal expression. Now it is inconceivable that all these variations were actually uttered by our Lord, nor can they be accounted for on the principle that one Evangelist has recorded one fragment of our Lord's utterance, and one another. Such a supposition would be a sufficient account of the presence of utterances in meaning entirely distinct, which are found in one Evangelist, but which are omitted by another; but not of expressions identical in meaning, but varying in the words in which they are expressed. It is evident also that it is impossible to assume that the discourses as we read them in any one of the synoptics are the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord's, and that those contained in the others are variations which have arisen in the course of transmission. The fact is, that sometimes Matthew presents us with indications of giving us reports of our Lord's *ipsissima verba*, to the exclusion of the other two. The same is also not unfrequently the case with Mark and also with Luke. But what is still more remarkable, there are occasions when portions of discourses in different Evangelists bear internal evidences of representing our Lord's identical utterances, while the remainder have undergone modifications in form; and sometimes we find a portion of a discourse in one Evangelist, and a portion in another, having the appearance of representing our Lord's identical utterance, while the remainder of it wears the form of an abridgment, or represents the meaning with less distinctness and precision. The variations are such as we should naturally expect to arise if memoranda of discourses had been

composed by different persons after they had been recited by apostolic men, and had been extensively used in the composition of the Gospels.

The very remarkable character of the variations presented by these discourses precludes us from assuming that a single writing existed which contained either the whole or a large portion of them, and which has been used by the three synoptics as the groundwork of their existing Gospels. If we suppose that each Evangelist used the same record of these discourses, it is utterly impossible to account for their variations in words which would then seem to be capricious, their omissions and insertions. On what principle could these have been made? If an Evangelist had a portion of our Lord's discourse before his eyes which he has omitted, he must have passed it over with a set and deliberate purpose. In one word he must have judged that it was unimportant. But such a judgment seems hardly consistent with the profound respect which they felt for our Lord's teaching, which has withheld them from inserting into it any foreign element or individuality of their own. If it be suggested that the Evangelists have made their insertions and omissions at the suggestion of the inspiring Spirit, this will not help us out of the difficulty. It is highly probable that there were utterances of our Lord which the influence of the Spirit hindered the Evangelists from recording; yet on no theory of inspiration is it conceivable that the Spirit directed one Evangelist to record an important utterance of our Lord, which the same Spirit influenced another to pass over. Yet it is an unquestionable fact that there are important utterances which one Evangelist has recorded, which another has passed over in silence, and not unfrequently when they have formed portions of the same discourse, and even greatly elucidate its meaning. These peculiarities in the Evangelists have compelled us to assume that many of the discourses recorded by them have been derived from memoranda more or less full, and that sometimes a memorandum reported a discourse in an abridged form.

The identities of words and constructions between two of the Evangelists, and sometimes between all three, are of so striking a character, that they cannot possibly be accounted for on the supposition that they separately translated an Aramaic document. The phenomena presented by them prove that the present form of a discourse has originally grown out of a previous account existing either orally or in writing in the Greek language, to which the identities of expression and of grammar are unquestionably due. If the phenomena presented by the Gospels had enabled us to assume that the parallel discourses were derived from

a single account in Aramaic, it would be a very simple solution of the problem to assume that this Aramaic Gospel had been translated into Greek at an early period, and that this translation had been so constantly used, that its words and constructions had become engraven on the mind in a manner resembling those of our English Version, and that from this source had originated the identities of Greek words and grammar. But it is hardly possible deeply to study the discourses in the synoptics, and arrive at the conclusion that they have grown out of a single common original; on the contrary, many of them present every indication of having been derived from a considerable number of independent memoranda. The supposition, therefore, that they have originated in a common Aramaic Gospel translated into Greek, however otherwise probable, is rendered untenable by the peculiar aspect of the discourses themselves. If, therefore, we are compelled to assume that these discourses have originated in separate memoranda composed in Aramaic, we are driven to the conclusion that each independent memorandum must have had a translator into Greek, in order that we may account for the singular identities in the Greek words and constructions; and that its variations must have originated in subsequent repetitions. Written accounts must have been preserved, which retained many of the original words and phrases, but not unfrequently varied the words and the arrangement, or presented the same ideas in an abridged form.

Now the assumption of a large number of independent translators has such a degree of antecedent improbability, that nothing but necessity would justify us in entertaining it. But the evidence which the parallel narratives present, that they are deflections from an original in the Greek language, is so commanding, as to compel us to assume that an account must have existed in that language prior to the composition of the Gospels, out of which their verbal similarities have originated. If, therefore, the original utterances were in Aramaic, and they were set forth in that tongue in a number of documents, each must have had a distinct translator. From this, however, there is a means of escape, if we assume that our Lord in his usual public teaching did not use the Aramaic, but the Greek tongue. The historical question we shall not discuss. It will be sufficient to observe that Mr. Roberts, in his work on this subject, has adduced a great mass of evidence for believing that the Jews had become a bilingual people considerably before the time of our Lord; and if he used the Greek language in his public teaching, the greater portion of his auditors would have readily understood him.

If our Lord used the Greek tongue as the vehicle of his public teaching, a large portion of the difficulties with which the discourses are surrounded at once disappears. The identities of words and constructions, so striking in the parallel discourses, would require no other origin to be assumed for them than his own utterances. Our Lord promised the aid of the Spirit to refresh the Apostles' memories respecting the things which he had spoken to them. If such promise were made and fulfilled, and he spoke in Greek, then the identities of expression in the parallel discourses at once resolve themselves into the apostolic recollection of the words and expressions used by him. The terms of the promise itself do not make it clear whether the Apostles' memories were to be refreshed so as to enable them to recall the words, or the sense only; but whichever was intended, it was not to be a fresh dictation to their minds, but an assistance rendered to their memories. It would follow, therefore, that a considerable number of the words used by our Lord must have been recalled to their memories; for recollection is of the very essence of the promise. Their memory of Christ's utterances were to be aided; not a new revelation made to minds incapable of identifying them. If then our Lord spoke in Greek, the Apostles, when they repeated his utterances, would naturally recall a large number of the words and constructions used by him. As a considerable portion of their ordinary teaching must have consisted of reports of his sayings and actions, their frequent repetition of these discourses would be sufficient to account for all the common Greek expressions in them, without the cumbrous machinery of utterances in Aramaic, and Greek translations. Viewing the question generally, nothing would seem more probable than that the universal revelation would be communicated in the great universal language, and not in an obscure dialect like the Aramaic, rendering it necessary that the great truths which our Lord taught should only become known to the world through the medium of translations. The only difficulty which would remain would be to account for the undoubted and singular variations which the parallel discourses unquestionably present. This, however, would be easy, if the Apostles were in the habit of narrating these discourses to the Church as part of their ordinary teaching. Such Christians as were able to write would certainly make notes and memoranda of what they had heard from the lips of the living teacher for their private use. Such memoranda would be more or less close representations of the apostolic utterances, varying with the character of the writer. If we suppose such a mode of teaching prevailed for a considerable number of years, and that memo-

randa were composed not only of discourses as they were narrated by the Apostles, but that the ordinary pastors of the Church repeated them either from their own recollections, or assisted by memoranda, it will be more than sufficient to account for the variations of words and constructions which we find in them. The most astonishing phenomena which our Gospels present would then be the identity of the teaching in the midst of the variety of the expression, and the absence in the discourses of any traits of the separate personality of the writers. The fact that in all the parallel discourses we have Jesus, and not Matthew, Mark and Luke, is nothing short of a miracle; and the more complicated the machinery by which they have been transmitted, the more evident is it that the entire exclusion of all foreign admixture can only be accounted for on the principle of an influence from above.

We will now continue the examination of the phenomena presented by our Lord's parallel discourses, and, first, those of the great day of his teaching by parables. According to Matthew our Lord uttered seven parables in that day:—those of the sower, the tares, the grain of mustard seed, the leaven, which were delivered in the audience of the multitude.—Then follow three more uttered in the presence of the disciples alone:—the treasure hid in the field, the pearl of great price, and the drag net. Of the drag net, the tares and the sower, our Lord gave explanations. Those of the two former are stated to have been given to the disciples in private. That of the sower was given at the request of the disciples, but the context implies that it was within hearing of a portion of the multitude. The Evangelist also gives a lengthened account of the reasons which our Lord gave for his use of parables in teaching the multitude.

Of these seven parables Mark has only given the parable of the sower, its explanation, and that of the grain of mustard seed. He also gives our Lord's reasons for speaking in parables, but in a much briefer form than in Matthew. To this he adds a parable which Matthew omits;—that of the seed growing one knows not how. He tells us, however, that he was aware that our Lord uttered many parables; in fact, that on that day he spake nothing but parables, and he says that when he was alone he expounded all things to his disciples. This is inserted immediately after the parable of the sower, when only one parable had been uttered. Three more of the parables, one of which is recorded by Mark, were spoken to the multitude. After uttering these, Matthew states that our Lord retired into a house. Of the parables uttered on this day, Luke only reports that of the sower, its explanation, and a still more abridged

form of our Lord's reasons for addressing the multitudes in parables. Eight parables then were certainly uttered by our Lord on the occasion; and taking the general expressions of the Evangelists, it is very possible that he might have spoken others. Mark says that he expounded ALL things; but of these eight parables the Evangelists have preserved explanations of three only. Of these, Mark only gives the explanation of the sower; though that of the seed growing one knows not how is recorded by him, and is certainly not less difficult as to its exposition.

It is therefore evident that if our Lord expounded all the parables which he uttered on this day, the majority of his expositions have not been preserved. It is consequently impossible that any single document could have been known to either of the Evangelists, setting forth all the parables, with their expositions, or that these could have been known to the Evangelists from any other source.

It is far from easy to reconcile the expressions of the Evangelists as to when our Lord retired from the presence of the multitude. According to Matthew, he uttered the four first parables, his reasons for using this form of teaching, and the explanation of the parable of the sower before he entered the house, although he states that the disciples came to him to ask him for the explanation. But Mark says that the explanation was given while our Lord was alone. "And when he was alone, they who were about him with the twelve asked him concerning the parable." Here the presence of others besides the twelve is distinctly recognized. The parable of the grain of mustard seed forms a portion of the same discourse, which is distinctly stated by Matthew to have been spoken to the multitude. To make the statements of Matthew and Mark agree as to the precise circumstances under which the explanations were given and the parables altered, the harmonists make several transpositions on Matthew's thirteenth chapter to bring it into unison with Mark's assertions. Such transpositions are an admission that the arrangement is wrong, and that violence must be done to the natural sense of one or other of the Evangelists, if we are determined to weave their narratives into a simple history, and at the same time retain the identical form of their expressions.

Now the question arises, What number of parables were uttered by our Lord on the occasion, and in what form were they before either Evangelist when he wrote his Gospel? Had either Evangelist read the narrative of the other when he wrote his account of this day's teaching, or did either, if he had other

parables before him, deem himself at liberty to omit them? If he did, either the inspiring Spirit directed him to omit those which he has not recorded, or on his own private judgment he thought them unimportant. It may be said, there is another alternative. The omitted parables have no distinct bearing on the purpose for which the Evangelist composed his Gospel, and, therefore, he did not record them. But it is impossible to assume any special purpose for which Luke's gospel was composed, in reference to his particular readers, which could have induced him to record the parable of the sower, and to omit the other seven parables, which were certainly uttered by our Lord on the occasion. Nor can any conceivable reason be given why Mark should have reported the three which he has recorded, and omitted the other five, if he had them before him. Nor if Matthew had before him the parable of the seed growing one knows not how, and knew that it was uttered by our Lord on the occasion, can we assign any reason why he should have designedly omitted it. It is certainly as important as several of those recorded by him. Nor can we accept the alternative, that the Evangelists were guided in the parables which they have omitted by their own views as to the relative importance of any of the parabolic utterances of their divine Master. Not only would this be to set up their own judgments as to what was or was not important in our Lord's teaching, in a manner which is utterly incredible; but all three Evangelists must in that case have disagreed as to which of the parables were important and which were not, Luke considering only one of the eight, Mark three, and Matthew seven to be so. The same objection tells with equal weight against the other portion of the alternative, that a direct suggestion of the Spirit guided them as to the parables which they should report or omit. For then the Spirit must have suggested to Luke to omit all but the parable of the sower, to Mark to record only those of the sower, the seed growing no one knows how, and the grain of mustard seed, and to Matthew to record all but one, with the extensive explanations given by him. All such suppositions being untenable, the natural mode of accounting for the omissions and insertions of parables in the three Evangelists is, that they knew generally that our Lord had on this day taught the multitude by parables, and that they inserted in their Gospels only such of the parables uttered by Him as they were acquainted with, and that they did not pretend to give a full account of every parable which he uttered.

It follows, therefore, that there could not have existed any single document in which all these eight, or perhaps more

parables, were set forth, which each of the Evangelists was in the habit of using. If such existed, it is incredible that Luke should have deliberately struck out seven of these, Mark five, and Matthew one, for as they could not have been led to do so, either by inspiration or by their judgment of the relative importance of the parables, or from the opinion that they were unsuitable for the purpose for which they composed their Gospels, the grounds of their insertion or omission must have been absolutely capricious. Each Evangelist must have had separate materials before him, which supplied Matthew with his seven parables out of the eight, Mark with his three, and Luke with his one. It need hardly be observed that the whole of the phenomena presented by the threefold record of this day's teaching are utterly inconsistent with the idea that either of the Evangelists used the Gospel of the other to aid him in the composition of his own.

But while it is thus evident that each of the Evangelists must have used separate materials in the composition of this portion of his Gospel, of which Luke's was the most imperfect, their use of the same Greek words and constructions proves that the materials used by them must have been derived from an original source of information in that language. Such identities of expression and construction cannot have arisen from each Evangelist having made a translation for himself. If our Lord spoke in Greek, that source of information must have been the *ipsissima verba* of His utterances. We will proceed to examine their respective verbal agreements and disagreements, and first in the parable of the sower.

Matthew and Mark both concur in representing that our Lord taught the people from a ship, and that the people stood on the shore. Luke omits all notice of the circumstances of the utterance. The parable is given as follows. Mark, "hearken;" Matthew and Mark, "behold;" all three, "The sower went out for the purpose of sowing, and (Mark, "it came to pass") in his sowing, some (Matthew uses the plural) fell by the wayside (Luke, "and it was trampled down"), and the birds (Mark and Luke, "of heaven;" Matthew, "came and") devoured it. And others fell on rocky ground" (Matthew uses the singular, Mark plural); Matthew and Mark, "where it had not much earth, and immediately it sprang up through its not having depth of earth; and when the sun had arisen, it was burnt up, and through its not having earth it withered away." But Luke gives the utterance in a concise form, "And others fell on a rock, and having sprung up, it was scorched, through its not having moisture." All three, "And others fell among

(Luke, "in the midst of") thorns;" Matthew and Mark, "And the thorns sprang up and choked them." Mark adds, "And they produced no fruit." But Luke varies, "And the thorns having sprang up choked them." All three, Matthew using the plural, Mark and Luke the singular, "And others fell on the ground which was good, and bear fruit." Mark, "springing up and increasing," in agreement with καρπὸν. But Luke, "having sprung up," agreeing with σπέρμα. Matthew and Mark, "Some one hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold." Mark reverses the order, but Luke writes, "An hundred times as much." All three, "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Then follows the explanation. Luke, "This is the parable: The seed is the word of God." Mark, "the sower sows the Word." Luke, "Those by the wayside are those who hear." But Mark varies, "These are they by the wayside, where the word is sown, and when they hear, immediately comes Satan." Luke, "Then comes the devil." But Matthew puts the whole in a brief form, "When any one hears the word of the kingdom, and understands it not, the wicked one comes and snatches away (ἀρπάζει) that which was sown in his heart." Mark and Luke, "And takes away (αἶρει) the word which was sown in their hearts." Here Luke uses the singular with ἀπὸ, and adds, "lest believing they should be saved." Matthew concludes this portion of the explanation by the words, "This is he who is sown by the wayside."

Mark, "And similarly those sown on rocky ground (ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη) are those who, when they have heard the word, immediately with joy receive it." Here Matthew uses the singular, "But he sown on the rocky ground (ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη) is he who hears the word, and immediately with joy receives it." Luke retains the plural of Mark, but varies, "But they on the rock (ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας) are they who, when they have heard, receive the word with joy." Matthew, "But he has no root in himself;" Mark, "But they have no root in themselves;" Luke, "And these have not root;" Matthew, "but is;" Mark, "are for a time, but tribulation or persecution taking place, on account of the word, immediately they are offended." But Luke, while retaining the plural of Mark, varies, "Who believe for a season, but in the season of persecution fall away." Matthew, "he;" Mark, "'these' who were sown among the thorns;" Matthew, "he;" Mark, "'these' are they who hear the word, and the care (Mark, "câres") of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches;" Mark, "And the lusts about other things, entering in;" Matthew and Mark, "choke the word,

and it becomes unfruitful." But while Luke has hitherto concurred with Mark in using the plural, he in this passage agrees with Matthew in using the singular, in the first part of the sentence, and with Mark in using the plural in the latter part. His sentence is, "But that which fell among the thorns are those who hear the word, and going, are choked by cares, and riches, and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection." Matthew and Mark varying only in their use of the plural, "But they sown on the good ground are they who hear the word and understand it." Mark, "receive it, and bring forth fruit." Matthew, "and produce some one hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty." Mark reverses the order, but Luke, "But that on the good ground are they who, in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit in patience."

Both the parable and the explanation present us with a large amount of identities of expression, but the parable more than its exposition. Such verbal agreements prove that the three versions must have derived their origin from a Greek original, either verbal or written. The peculiar forms could not have been hit by three independent translators, preserving at the same time so large an amount of identity of expression in the midst of their variations. Adopting the arrangement in Greswell, the parable in Matthew is printed in twenty-five lines, in Mark twenty-nine, in Luke twenty. Of these twelve in Matthew and Mark are identically alike, five more in each only vary in the use of a singular for a plural, one in that of a tense, three more in reversing the order of the numbers, and the remainder in the insertion or omission of one or two words. Matthew in speaking of the seed uses the plural number throughout, Mark the singular. But while Mark uses the plural "for rocky ground," Matthew employs the singular. But Luke has only five lines which are word for word alike with the other Evangelists, although several others differ by small variations only.

Now the variation between the words of the parable in Matthew and Mark is so inconsiderable, that they prove that both accounts are closely allied. If our Lord spoke the parable in Greek, each account must present us with an apostolic reminiscence of his words, either slightly varied by their having passed through two independent minds, or if they were originally derived from the reminiscence of a single apostle, the variations are such as would easily arise if they were copied down by two different persons, or in the course of transcription. It is obvious that they could have been made with no deliberate purpose.

But the variations in Luke are greater. He concurs with Mark in using the singular number where Matthew uses the plural. He introduces the additional idea that the seed on the wayside was not only devoured by the birds, but trodden down by passengers. Instead of describing some of the seed as falling on rocky ground, he says it fell on a rock. His description of its effects is evidently an abridgment of the more complete account in Matthew and Mark, "And springing up, it was withered through want of moisture." No one will hesitate in assuming that the words as they stand in Matthew and Mark are the full utterance of our Lord. His mode of stating the increase of the good seed is likewise a summary of the actual utterance. The remaining variations, though not so remarkable, present a similar aspect. The whole account in Luke bears every appearance of having been derived from a memorandum, nor could he have had the whole of our Lord's utterances on that day *in extenso* before him in a single connected report, oral or written. It is remarkable that none of the variations really affect its meaning.

The explanation in Matthew occupies thirty-three lines, in Mark thirty-seven, and in Luke twenty-eight. Of these in Matthew and Mark six are identically alike. Ten only differ in the use of singulars for plurals, and three more lines in each vary only in grammatical construction. But in Luke not a single line is identically alike with the other two evangelists, and there are not more than two or three which can be said to vary in construction only. The amount of variation in the explanation, therefore, is much greater than it is in the parable. In estimating the cause of this, we must not forget to observe that there is considerable disagreement among the Evangelists as to the precise circumstances under which the explanation was uttered. They each employ a different word to denote the evil one,—*πονηρὸς*, *Σατανᾶς*, *διάβολος*.

The explanation in Luke is epitomized, and in form is more systematic than in either Matthew or Mark. This is the parable, says he: "The seed is the word of God; those by the wayside are they who hear; then comes the devil, and takes away the word from their hearts." But Matthew here gives us a single sentence, leaving the distinct parts unexplained, "When any one hears the word of the kingdom, and understands it not, then comes the wicked one, and snatches away that which was sown in his heart." Mark's closely resembles this. We have here the clear indications of the workings of independent minds. The second explanation in Luke is equally characterized by brevity and distinctness: "But those on the rock are they who, when they have heard, receive the word with joy; and

these have no root: who for a time believe, but in time of temptation fall away." This explanation in Matthew and Mark varies only in the use of the singular for the plural. The sense, however, is expressed with less compactness. Luke's third explanation presents similar phenomena. It is short, clear, and distinct. Mark's is the fullest of the three. To the expressions, "the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches," he adds the words, "the lusts of other things." In form he closely approximates to the words in Matthew. But it is hardly conceivable that if Matthew knew that the utterance of our Lord contained this expression, which so closely and distinctly defines our Lord's meaning, that he could have expunged it from his account. It is therefore evident that the memorandum used by Mark was a closer report of the actual utterance, or that he had an additional source of information. Similar to those which we have already noticed are the phenomena presented by Luke in his explanation of the results which followed, where the seed fell on good ground. It is quite a distinct explanation by itself. Those in Matthew and Mark, however, are very closely allied, and differ only in transpositions.

The phenomena presented by this parable and its explanation indicate that the account in Luke bears incontestible marks of a distinct origin from those in Matthew and Mark. The memorandum used by him must have been very carefully drawn up, and systematically arranged. The variations in Matthew and Mark are so inconsiderable, that they might easily have arisen either from having been directly derived from the reminiscence of two apostolic men, or from two persons having committed to paper their reminiscence of the same repetition of our Lord's words. These two accounts contain the most distinct traces of a common origin. In reporting the parable, the compilers have more carefully preserved the exact words of the utterance than they have of the explanation. It may be a question whether the parable and its explanation were contained in the same memorandum. If such was the case, it could not have contained the report of the reasons which our Lord gave for speaking in parables. Had it done so, it is most unlikely that the words should have been so varied, or the time when the explanation was uttered differently placed. If then the parable and its explanation were contained in the same memorandum, the other circumstances must have been introduced from a different source of information. The verbal identities in both are remarkable, and prove that the whole must have grown out of an original in the Greek language. If our Lord taught in Greek, these identities represent the words actually used by him, and the deflections

must have grown up in the course of transmission, and have been incorporated in the memoranda used by the Evangelists.

All three Evangelists represent our Lord as giving his reasons why he adopted the parabolic mode of teaching in his addresses to the multitude. The form in which they are put presents considerable variation. So great is the diversity of expression that some harmonists have separated them into distinct utterances.

In Matthew the reasons are given in the most distinct form : "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. But to them it is not given." This saying is reported by both Mark and Luke. Mark gives it : "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to them, those without, these things are done in parables." Luke : "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest in parables." Thus far we have the statement of a simple fact, but Matthew appends the reasons which our Lord gave for this in full : "For whosoever has, it shall be given to him, and he shall have more abundance ; but from him who has not, also what he has shall be taken from him. On this account I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And in respect of them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive. For the heart of this people is waxed fat, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should turn, and I should heal them. But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them." But in Mark this is given in a very abridged form, and the latter part of the utterance is entirely omitted : "That seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand, lest they should turn, and their sins should be forgiven them." This is still more abridged in Luke : "In order that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand."

But according to Mark, after the explanation of the parable of the sower, our Lord spake another utterance, which is passed over in silence by Matthew in this place, but in substance is inserted by him elsewhere : "Is a candle brought that it may be placed under a bushel or under a bed, and not that it should be

set on a candlestick? for there is nothing secret which shall not be made manifest, nor did it become secret but in order that it might become apparent." But in Matthew this is broken up into two detached sayings, and given with considerable variety of expression. To this Mark adds, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. See what you hear. For with what measure you measure it shall be measured to you. For whosoever has, it shall be given to him, and whosoever has not, even that which he has shall be taken from him." This last sentence occurs in Matthew in nearly the same words in the utterance immediately before the explanation of the parable of the sower, but in Mark the whole paragraph is placed immediately after that explanation, and in close connection with the parable of the seed growing one knows not how. A similar utterance, with but inconsiderable verbal variation, is placed by Luke in the same connection as it stands in Mark: "No one having lighted a candle covers it with a vessel, or places it beneath a bed, but he places it on a candlestick, that those entering may see the light. For there is nothing secret which shall not become manifest, nor hidden which shall not be known, and become evident. See therefore how you hear, for whosoever has it shall be given to him, and whoever has not, even that which he seems to have shall be taken from him."

Those who represent the utterance recorded by Matthew as distinct from that recorded by Mark and Luke are compelled to dislocate the arrangement of the chapter in which Matthew has recorded our Lord's teaching by parables. The whole arrangement of it requires to be rectified. But is there anything in the phenomena before us which compels us to assume that the Evangelists did not intend to record the same utterance, when they give our Lord's reasons for teaching us parables? The first words in all three are only just so much varied as they are in other utterances of our Lord which are unquestionably identical. If in such cases we are at liberty to assume, whenever we find an equal amount of variation, that the discourses must have been spoken at different times, we may multiply our Lord's utterances indefinitely. The following words in Matthew, "Whosoever hath," etc., are transposed into the concluding observations as recorded by Mark and Luke with some small variations of expression. Such a transposition would be very likely to arise in the course of oral delivery. Matthew then quotes the prophecy at length: Mark and Luke in an abridged form. Up to this point the three accounts contain a direct answer to the question proposed by the disciples as to the reason why our Lord taught in parables, and where

this answer terminates, the reports of Mark and Luke do also. Matthew, however, records an additional utterance.

This saying may have been omitted in the memoranda used by Mark and Luke, because it formed no portion of the answer to the Apostle's question. While the record in Matthew has the appearance of being a near approach to our Lord's *ipsissima verba*, those in Mark and Luke, which are closely allied, are such as a writer of memoranda would naturally fall into. Instead of citing the long passage from the prophet, he would incorporate the sense only, and confine himself to that portion of our Lord's words which were a strict answer to the question propounded by the disciples. The addition in Mark, with the sentence from Matthew, is inserted not in close connection with the explanation of the parable of the sower, but after a pause. Another pause is implied in the midst of the utterance itself by the Evangelist's use of the words, "And he said unto them." After another, he narrates the parable of the seed growing one knows not how. Now what are these pauses intended to represent? They are such as a writer would use who considered that our Lord had uttered the discourses on this occasion, but who did not know the order in which they occurred. Now Matthew has omitted the parable of the seed growing one knows not how. If this utterance were spoken in close connection with that parable, whatever reason led to its omission by Matthew would be the cause of the omission of the utterance likewise. The whole account in Luke has the appearance of having been derived from a more imperfect source of information than those of Matthew and Mark. He has accordingly placed this utterance as though no separation existed between it and the explanation of the parable of the sower. Luke's materials were evidently imperfect. He had before him only this single parable. One or two of the sayings reported as having been uttered on this occasion are such as were likely to have been frequently repeated by our Lord. To suppose that either of the Evangelists had the gospel of either of the others before him, and that he altered it into the form in which it stands in his own, is an assumption which is wholly inconsistent with the phenomena.

The parable of the grain of mustard-seed is reported by both Matthew and Mark. The form varies very considerably. Matthew: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man taking sowed in his field, which is less than all seeds, but when it has grown, it is greater than herbs, and becomes a tree, so that the birds of heaven come and shelter themselves in the branches." But Mark has it: "To what shall we liken the kingdom of God, or in what parable shall we

set it forth? As a grain of mustard seed, which when it is sown in the earth is less than all seeds which are on the earth, but when it has sprung up, it advances, and becomes greater than all herbs, so that the fowls of heaven are able to shelter themselves under its branches." The forms of expression in Mark are peculiar. They are such as to lead us to infer that he has given us the original form of the parable,—perhaps the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord. While a composer of memoranda might have written down the parable as it is in Matthew, if the form in Mark constituted the original utterance, it is in the highest degree improbable, if the form in Matthew were the original, that any one reporting it from memory would have produced out of the words as we read them in Matthew the form of the utterance in Mark. We may assume therefore that the latter contains a very accurate report of the original words, and that those of Matthew are derived from a more distant source of information. The variations cannot possibly be referred to translation. Equally inconceivable is it that one Evangelist copied from the other.

Such are the phenomena presented by the threefold account of the day of our Lord's teaching by parables. We may consider the following conclusions proved by it. Neither Evangelist had before him the gospel of another. Each must have used different memoranda, which were deflections from a common type in the Greek language. Of these, that used by Luke was the least complete, and must have contained only the parable of the sower, and the other brief observations of our Lord. Mark's account is closely allied to Luke's, but he must have had additional memoranda or information of very high authority. Those used by Matthew must have contained by far the fullest account of the day's utterances, although even they did not contain an entire account of the whole of them. In the report of the parable of the grain of mustard seed the source of information was less exact than that of Mark. As Mark's account approximates to that of Luke, we may conclude that they are deflections from the same original. But as Luke leaves unnoticed Mark's other two parables, we must conclude that the memoranda used by him did not contain them, but only the parable and its explanation. The pauses in Mark imply that he gained his additional information from authorities distinct from those from which he derived the parable and its explanation. The materials before Matthew were evidently of considerable extent, but yet not a perfect account of the whole of the day's teaching. The phenomena presented by the arrangement distinctly prove the independence of the accounts.

In the midst of their diversities the identities of expression are most striking. The easiest way of accounting for the identities is to assume that they represent the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord uttered in the Greek tongue. But if the discourses are translations of an Aramaic utterance, the different memoranda used by the Evangelists must have been deflections from a common Greek original. Varied as were the sources of information used by the Evangelists, they have preserved the most perfect identity of meaning. The more varied were the authorities from whence these reports have been derived, the more difficult is it to account on ordinary human principles for the entire absence of any foreign element in the threefold account of this day's teaching. Our Lord's personality has been preserved perfect and entire.

The conversation between our Lord and the Pharisees about moral and ceremonial purity, as recorded by Matthew and Mark, presents us with a remarkable series of variations. They chiefly consist in the substitution of one form of expression for another, with only a slight variation in the thought.

The dialogue is introduced by Mark with an explanation of Jewish customs, evidently intended to render what follows intelligible to Gentile readers. Following Greswell, Matthew's dialogue is arranged in seventy-three lines, and Mark's seventy-seven. Of these only twenty-one are identically alike. The question of the Pharisees is slightly varied. Both have the words, "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?" Then Matthew has, "For they do not wash their hands when they eat bread." But Mark, "But they eat the loaf with unwashen hands." According to Matthew, our Lord's reply was in the form of a question, "Why also do you transgress the commandment of God through your tradition? For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and thy mother; and he that curseth father or mother, let him die the death. But you say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, Whatever you might be profited by me is a gift, and he will not honour his father or his mother, and you have annulled the law of God by your tradition." But according to Mark our Lord's words were, "Full well did Esaias prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written." Then follows the citation: "This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; but in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For leaving the commandment of God, you held the tradition of men as the washings of brazen vessels and cups, and many other similar things ye do." According to Mark a pause here took place, and our Lord con-

tinued in words closely resembling those which Matthew makes the first portion of his reply. They are, however, changed from the question as they stand in Matthew into the ironical form: "Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition." Here follows the same quotation from the Pentateuch in exactly the same words as those in Matthew, with our Lord's comments on it, except that Mark gives the equivalent Greek expression for the word Corban, and substitutes for the words of Matthew, "God said," the expression "Moses said," but in a different connection. To these Mark represents our Lord as adding, "And many similar things ye do." But according to Matthew, after our Lord had uttered the words, "You have annulled the commandment of God by your tradition," he directly addressed the Pharisees, "Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me, but in vain do they worship me, teaching as doctrines the commandments of men." Both Evangelists then state that our Lord called the multitude, and said, Matthew, "Hear, and understand;" Mark, "Hear me all of you, and understand." Matthew, "Not that which enters into the mouth defiles the man." But Mark, while expressing precisely the same idea, varies the words considerably, "There is nothing from outside a man entering into him which is able to defile him." Matthew, "But the thing which goes out from the mouth, this defiles the man." This is slightly varied in Mark, "But the things going out from him, these are the things defiling the man." According to Matthew, the disciples then approach, and ask him if he knew that the Pharisees, when they heard this saying, were offended. To this our Lord replied, "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they are blind leaders of the blind. And if a blind man leads a blind man, both shall fall into the ditch." Peter then says to our Lord, "Explain to us this parable." In this place Matthew has recorded two very short parables. Both are omitted by Mark. But Mark, after having recorded the plain and direct teaching of our Lord, and without noticing that he uttered any parabolic saying, introduces the disciples as asking our Lord *about the parable*. We must conclude, therefore, either that this passage has been accidentally dropped out of Mark's gospel through the inadvertence of an early copyist, or that it was a singular omission in the memorandum from whence he derived his information. Both Evangelists continue with an inconsiderable verbal difference (*ἀκμῆν*, Matthew; *οὕτω*, Mark). "Are you also without understanding? do you not perceive that

anything which enters" (Mark, "from without"), Matthew, "into the mouth," Mark, "into the man," "is not able to pollute him, for it does not enter into his heart, but into his belly." Matthew omits these words, and substitutes, "enters into his belly, and is expelled into the draught;" Mark, "and goes out into the draught, purging all meats." According to Mark a pause here took place. Matthew continues, "But the things proceeding from the mouth go out from the heart, and these defile the man." But Mark more briefly, "But that going out from the man, that defiles the man." Matthew, "For from the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, false witness, blasphemies. Here Matthew in his list follows the exact order of the commandments, only reversing that of the tables. Mark's list is far more complete, but no order is observed: "For from the heart of man proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, impurity, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness. All these evil things proceed from within, and defile a man." But Matthew writes, "These are the things defiling the man, but the eating with unwashen hands does not defile a man."

In arranging the order of the first portion of our Lord's answer Mark places his quotation from Isaiah first, and then arranges the words which occupy the first place in Matthew as if they had been uttered after a brief pause. The variation can hardly be attributed to a transcriber, nor can we conceive that if one Evangelist read the account given by the other, he would have altered it as he has unless he had thought the arrangement positively incorrect. With the materials before us it is impossible to determine the order actually adopted by our Lord. The order in Matthew seems the more natural, but the pauses which Mark introduces into the discourse imply that he found a difference among his authorities as to the arrangement. If the sentences be transposed, the clauses mutually correspond, and considering the difference of origin denoted by the variation in arrangement and in subordinate expressions, the verbal agreement is remarkable. The variations, however, are of such a character as to shew that it is impossible, by any putting together of the words of the two Evangelists, to make up the complete discourse of our Lord. If one is assumed as containing his exact words, the other must be a representation of the sense only. Such expressions as, "Why do you transgress the commandments of God through your tradition?" and, "Full well you annul the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition," are different representations of the same

utterance. They are exactly similar in meaning, but to suppose that they were both repeated is an absurdity; and, even then, the two expressions will not weave together. Of a similar nature are the expressions, "God commanded," of Matthew, and "Moses said," of Mark. They could not have been both uttered, and they are evidently meant to represent the same idea, reported by different persons. The expression, "he shall not honour his father or his mother," of Matthew, is put in the form of a direct utterance of our Lord. So are the following words, "And ye annul the commandment of God through your tradition." This evidently corresponds to the expression in Mark, "And ye no longer permit him to do anything for his father and his mother, annulling the commandment of God through your tradition, which you have received." It is impossible to conceive that these different forms of words were actually uttered by our Lord as separate utterances. Here, however, Mark introduces the words, "and many similar things ye do," which are wanting in Matthew, and which, if they had been contained in his authorities, we can hardly conceive that he would have omitted. So far the variations of the discourse indicate that the Evangelists used distinct memoranda; but the agreements in words are so remarkable as to prove that these memoranda must have sprung from a common account, either the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord in Greek, reported by those who heard them, or else from a translation of those words, prior to the publication of the Gospels. Notwithstanding the considerable amount of transmission through which the words of our Lord must have passed before the variations in the different versions of them in the Evangelists could have arisen, the entire absence of any introduction into the thought of the presence of any other human individuality is nothing short of miraculous.

The subsequent portions of the discourse present us with similar variations in expression, but with the same substantial identity of thought. Matthew represents our Lord to have said, "Hear and understand;" but Mark, "Hear me all of you and understand;" Matthew, "that which enters into the mouth does not defile the man;" while Mark varies this utterance, "There is nothing from outside a man, by entering into him, which is able to defile him." Such phenomena prove the common origin of the thought, but that the words have been derived from different sources.

In reply to the observation of the disciples about the offence taken by the Pharisees, Matthew introduces two short parabolic sayings of our Lord, "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted must be rooted up," and, "If the blind lead

the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." As the former observations of our Lord are plain, and not parabolic sayings, it seems most natural to refer Peter's question, "Tell us this *parable*," to these sayings. He would hardly have called the former words a parable, except for the presence of these direct proverbial or parabolic utterances. Matthew represents Peter as the spokesman on this occasion, and the disciples as bringing to our Lord's notice the offence taken by the Pharisees. But Mark, without recording any parabolic saying at all, makes the disciples generally to have asked our Lord about *the parable*. The variation as to who were the persons who asked our Lord the question, cannot be attributed to a copyist, though the omission by Mark of the two parabolic sayings may. But if the whole context was written by Mark, his use of the word *parable* is a most remarkable and undesigned verbal coincidence with Matthew, and forms a singular proof of the historic reality of his report. Matthew also in the former part had used the expression, "entering the mouth;" Mark uses the word "man" to denote the same idea. Here also the same consistency is observed. In the midst of similar expressions Mark introduces a passage which, while it conveys no new idea, helps to explain our Lord's meaning, "for it does not enter into his heart, but into his belly." In the following utterance Matthew introduces a similarly explanatory passage, which is omitted by Mark. Then follows the enumeration of the different vices proceeding from the heart. Unless we suppose that Mark has added to our Lord's words, we must assume his as being the actual representation of what our Lord uttered. In Mark thirteen vices are mentioned, and in Matthew only seven. These seven of Matthew are arranged in the order of the commandments of which they are violations, with the exception that the order of the tables is inverted; the term blasphemies being used to designate in general all the breaches of the first table. Those in Mark present no such arrangement. The memorandum from whence Matthew derived his account must have contained these in an abridged and orderly form. Its author must have considered that he sufficiently reported the substance of what our Lord said by selecting a sample of a breach of each of God's laws.

This discourse presents a most remarkable example of identity, united with diversity, in the two reports of it. Its claim to be two distinct reports of a common original is undoubted. Nor does it seem less certain that each Evangelist must have used a separate memorandum. Its variations and identities form a far stronger proof of the truthfulness of the

Evangelists, than if they had each reported it in precisely the same words, for no two forgers could have succeeded in inventing the peculiarities which we have been considering.

The discourse of our Lord arising out of the message sent by John the Baptist, and reported by Matthew and Luke, is no less remarkable for the identity of the words used by both Evangelists, than the preceding one is for their diversity. It presents us with the smallest possible amount of variations. Both state John's question in the same language, "Art thou he that should come, or do we expect another?" Between the question and the answer Luke tells us that our Lord cured a variety of diseases. This circumstance is not noticed by Matthew. The reply is nearly word for word alike, "Going, tell John what you hear and see (Matthew, ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε; Luke, εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε). The blind recover their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized, and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." Then comes the following discourse, addressed to the multitude, "What went ye out for to see, a reed shaken by the wind? But what went ye out for to see, a man clothed in soft raiment?" Thus far the variations have consisted in the tense of a single verb. "Behold," says Matthew, "those wearing soft clothes" (οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες). But Luke, "Behold those who are in splendid raiment and luxury" (οἱ ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες). Matthew, "are in the houses of kings" (τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν βασιλέων). Luke, "are in palaces" (τοῖς βασιλείοις). Both then proceed, with the variation of the tense of a single verb, "But what went ye out for to see? a prophet? yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet: for this is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee, for (Matthew "verily") I say to you, there has not arisen among those born of women a greater (Luke "prophet") than John the Baptist, but he that is least in the kingdom (Matthew, "of heaven," Luke, "of God") is greater than he."

Here Matthew adds a passage which is omitted by Luke, "But from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven is entered by violence, and those of such a character seize it. And if you are willing to receive it, this is Elias, who was to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Both Evangelists then continue, but with not quite so close a verbal agreement. Matthew, "To whom shall I liken this generation (Luke, "the men of this generation"), and to what are they like? They are like," Matthew, "to little children (Luke, "to children") sitting in market places;" Luke, "in the

market place;" Matthew, "and calling to their companions;" Luke, "to one another." Matthew and Luke, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced, we have mourned unto you, and ye have not (Matthew, "struck yourselves," ἐκόψασθε; Luke, "wept," ἐκλαύσατε). For John (Luke, "the Baptist") came neither eating (Luke, "bread") nor drinking (Luke, "wine"), and they say (Luke, "ye say"), he has a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say (Luke, "ye say"), Behold, a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. And wisdom is justified from (Luke, "all") her children."

The variations in the two reports of this discourse are so small as to leave no doubt that they must have been derived from a report in the Greek language, which had undergone scarcely any modifications in the course of transmission. This must have been either our Lord's utterance in Greek, or a translation of his words made by a single person. In this case, the amount of transmission through which they passed prior to their having been incorporated into our Gospels was so small as to leave scarcely any trace of its existence in the forms of expression. The comparison between such a discourse as this and the preceding, leads to the unquestionable inference, that documents must have been used for the composition of the discourses in the Gospels presenting great varieties in the degree in which they varied from the precise form of the original utterance. In this case the identity is so great, that if the other discourses presented similar phenomena, we might conclude that the discourses in the Evangelists were copied from each other. But such a supposition is shewn to be untenable from the diversity of expressions which these discourses usually present. In cases like the present, where the verbal agreement is such that we might be justified in assuming that one Evangelist had copied from the other, we are precluded from entertaining such a supposition, because it is utterly inconceivable that if one of the Evangelists had the Gospel of the other before him, he should have taken from it a few discourses, and copied them nearly verbatim, and should have introduced such considerable changes into the others, founded on no intelligible principle. Persons who infer from a discourse like the present that Matthew must have made use of Luke's Gospel in the composition of his own, or Luke Matthew's, seem entirely to forget the existence of the numerous discourses in those Gospels, where such a supposition is impossible. Even in this discourse it is impossible to account for the variations, if we suppose either of the Evangelists to have had the Gospel of the other in his hands. We are compelled,

therefore, to assume that Matthew and Luke must have used memoranda which agreed nearly verbatim, or that they must have derived it from the direct dictation of an apostolic man, who narrated not merely the sense, but the actual utterance of our Lord.

In this last discourse the variations between the reports of the two Evangelists are so slight that they might probably have arisen from transcription, especially if the transcribers copied from dictation. To this there is one exception,—the short passage in Matthew, which is wholly omitted by Luke. The expression which has most the appearance of an enlargement, is that of Luke,—“those who are in splendid raiment and luxury,” to represent Matthew’s idea, “those who wear soft clothing.” The thought is precisely the same, but the words present considerable variation. If this variation cannot be accounted for by transcription, the utmost which they compel us to assume is, that the discourse was derived from two memoranda, which only varied in this particular, and which consequently must have been very closely related to each other. The variations in the latter part, though more numerous, are precisely such as would arise if the discourse were copied down by different persons from dictation.

But the addition in Matthew’s Gospel cannot possibly be accounted for on such a principle. We must assume that the original form of the common document omitted this. It is inconceivable that if Luke read these words in the document used by him, he should have deliberately struck them out. The words unquestionably are obscure, and have exercised commentators in finding out their precise meaning. But yet, if Luke read them as part of the utterance, and received them as having been spoken by our Lord, his omission of them from his report is utterly incredible, and inconsistent with a feeling of reverence for our Lord as a great teacher come from God. In fact, if Luke read these words and believed them to be our Lord’s, and then struck them out of his record of our Lord’s discourse, he must have set himself up as a judge of what our Lord ought to have uttered.

With respect to these words, therefore, there appears to be only three alternatives open to our choice. Either a copyist has omitted them by inadvertence out of Luke’s Gospel, or they have been introduced without authority into Matthew’s Gospel, or the author of this Gospel, from some additional source of information, knew that these words had formed a portion of this discourse, but had been omitted by the author of the memorandum used by him. Luke has furnished us with two additional facts, but they form no portion of the discourse.

Thus far the two evangelists have been all but identical. But according to Matthew our Lord followed up this discourse by denouncing a woe on the cities where he had been in the habit of preaching. "Then began he to reproach the cities in which the greater number of his miracles were done, because they believed not." Luke, however, introduces immediately after the discourse we have been considering the account of the woman who had been a sinner. After an interval of three chapters he places a similar discourse of our Lord to that contained in Matthew, part of it being a portion of the discourse to the seventy disciples, and part of it uttered after their return. Now the question is, Do the phenomena compel us to assume that the accounts of Matthew and Luke are accounts of the same discourse of our Lord placed by them in different connections; or of two different discourses in which he uttered the same words, and which have been handed down in nearly the same expressions?

In Matthew the whole discourse is represented as addressed to the multitude, but whether in the presence of the disciples we are not informed, nor do the notes of time enable us to determine with actual certainty. But Luke states that the woes formed a portion of the discourse to the seventy, and that the remainder was uttered on their return. This latter portion in Matthew is connected with the former by a somewhat indefinite note of time (*ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*). It is within the limit of possibility that the Evangelist by such an expression intended to represent what follows as a continuous utterance with the preceding discourse; but certainly the expression, "at that season," is one which he was very unlikely to use, if he intended to connect two consecutive utterances together. The words are entirely consistent with the supposition that he meant to convey the idea that there was a considerable interval between the two. Luke's expression is, "in that hour" (*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*), which seems strictly to connect them with the observation made by our Lord on the return of the seventy. The words of our Lord in Matthew and Luke are as follow;—"Woe to thee Chorazin, woe to thee Bethsaida, for if the miracles which have been done in you had taken place in Tyre and Sidon, long ago they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes; but I say to you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you." In Luke, after our Lord had declared that it would be more tolerable for Sodom than for the city which rejected the message of the disciples, he says, "Woe to thee Chorazin, woe to thee Bethsaida, because if the miracles which have been done in you had taken place in Tyre and Sidon, long

ago they would have repented, sitting on sackcloth and ashes." Here the variation extends only to the tense of a single verb, and to Luke's having introduced the word "sitting." "But I say to you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment, than for that city." Here we have a slight but most immaterial variation, leaving the sense exactly alike. Matthew continues; "And you, Capernaum, who art lifted up to heaven, shall descend to Hades, because if in Sodom had been done the miracles which have been done in thee, it would have remained until this very day; but I say to you for the land of Sodom, it shall be more tolerable in the day of judgment than for thee." In Luke the latter clause is omitted. According to the received reading the former clauses are alike, with the exception of a word and a grammatical construction. But according to another reading, the address to Capernaum is put in the form of a question. To this Luke adds a remark unquestionably addressed to the disciples.

Here Luke notices the return of the disciples, their report, and our Lord's remarks on it. He then adds, "In that hour (*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*) Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hid these things from wise and prudent men, and you have revealed them to babes." These words vary in the use of a single compound preposition. Matthew, "Yea, O Father, for thus it became a great pleasure before thee." Here again the words in Luke are identical; Matthew then proceeds as if no interruption occurred in our Lord's utterance, "All things have been delivered to me of my Father, and no one knows the Son but the Father, nor does any one know the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son is willing to reveal him." Luke notices that our Lord turned to the disciples, an act which, if the preceding discourse were addressed to them, is remarkable. He then proceeds in the same words as Matthew, with one inconsiderable grammatical variation. Matthew here subjoins our Lord's invitation to the weary and heavy laden, as though there was not the smallest break in the discourse. But Luke represents our Lord as turning to the disciples, and saying to them privately, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear," etc.

The mode in which Luke has introduced this last clause seems to intimate that he had derived this saying of our Lord from a different connection. He had just told us that our Lord had turned to the disciples when he spake his last utterance after his thanksgiving to his Father. The words which he then addressed to them were such as we should expect that he would

address to disciples only. He had just been addressing the disciples apart from others. If, therefore, the following words in Luke were uttered continuously with the foregoing, the notice that he turned to the disciples, and said privately, seems out of place, when he had already turned to them, and was privately addressing them. This seems to intimate that Luke found this utterance of our Lord as one which some of his authorities stated to have been privately addressed to the disciples, but without a specification as to whom it was uttered; and he has inserted it in this place, where our Lord was addressing the disciples in private.

The thanksgiving to the Father, and the following words of our Lord, belong to the higher form of our Lord's teaching. It is, therefore, very improbable that he uttered them before the multitude, which he certainly must have done if he uttered them in the connection as they stand in Matthew. The words as recorded by each Evangelist divide themselves into two portions,—the woe denounced on the cities which had rejected his preaching, and the thanksgiving to his Father. The woe was very suited to be addressed to the multitude, and it may have been repeated before more auditories than one. But the address to the Father and the words which follow, which are inseparably united with it, are such as we should expect to be uttered in private only to the Apostles. Their connection in Matthew with the remainder of the discourse is loose (*ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*), implying merely that they were spoken at that period of his ministry. But in Luke their connection with the return of the seventy is express, and they naturally grow out of that circumstance.

The words in Matthew being connected with those which precede them by such a note of time, seem to render it clear that the Evangelist did not mean to pledge himself that they formed a connected portion of the preceding discourse. The woe on Chorazin is closely interwoven with them. In Luke it no less distinctly forms part of our Lord's utterance to the seventy.

The utterance of our Lord, as reported by the two Evangelists, are nearly identical in words and grammar. So strong is that identity that we should, under all ordinary circumstances, at once assume them as the same utterance. With such samenesses of expression, is it possible that they can be two separate utterances, in which our Lord repeated the same thought, narrated by two different reporters? It seems exceedingly unlikely that our Lord should have repeated the thanksgiving and the private utterance to the disciples twice in exactly the same

words, those words being peculiar, and very unlikely to have been presented in precisely the same form by two different reporters. The identities of expression between the two Evangelists in their reports of the woe uttered in the cities are such that there is great difficulty in considering them as separate utterances. It is very probable that our Lord may have uttered a woe on these cities more than once; but it is very unlikely that he would have done so in precisely the same words. Still more so is it, if they were uttered on separate occasions, as in that case the reports of them must have been derived by the Evangelists from distinct sources of information, that they would have been reported in exactly the same words. It is far more probable, that each Evangelist knew that our Lord had uttered a woe on those cities on the occasion mentioned by him, and that they have used a common account of the words. The identity of the address to the Father, and the utterance which followed, seems unmistakeable, and there is little doubt that Luke has correctly placed it as taking place when our Lord received the report of the seventy of the success of their mission, out of which it naturally grew.

The reason why we have discussed this portion of the discourse is as follows. The identity of the words in Matthew and Luke, arising out of the message brought by John's disciples, is such as to prove that both Evangelists used a source of information in which the words uttered by our Lord were nearly word for word identically alike. The question is, Where did it stop? Were the words which we read in Matthew in direct connection with it a portion of the same utterance? If it contained the woe denounced on the cities, our Lord's thanksgiving to his Father, and the utterance which followed, is it conceivable that Luke would have broken off the discourse as he has, if he had such words before him as part of the discourse, and would have inserted the precisely same words in a wholly different connection? Nothing seems to be more incredible than that he should have done so. But as the words in Matthew have a vagueness in respect of the time when they were uttered, we may conclude that they were derived from a distinct source of information, and that they have been inserted in their correct place by Luke. If the phenomena are sufficient to indicate this, we get rid of the difficulty, that the common source of information contained a portion of a discourse of our Lord of great doctrinal importance, which Luke has deliberately omitted. It seems hardly credible that a person can read through this chapter as it stands in Matthew, and the corresponding passage in Luke, and observe the manner in which Luke represents the discourse to have termi-

nated, and that the greater portion of the remaining utterance in Matthew is reported by him in a wholly different connection, and believe that Luke used Matthew's Gospel in the composition of his own.

Another discourse arising out of an allusion to John the Baptist, reported by all three synoptics, presents very peculiar verbal phenomena (Matt. ix., Mark ii., Luke v.). According to all the synoptics, the Pharisees seeing that Jesus had eaten with publicans and sinners, asked the disciples why their Master eat with publicans and sinners. Matthew and Mark report our Lord's answer, "Those who are strong." But Luke, "those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." To this Matthew adds that our Lord said, "Go and learn what this means, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice."

Matthew then informs us that the disciples of John came to him, saying. Mark states that the disciples of John and of the Pharisees were in the habit of fasting, and they come and say to him. But Luke represents the question as having been put by the Scribes and Pharisees, whom he had just mentioned. The question in each Evangelist is the same, with a slight variation. "Why do we and the Pharisees fast frequently, but thy disciples do not fast?" This is slightly varied in Mark, "Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast," etc. But Luke has it, "Why do the disciples of John fast frequently and make prayers, and likewise those of the Pharisees, but thine eat and drink." Our Lord's answer presents a few verbal variations. Matthew and Mark—"Can the children of the bridechamber," Matthew, "mourn;" Mark, "fast;" "as long as the bridegroom is with them. Luke has it, "Can you make the children of the bridechamber," etc. Mark adds, "as long as the bridegroom is with them they cannot fast." All three Evangelists then continue, "But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast in those days." In the parables which follow we have some most curious variations of expression, united with verbal agreements no less remarkable. Matthew—"No one places a patch of an undressed strip (*ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου*) on an old garment." Mark uses the same words, except that in place of the verb *ἐπιβάλλει*, "places," he substitutes *ἐπιρράπτει*, "stitches." In Luke the words agree with those of Matthew, except that for the expression undressed strip *ῥάκους ἀγνάφου*, which is common to Matthew and Mark, he substitutes (*ἱματίου καινοῦ*) new garment. Matthew continues—"for that used to fill it up (*τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ*) takes away from the garment, and a worse rent arises."

Mark varies by explaining the expression, "that used to fill it up" (τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ), by introducing the words (τὸ καινόν), "the new piece." "That used to fill it up, viz., the new piece, takes away from the old," etc. Luke's words have the same idea translated into explanatory language, "And the new makes a rent, and the piece which was from the new does not agree with the old." In the next parable the three Evangelists agree in the words which they attribute to our Lord, except that Matthew uses the plural number where Mark and Luke use the singular; and Mark and Luke vary the tense of a verb,—“And no one places new wine into old bottles; if he does, the new wine bursts the bottles” (Matthew—“the bottles are burst”), “and the wine is spilled, and the bottles burst.” Here follows a singular variation. Matthew—“But they place new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved.” But Mark and Luke concur in giving us the peculiar grammatical construction, ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον, “New wine must be placed into new bottles;” but we have no form of readable English which will exactly represent the construction of the original. To these parables Luke adds a third, which seems to be designed to aid the sense of the other two, but which is omitted by both Matthew and Mark—“No one having drunk old wine, immediately desires new, for he says, The old is better.”

Now the identities of expression in this discourse are such as to prove that there must have existed an original in the Greek language out of which the three versions of it have sprung. The variations are chiefly in grammatical structure, except where Luke has evidently translated the somewhat obscure expressions of the original form into more intelligible language. It is remarkable that Mark has done this to a small extent, when he has introduced the words τὸ καινόν, as an explanation of πλήρωμα. We must assume that the parable as it stands in Matthew presents us with the original form. The addition in Mark must be either an explanation added to the parable, or else if it stood in the original form, the author of Matthew or one of his copyists has omitted it,—a supposition which is exceedingly unlikely. The form in which the parable appears in Luke can leave no doubt that while it presents the entire meaning of the original, either the Evangelist himself, or the memorandum which he used, employed words to express it of a more obvious meaning. The second parable presents a substantial identity of expression in all three Evangelists, except in the concluding words, which are the same in sense, but remarkably varied in grammatical construction. Those used by Mark and Luke prove a common origin: for in the words in which they are given—“New wine

must be put into new bottles," it is most unlikely that two wholly distinct narrators of this parable would have fallen on the form used by them in common. This form, therefore, must have passed into Mark's and Luke's Gospel from a common original report of the words. Here again a most important variation is presented by Luke in his addition of the third parable, which helps to assign a distinct meaning to the other two, and give them an application to the persons whom our Lord was addressing. The agreement of Matthew and Mark in using such peculiar expressions as ἀγνάφου ῥάκους to denote "new garment," is a no less convincing proof of a common origin of their accounts.

What then do the phenomena indicate to have been the nature of the respective materials out of which the three Evangelists have reported this discourse? If Matthew and Mark had before them any account of the short third parable, they must have designedly omitted what was intended to form an explanation of the other two, for it directly applies the discourse to the state of mind both of the Pharisees and of John's disciples. It is evident, therefore, that Luke must have used a different memorandum, or a different source of information from that used by Matthew and Mark, a supposition which is further confirmed by the other variations of expressions which have been introduced into his account. Still the author has succeeded in preserving a large number of the words in which the discourse was originally uttered, so that the threefold account presents one of the most remarkable arguments in verbal expression to be found in the Gospels, among which we cannot help drawing particular attention to the remarkable preservation of the grammatical construction in Mark and Luke; but in Matthew is represented in a more simple form. In all other respects the accounts in Matthew and Mark are closely allied, except that Mark introduces an explanation of the obscure word πλήρωμα by introducing τὸ καινόν. We conclude, therefore, that all three accounts have grown out of a common form in the Greek tongue, which must have been either our Lord's own utterance, or have been the work of a single translator of it, and that the memoranda used by Matthew and Mark presented the nearest approach to his original words. That used by Luke, while it has varied the words, and presents us with the remarkable verbal agreement in expression which we have noticed in Mark, gives us the most complete representation of the whole utterance, and places it before us in clearer language. It likewise affords us the most decisive evidence of the independence of the accounts.

The discourse respecting the proper mode of sanctifying the Sabbath (Matt. xii. ; Mark ii. ; Luke vi.) presents us with another remarkable instance of the preservation of the same substantial identities of expression united with minute verbal variations. The objection of the Pharisees is slightly varied in each account. In Matthew it stands as a simple objection. "Behold thy disciples are doing what is not lawful to do on the Sabbath." Both Mark and Luke represent this as a question; but Mark says that it was put to our Lord, "Behold, why do they do on the Sabbath what is not lawful?" Luke represents it as put to the disciples. "They said to them, Why do ye do," etc. Now although nothing is more likely than that some of the Pharisees put the question to our Lord, and some to the disciples, yet neither Evangelist gives us a hint that such was the case. The form, therefore, in which it stands proves that they each derived their information from sources entirely independent of each other. Our Lord replies (Matthew)—"Have you not read what David did?" Mark varies by using the words "never read:" and Luke by inserting the word "this." Matthew—"When he was hungry, and those with him." Mark—"When he had need and was hungry, and those with him." Luke agrees with Matthew except in a slight variation in the grammar. All three—"How he entered into the house of God" (Mark adds "in the days of Abiathar the high priest"), Matthew and Mark, "and eat;" Luke—"and took and eat the shew-bread." Here follow three curious variations; Matthew—"which it was not lawful for him to eat, nor for those with him, but for the priests alone." This stands in Mark, "which it is not lawful to eat, but for the priests; and he gave to them who were with him." Luke presents another variety, "and he gave to those who were with him, which it is not lawful to eat, but for the priests alone." Here Matthew adds a sentence which is omitted by the other Evangelists—"Or have you not read in the law, that on sabbaths the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless. But I say to you, that here is one greater than the temple, for if ye had known what means, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, you would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath." But Mark represents that a kind of pause took place before the following words were spoken. This is implied by the expression—"And he said to them," by which the next utterance is introduced. He reports it to have been—"The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath, so that the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath." But Luke, after noticing the same pause, is still more brief,—“The Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath.”

Now if Mark and Luke had before them the account in Matthew, it is very unlikely that they took upon themselves to omit so important a portion of our Lord's words. Nor can we conceive, that if Matthew or Luke either knew of or read such words as—"The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath," that they would have passed them over in silence. But if different persons made memoranda of discourses which were reported by apostolic men, it is easy to conceive that one might copy it down from recollection in the form in which it stands in Matthew, even if the words in Mark formed a portion of the apostolic account; another might think that the words as they stand in Mark convey fully the meaning of what our Lord intended to teach, which is unquestionably the case; and that another might still more abridge it into the form in which it stands in Luke, which contains the practical conclusion of the whole utterance. But to suppose that either Evangelist had before him the complete utterance of our Lord, and deliberately omitted a portion of it, is in the highest degree improbable. This improbability is greatly increased when we consider that the omissions serve no definite purpose, and although the insertion may add to the perspicuity, they do not introduce one additional truth into the teaching. A similar conclusion follows from the variations in the form in which it is said that it was lawful for none but the priests to eat the shew-bread. In the sense there is not the smallest difference whether we read the words as they stand in Matthew, Mark, or Luke. But the variation in the forms of expression is remarkable. It is such as cannot be assigned to mere transcription; still less possible is the supposition that our Lord uttered all three forms. The variation, however, is such as would arise if each Evangelist used a different memorandum composed shortly after the writer had heard our Lord's words detailed. Notwithstanding the variation, the three forms are most closely allied to each other. The previous sentence in all three is nearly verbatim the same; except the questionable addition in Mark of the words—"in the time of Abiathar the high priest,"—words difficult to reconcile with the fact as it is reported in the Old Testament, and which may probably have crept into the text from a marginal note. The form in which the objection of the Pharisees is reported proves that the variation originated in a similar origin; for even supposing that the three forms are the utterances of so many Pharisees, it is hardly to be conceived that either Evangelist would have written as he has, if he had all three forms distinctly before him. Still less probable is it, that if either Evangelist had heard it in the form in which it stands in either of the other two, that

he would have altered it into the words of his own report. The phenomena of the discourse point in no ambiguous manner to the fact that each Evangelist used a separate account of our Lord's words, and that each of these was derived from a common Greek original which was deeply impressed on the minds of the primitive teachers, and that it has become varied in the course of transmission, and that the different memoranda must have represented different verbal narratives derived from it, with more or less closeness of expression.

The question of the identity of the Sermon on the Mount and the discourse recorded in Luke vi. is one of considerable difficulty. It does not come within the range of our inquiries to discuss the historic grounds on which that diversity or identity is made to rest. Taken as a mere historical question, the reasons for considering them to have been uttered on different occasions seem greatly to preponderate. Those portions which contain a large amount of similar language and thought are precisely that class of truths which it is highly probable that our Lord in the course of his teaching would repeat to different auditories. There can be little doubt, from the nature of our Lord's ministry, that He must have been in the habit of reiterating the same class of truths to the varying auditories He addressed. But when our Lord uttered the same truths to different hearers, we have no data for determining the degree in which He would embody them in the same verbal expressions. If the discourse in Luke was uttered on a different occasion from the Sermon on the Mount, it forms the single example by means of which we can make the comparison. Our inquiry, therefore, will be confined to the degree in which the language of these discourses agrees with or diverges from a common type, and whether the verbal expressions are of such a nature or present such peculiarities as to compel us to assume that the utterance must have been the same. We have only to observe that if the two discourses were distinct, but involved repetitions of portions of the same truths, this fact alone, in the course of transmission, may have caused a fusion of the verbal expressions in which they have been transmitted.

Matthew records nine; or, if we consider the two last as two in form, but one in sense, eight beatitudes. Luke gives four only. To these he adds four woes. In the four beatitudes, which they report in common, there is a considerable variation in expression. In two of them words of explanation are found in Matthew which are omitted in Luke. Matthew—"Blessed are the *poor in spirit*." Luke—"Blessed are *ye poor*;" Matthew—for "theirs," Luke—"yours" "is the kingdom," Mat-

thew—"of heaven," Luke—"of God." Matthew—"Blessed are they which hunger and *thirst after righteousness*," Luke—"Blessed are ye that *hunger now*," Matthew—"for they," Luke—"for ye" "shall be filled." Matthew—"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Luke—"Blessed are ye that weep, for ye shall laugh." Matthew—"Blessed are ye, when they shall reproach you and persecute you, and speaking falsely, shall say every evil word against you for my sake." Luke—"Blessed are you when they shall hate you, and excommunicate you, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil for the Son of man's sake." Matthew—"Rejoice and exult, for your reward is great in heaven, for thus they persecuted the prophets before you." Luke—"Rejoice in that day, and leap, for behold your reward is great in heaven; for according to these things their fathers did to the prophets." To these four beatitudes, Luke subjoins four woes—against the rich, the laughing, the full, and those well spoken of.

Renan and others have endeavoured to deduce from these, and a few kindred passages in St. Luke, the conclusion that his views were not far removed from those of modern communism, and that the words of our Lord have been systematically placed by him in such a form as to favour such an opinion. It is impossible to deduce any sound conclusion from mere insulated passages. Had such an intention existed, it would have left the most distinctive traces in the body of the Gospel. But a fair examination of Luke as a whole will not bear out the assertion. It no doubt struck his mind as a most remarkable feature of the New Dispensation, that the lowest of mankind, whose religious well-being had been hitherto looked down on with contempt both by philosophers and rabbis, were admitted to the fullest privileges of the kingdom of God. This aspect of the Gospel is brought out in strong light by Luke, as it is by his companion Paul. It struck their minds as one of the most remarkable mysteries, that the Gospel gives to the degraded and hitherto neglected classes of mankind a systematic exaltation. Although this is strongly exhibited in this Gospel, it is no exclusive trait of it. In the passages before us there is no greater variation of expression than in many which we have already noticed, and which were unquestionably intended to teach the same truths. They are variations such as might have originated like the numerous ones which we have already noticed; or if the divine speaker used the Greek tongue, and the discourses are distinct, the variations may owe their origin in the two different forms in which he chose to utter the same substantial truths. The identities of expression, though considerable, are plainly not of

such a character as to compel us to assume that the two Evangelists have here reported the same utterance of our Lord, which has become varied into these present forms in the course of transmission.

But the presence of the four woes in Luke, united with the absence of as many beatitudes, and the omission of these woes in Matthew, require attention. It certainly proves that the two Evangelists followed a wholly distinct source of information. If Matthew had anything before him which could have informed him that these woes formed a portion of that discourse, there is nothing in his Gospel which will shew that he had any feeling which would have induced him to suppress them. Nor is there anything in Luke's Gospel which would specially lead him to insert them. On the contrary, the severity of the denunciations in Matthew's Gospel is greater than in either of the four. This fact strongly corroborates the evidence in favour of the distinctness of the utterances.

The systematic plan and arrangement of the Sermon on the Mount prove that it does not consist of a number of detached sayings, but that it is a *single discourse*. The following precepts occur in Luke immediately after the utterance of the woes. "I say unto you that hear, Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that insult you." We find a similar precept in the Sermon on the Mount, but in a wholly different connection, being a portion of our Lord's corrections of the imperfect moral teaching of the Jewish doctors. "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that insult you and persecute you." The passage in Luke is a precept without the reason for its performance. But Matthew subjoins the reason:—"that ye may be the children of your Father, who is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, etc."

While the connection in which this precept occurs in the two Evangelists is wholly different, it cannot be denied that the words in which it is couched present a very considerable degree of resemblance. The variations, which consist of a transposition and insertion of a word, are no greater than those which we have frequently seen in different reports of discourses, which are unquestionably the same utterance. But the question is, Are the verbal identities such as to compel us to assume that the two discourses are the same? Or is it not quite as probable that as the subject-matter of the precept was one which our

Lord was likely to have frequently repeated, the identities of expression may owe their origin to such repetition? If our Lord spoke in Greek, this would be a sufficient reason for the identities of the words and thoughts, and we could easily assign an origin for the variations. But if the two discourses have been translated by two different translators, the verbal resemblances are not so easy to account for.

Another precept, which is found in the Sermon on the Mount, but in a wholly different context, follows in Luke: "To him that strikes thee on the cheek, present also the other, and do not forbid thy tunic to him who takes away thy outer garment. To him that asks of thee, give; and from him that takes away thy property, do not ask it back." But in Matthew the corresponding precept varies very considerably both in words and context. As in the last instance, it forms a portion of a regular series of corrections of the principles of morality taught by the Jewish doctors. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, not to resist evil. But whosoever will smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him also the other; and to him who wishes to sue thee at law, and to take thy tunic, remit to him thy outer garment. And whosoever shall press thee on the public service to go one mile, go with him two. Give to him that asketh thee, and do not turn away from him who wishes to borrow of thee."

In these two passages the principles of the moral teaching are identically alike, but both the context in which they occur, the words, and the illustrations, present a considerable variation. This diversity of expression is quite as great as we might expect, if the same teacher uttered the same truths on two different occasions before different auditories. If kindred ideas were to be uttered, the teacher would naturally fall into these variations of expression. The phenomena render this far more probable than that they are two different reports of the same words. There is evidently nothing in the expressions which compel us to identify them.

But of the precept which directly follows in Luke the corresponding one in Matthew gives a yet fainter echo: "And as ye would that men should do to you, do to them likewise: and if ye love them that love you, what kind of thanks is there to you, for sinners love those that love them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what kind of thanks is there to you, for sinners also do the same. And if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive back again, what kind of thanks is there to you, for sinners also lend to sinners, that they may

receive back what is equal. But love your enemies, and do good and lend, hoping to receive back nothing in return, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the highest, for he is good to the unthankful and the evil."

In immediate connection with the precept which we have already noticed, to pray for those who insult and persecute, Matthew subjoins as a reason, "that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven, because he causes his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what reward have you? Do not the publicans the same? And if you greet your brethren only, what do you extraordinary? Do not the publicans do thus? You shall therefore be perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." Of these last words the expression in Luke may be viewed as an extremely faint echo, "Be ye merciful, as your Father who is in heaven is merciful."

In these passages both context and language differ widely. The only connection subsisting between them is the harmony of the inner thought. Of the two expressions, "that ye may be the children of the highest," and "that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven," the one is no doubt the equivalent of the other. But as the context in which they occur is entirely different, the recurrence of the same idea in nearly the same words can prove nothing as to the identity of the utterance. The only common bond between them is, that they occur in the midst of exhortations to do good on principles quite removed from the infirmities of human selfishness. The exhortations to act on universal principles of benevolence, and not to limit it within the narrow confines of a sect or a party, although entirely harmonizing in their inner thought, present no inconsiderable difference both of words and style. That of Matthew expresses a greater vehemence of expression. The two exhortations to imitate God, although founded on the same principle and inner unity of feeling, present us with the faintest verbal similarity. None of the phenomena of this portion of the two discourses would lead us to infer their identity, but they evidently point to the fact that our Lord repeated thoughts closely allied to different audiences. There is nothing in the form in which they stand which forbids us from assuming that they may not have been the work of two entirely distinct translators. The verbal coincidences are really inconsiderable. It is hardly possible to suppose that such variations could have arisen if they had been memoranda or even epitomes of the same discourse.

The comparison of the beam and the splinter occurs in both Evangelists. Luke has it, "And why lookest thou at the splinter which is in the eye of thy brother, and perceive not the beam which is in thy own eye? Or how are you able to say to thy brother, Brother, permit me to pull out the splinter which is in thine eye, you yourself not perceiving the beam which is in thy own eye? You hypocrite, cast out first the beam from thy own eye, and then wilt thou see clearly to cast out the splinter which is in thy brother's eye." This precept is repeated in Matthew in the same words, with only a few inconsiderable grammatical variations.

But according to Matthew, a whole chapter of the most important teaching intervened between this precept and the last utterance which he has recorded in common with Luke. In each gospel this remarkable parabolic kind of teaching is interwoven with a context entirely different. Their verbal identity is unquestionable. But the expression is a most pointed illustration of the truth which it was designed to teach, and was more likely to enter into the understanding of the hearer than a number of general statements. Nothing was more probable than that it was uttered by our Lord on several occasions. The whole force of it as an illustration depends on the preservation of the same thoughts and language. In this case, therefore, the identity of expression between Matthew and Luke proves nothing. It is an illustration suited to place mental blindness in a point of view undeniably absurd.

The next kindred passage in the two Evangelists differs considerably in force and expression. "A good tree," says Luke, "does not bear corrupt fruit, nor does a corrupt tree bear good fruit, for each tree is known by its fruit; for from thorns they do not collect figs, nor from a bramble do they gather grapes." To this Luke adds words which are apparently intended as an explanation of the previous sentence: "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure brings forth evil; for out of the abundance of his heart the mouth speaks." But Matthew introduces the first saying into a context, where our Lord is giving warnings against false prophets: "From their fruits ye shall know them. Do they collect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? Thus every good tree brings forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree brings forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits, nor a corrupt tree bring forth good fruits. Every tree not bringing forth good fruit is cut down, and cast into the fire. Therefore by their fruit ye shall know them."

The context, in which these two passages are interwoven,

and of which they form an essential portion, contain nothing in common. While the thought is the same, the sentence presents us with transpositions, variations of expression, and additions. In the midst of these, however, we cannot fail to recognize identities of expression and construction which are very unlikely to have been fallen on by two different translators. Both Evangelists employ the indefinite term συλλέγουσι to denote men collect. They use the phrase ποιεῖ καρπὸν, and ποιοῦν καρποὺς, to express bear fruit, and the words σαπρὸν δένδρον for a corrupt tree. Now had two translators rendered this passage into Greek, and if they had no common type of Greek expressions before them, it is very improbable that each of them should have hit on these three expressions out of the numerous similar ones in which they might have been expressed with equal propriety. If these expressions originated in our Lord's use of the Greek tongue, the difficulty disappears; or even if we were at liberty to assume that an extensive collection of our Lord's discourses existed in Aramaic, which had been translated into Greek by a single hand prior to the publication of the Gospels, and out of which their phraseology was formed. In that case the same translator would naturally express the same idea in the same words. But as all the phenomena which we have considered point to the conclusion that the materials out of which the Gospels were composed consisted of fragments and memoranda, and that the discourses in our existing Gospels are deflections from them, it is impossible to suppose that they were set forth by a single translator as a connected whole, though this was probably often the case with separate portions. If, therefore, these two discourses are separate utterances of our Lord, as the whole of the evidence strongly implies, it is impossible to account for these similarities of expression by assuming them to have originated in a translation of them executed by one and the same hand.

Do then these and similar identities of expression force us to the conclusion that the two discourses are in fact reports of one and the same utterance, and this notwithstanding all the traces of diversity which they contain? It should be observed that the verbal identities in the two Evangelists are always found in passages which our Lord was likely often to have repeated in a sententious form, or to have used as pointed illustrations of the same truth under different aspects. As such they must have been frequently repeated by apostolic men as sayings of our Lord, and would thus become generally current in the Christian society. When therefore a person reduced a discourse of our Lord to writing, and it contained sayings of

this kind with which he was familiar, he would naturally express the sense in words to which he had been accustomed. Supposing therefore that different persons first reduced these two discourses to writing in the Greek tongue, we might expect to find identities of expression in those portions of them which are of this description, although they formed portions of distinct utterances. In this manner a certain amount of identity of expression may be accounted for, as small detached sentences and sayings would obtain considerable currency in the Church, before the necessities of the case would have required the longer discourses to have been reduced to writing.

Both Evangelists contain the comparison of the hearer of our Lord's discourses to a builder. Here again, in the midst of great identity of thought, the expressions vary considerably. Luke: "Every one who comes to me, and hears my words, and does them, I will indicate to you to whom he is like: he is like to a man building a house, who dug, and sank deep, and laid the foundation on rock." But Matthew varies the utterance thus: "Every one who hears my words, and does them, I will liken him to a prudent man, who built his house on rock." Luke: "And when the flood came (πλημμύρας δὲ γενομένης), the stream (ὁ ποταμὸς) burst on that house, and it was not able to shake it, through its being founded on rock." Matthew: "And the rain (ἡ βροχὴ) descended, and the streams (οἱ ποταμοὶ) came, and the wind blew, and fell on that house, and did not shake it, for it was founded on rock." Luke: "But he who hears and does not do, is like unto a man building his house on earth, without a foundation, on which the stream burst, and immediately it fell; and the rent of that house was great." Matthew: "And every one who hears my words, and does them not, I will liken him to a foolish man, who built his house on sand; and the rain descended, and the streams came, and the winds blew, and they dashed on that house; and it fell: and its ruin was great."

In these passages, we have two verbal coincidences only, the use of ἡ πέτρα to denote the rock, and ὁ ποταμὸς to denote the stream. In every other respect, although the sense is precisely the same, the words present a very remarkable instance of divergence. With these exceptions it would be hardly possible to write the same thoughts in more varied words. The two common words present no peculiarity. The passage therefore places no obstacle in the way of assuming that the two discourses are distinct utterances; and, in fact, the variations in expression are so great that they can hardly be viewed as memoranda of the same discourse composed by different persons.

The Sermon on the Mount is a discourse which contains in it a distinct purpose and an orderly arrangement. The parts of it flow naturally from one another, and mutually cohere. It has all the appearance of being a continuous utterance. If it is not, it must consist of a number of detached sayings of our Lord, which have been blended together by the author of this Gospel in their present orderly arrangement. In that case the separate sayings may have been our Lord's, but everything which gives them arrangement and connection would be Matthew's.

The assumption that Luke had Matthew's sermon before him, in any connected form, and then composed his discourse out of it, utterly contradicts the phenomena, and is fraught with the highest absurdity. In that case, what could have induced Luke to take the sentences which we have been considering, detach them from their context, and place them together in the mode in which he has? To assume such a thing as possible, is to suppose that he must have been void of understanding. Not only is it inconceivable that he should have done this, but it is in the highest degree improbable that he was in possession of Matthew's discourse in any form. The Sermon on the Mount presents a completeness and a unity, and every characteristic of Luke as a writer leads us to believe that if he had had it before him, he would have preferred to substitute it in its completeness for the discourse which has been recorded by him; for while its contents are much less striking, it hardly contains any additional truths. If again we assume a common exemplar out of which both discourses have been composed, it is difficult to believe that Matthew would have purposely passed over all notice of the four woes which we read in Luke. On the whole, the phenomena of these discourses lead to the conclusion that the Sermon on the Mount and the discourse in Luke are distinct utterances, the Sermon on the Mount being our Lord's longest extant discourse, and that it must have been derived from the direct dictation of an apostolic man, and that Matthew was not aware of the discourse in Luke, nor Luke of that in Matthew. The similarities between them admit of being accounted for on the principles we have already stated.

In close connection with the discourses we have been considering, Matthew and Mark have related the healing of the centurion's servant. According to Matthew, the centurion came in person, and the whole dialogue is framed on this supposition. But Luke's account represents him not as coming himself, but as sending to our Lord the elders of the Jews to intercede for him. That this account contains the representation of the actual fact, there cannot be the smallest doubt.

When the centurion found that our Lord was actually on the road, Luke tells us that he sent friends with a message to our Lord expressing a sense of his unworthiness to receive him under his roof. This expression of humility the account in Matthew represents the centurion as uttering in person. What is remarkable is that the words in Matthew and Luke present the closest resemblance; Matthew, "Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof:" Luke, "Master, do not trouble thyself, for I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof, wherefore neither did I deem myself worthy to come to thee." These last words are omitted by Matthew, and their omission is exceedingly characteristic, not to say necessary, from his point of view, that the centurion, instead of sending friends to our Lord, came in person. In fact had Matthew known of their utterance, he could not have written the narrative in the form he has. Matthew, "But speak a word only;" Luke, "Speak in a word;" both, "And my servant shall be healed. For I am a man (Luke, "set") under authority, having under myself soldiers, and I say to this man, Go, and he goes, and to another, Come, and he comes, and to my servant, do this, and he does it. And Jesus;" Matthew, "having wondered at him, turned and said to those that followed him;" Luke, "wondered, and turned to the multitude following him, and said;" both, "Verily I say unto you, not even in Israel have I found such faith." Here Luke breaks off and describes the friends as returning and finding the sick servant well; but Matthew reports an important addition to our Lord's words, "I say to you, that many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Matthew then represents our Lord as addressing the centurion himself; "Go thy way, and as thou hast believed, be it to thee." These words in strict conformity with Luke's standing-point are omitted by him.

The common solution of the variation between the two Evangelists is, that what a man does through others he is said to do himself. This is often unquestionably true, but in this case it can hardly be said to solve all the phenomena of the narrative. It is evident that the whole account in Matthew is constructed to meet the supposition that the centurion came in his own person. Notwithstanding, therefore, the most remarkable agreement of the words attributed to him with those of the message in St. Luke, the account in Matthew carefully omits the words, "Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy

to come to thee." Now did Matthew know that these words were uttered? and if he knew that they were, how came he to write the narrative in a form which is inconsistent with their actual utterance? On the other hand, if we suppose the narratives entirely distinct one from the other, we are met by the fact of the identity of the words which Matthew puts into the mouth of the centurion, and which Luke describes as his message. The opening also of our Lord's address agrees in both Evangelists word for word, but the concluding passage, in which our Lord announced that the kingdom of God should be taken from the Jews and given to the Gentiles, is inserted by Matthew, who is supposed to have written for Jewish readers, and omitted by Luke, who wrote for Gentile ones. Is it conceivable that Luke, who certainly wrote for the benefit of Gentiles, knew that these words formed part of the address, and that he purposely omitted them, and afterwards inserted almost similar words in a wholly different connection? Then again, could Luke have known that our Lord used Matthew's concluding words, and have deliberately omitted them to suit his own view of the transaction? It will be found very difficult to answer these questions in the affirmative.

Now it is very possible that the centurion first sent to our Lord the Jewish rulers, then, on finding that he was coming in person, he sent friends to our Lord with the message, and finally that he came himself. If such were the case; it would solve all the facts mentioned by the Evangelists; but it is evidently not the supposition on which either of them wrote, as it is impossible to conceive that either of them would have written as he has, if he had the facts of the other before him. The phenomena compel us to assume that each Evangelist used a distinct memorandum, the compiler of one of which had sketched the story as it stands in Matthew, and of the other as it stands in Luke; and that in that used by Matthew the words must have been wanting which implied the presence of the centurion's friends, and in that used by Luke the words which announced the exclusion of the Jews from the Church, and the calling of the Gentiles. In memoranda drawn from memory such variations might easily originate.

But here we are met by the difficulty, that the words attributed by the one Evangelist to the centurion and by the other described as his message are identical; as are also the opening words assigned to our Lord. It is hardly conceivable that the memorandum used by Luke could have contained the concluding words assigned to our Lord in Matthew. These may have been omitted by a reporter, who aimed at narrating

the miracle and the faith of the centurion only, and in that form reduced it to writing. If our Lord spoke in Greek, the remaining difficulty arising from the identity of the words is at once accounted for: they are his actual utterance. But if in Aramaic, they must have been derived from a common Greek original. It is worthy of observation that in Matthew the servant is uniformly called *παῖς*; Luke in the narrative twice calls him *δοῦλος*, but in the message he is designated *παῖς*, as in Matthew. It is difficult to suppose that this is owing to accident. It evidently points to the fact that the words had a common origin. If so, and the utterance was in Aramaic, the original translation must have been the work of a single mind. If this were so, the memoranda used by Luke must have been composed after the story had obtained considerable currency in the Greek language.

A discourse respecting the power by which our Lord cast out demons (Matthew xii., Mark iii., Luke xi.) is recorded by the three synoptics. Although the point of time during our Lord's ministry when it was uttered is differently arranged by them, yet the phenomena of the discourse itself forbid us to consider that the account in Luke is a repetition of the same ideas on a different occasion. The discourses in Matthew and Luke both originate in the expulsion of a demon. In Matthew the demoniac is stated to have been both blind and dumb. In Luke he is dumb only. In Matthew and Mark, immediately after the discourse, an account is given of the attempt of his mother and his brethren to interrupt our Lord. This attempt is recorded in a very different connection by Luke, but it should be observed that in the place where he has introduced it, all definite note of time is wanting, but in Matthew and Mark it is inseparably united with the discourse. While Luke places this anecdote in a different connection, it is very remarkable that he has introduced into the body of the discourse a notice of the exclamation of a woman, extolling the blessedness of the mother of our Lord, and his remarks thereon. These differences are obviously not of such a nature as to compel us to assume that the discourses are distinct utterances in the face of the phenomena presented by their pointing to an opposite conclusion.

Matthew reports the objection of the Pharisees as being, "This fellow does not expel demons, except through Beelzebub, the prince of the demons." This is divided in Mark into two distinct statements, "They said that he has Beelzebub;" and, "In the prince of the demons he expels demons." In Luke the objection is ascribed to some of the bystanders, and in its

form it represents one of the divisions of Mark's sentence, "In Beelzebub, the prince of the demons, he expels demons." All three expressions are nearly allied. Luke adds that there were other persons who sought of him a sign from heaven. In Mark our Lord's answer commences with the question, "How can Satan cast out Satan?" Matthew and Luke represent our Lord as speaking in the form of a direct statement: "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation." Mark likewise gives kindred words, but in the form of a reasoned sentence: "If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom is not able to stand." The next sentence in Matthew is, "Every city or house divided against itself shall not stand:" Luke, "And house against house falls." But Mark uses the same kind of reasoned sentence, "And if a house be divided against itself, that house is not able to stand." The following sentence unites singular identities and divergencies of expression. Matthew, "And if Satan expel Satan, he is divided against himself:" Mark, "And if Satan rise up against himself, and is divided:" but Luke, "And if Satan be divided against himself:" Matthew and Luke then concur, "How shall his kingdom stand:" but Mark has it, "He is not able to stand, but has an end." In the next sentence Matthew and Luke again concur, and introduce a passage which is omitted by Mark: "And if I in Beelzebub cast out demons, your sons in whom do they cast them out. Therefore shall they be your judges. But if (Matthew, "in the spirit;" Luke, "in the finger of God") I cast out demons, in truth the kingdom of God has come upon you" (*ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*). Both the words and the arrangement, with one exception, are identical, and as they are peculiar, it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that they must have been derived from the same source of information. In the next sentence Matthew and Mark are in very close agreement, except that Matthew puts it in the form of a question and Mark of a direct affirmation. Matthew, "How is any one able to enter into the house of the strong man, and plunder his goods?" Mark, "No one is able to plunder the goods of the strong man, by entering his house." Matthew and Mark identically, "Except he first bind the strong man, and then he will plunder his house." Luke has the same idea, but the words in which it is expressed are so varied as to prove that they must have been derived from a different source of information. "But when the strong man armed guards his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a stronger than he attacks and conquers him, he takes away his panoply, in which he trusts, and divides his spoils." Matthew and Luke then

report the following sentence in precisely the same words, "He who is not with me is against me, and he who gathers not with me scatters." This is omitted by Mark; but in Matthew and Mark the next sentence very closely approximates, while it is altogether omitted by Luke in this place, but words of a similar meaning are inserted by him in a wholly different connection (Luke xii. 10). Matthew, "On this account:" Mark, "Verily I say unto you:" Matthew, "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men:" Mark, "All sins shall be remitted to the sons of men, and blasphemies, whatever they shall blaspheme:" Matthew and Mark, "But whosoever," Matthew, "shall speak against," Mark, "shall blaspheme against the (Matthew, "Holy") Spirit," Matthew, "it shall not be forgiven to him," Mark, "he has not remission for ever," Matthew, "neither in this dispensation (*αἰῶνι*) nor in the future," Mark, "but is in danger of (*αἰωνίου*) everlasting condemnation," or as other copies read, "sin." The corresponding passage in Luke xii. runs thus: "And every one who shall utter a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but to him who blasphemes the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven." In place of this saying Luke introduces the parable of the unclean spirit's departure from and return to his former habitation. In reporting this he agrees with Matthew, who records it in words nearly identical, but transposes it to the end of the discourse. Matthew and Luke, "When the unclean spirit has gone out from a man, he traverses dry places, seeking rest;" Matthew, "and not finding it, he says;" Luke, "And does not find it. Then he says:" Matthew and Luke, "I will return to my house whence I came out. And coming he finds it (Luke, "empty") swept and garnished. Then he goes and takes (Luke, "with himself") seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and entering, they dwelt there. And the last state of that man became worse than the first." Matthew adds, "Thus shall it be also to this wicked generation." The verbal identity of these two passages is so striking, as to force on us the conclusion that in both Evangelists the words must have sprung from the same original.

But in Mark the discourse ends with our Lord's denunciation of the sin of blaspheming the Spirit. But Matthew proceeds to tell us that certain of the Scribes and Pharisees expressed a wish that our Lord would shew them a sign from heaven. Both Matthew and Luke then report a discourse directly growing out of this demand. But Matthew has introduced a long paragraph between the denunciations of blaspheming against the Spirit, and his notice of the question of the Pharisees. It begins with, "Either make the tree good," etc., and ends with, "by thy

words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Matthew and Luke then resume. Matthew—"An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign." Luke—"This generation is an evil generation: it seeks a sign." Matthew and Luke—"And a sign shall not be given to it, but the sign of Jonas," Matthew—"the prophet." Here the two Evangelists vary the words of the following utterance: "For as Jonas was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, thus the Son of man shall be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." But Luke simply has it: "As Jonas became a sign to the Ninevites, so the Son of man shall be to this generation." The sentence, as reported in Matthew, is a wider assertion than the corresponding one in Luke. On this follow the two sentences about the men of Nineveh and the queen of the south, but they are transposed in the two Evangelists. Matthew's order is certainly the more probable. The first are word for word alike, and the two next present us with the most inconsiderable variation. Matthew and Luke—"The men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it, for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with," Luke—"the men of this generation, and shall condemn," Matthew—"it," Luke—"them," Matthew and Luke—"for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold a greater than Solomon is here." Luke then introduces a few sentences exactly similar in meaning and nearly similar in words to some of those occurring in the Sermon on the Mount.

At the conclusion of the discourse Matthew and Mark both concur in placing the attempt of his mother and brethren to interrupt our Lord, and his remarks thereon, Matthew telling us that it took place while he was speaking. In both the language is nearly identical. In the corresponding place in Luke, into which this anecdote has been transposed, the language in which it is described is of a more general character. Matthew—"While he was speaking to the multitude, behold, his mother and his brethren stood without desiring to speak to him," Mark—"his brethren and his mother came, and standing without, sent to him calling him, and the crowd set on him," Matthew—"And some one said to him;" Mark—"And they said to him," both—"Behold thy mother and thy brethren," Matthew—"stand without seeking to speak with thee," Mark—"outside seek thee." But Luke has it, "There came to him his mother and his brethren, and they were not able to get at him for the

crowd. And it was told him by them, saying, Thy mother and thy brethren stand outside desiring to see thee." Matthew and Mark slightly vary the answer. Both—"Who is my mother?" Matthew—"and who are," Mark—"or," "my brethren?" Matthew—"And he, stretching out his hand toward his disciples, said," Mark—"And looking round on those who set about him, he says," both—"Behold my mother and my brethren, for whosoever shall do the will," Mark—"of God," Matthew—"of my Father who is in heaven," both—"the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." But Luke reports this in a very concise and general form, "My mother and my brethren are those who hear the will of God and do it."

Now this discourse presents us with phenomena of a very peculiar character. Matthew and Luke are in general agreement as to the utterances of which it consisted. Mark has omitted the whole of the latter portion of it. Still he concurs with Matthew as to what constituted its closing scene, the attempt of his mother and his brethren to interrupt our Lord, which is placed by Luke, who agrees with Matthew in all the main incidents, in a different connection. Although Matthew and Luke agree as to all the main features of the discourse, there are sentences in Matthew and Mark which present us with a closer verbal approximation than they do in Luke. A few passages in Matthew and Luke, which present a very close verbal identity, are transposed. All three Evangelists, have identities of expression which are only explicable on the supposition, notwithstanding the remarkable diversities which the three versions of the discourse present, that the original form of the words must have had a common origin.

The omissions in Mark in this discourse are very considerable, and the whole context has the appearance of being in a very fragmentary form. The discourse directly follows the calling of the Apostles. Immediately after the call, Mark states that they retired into a house. The multitude came together, so that they had no time to eat. No notice whatever is taken of the cure of the demoniac, out of which the discourse originated. The statement that our Lord's friends went out to lay hold on him is introduced before the discourse, and is again resumed at its conclusion. The narrative in Mark, although it does not assert that our Lord had left the house, evidently implies that he had done so, when it tells us that his brethren went out to lay hold on him, and the mode in which it is introduced forms a very undesigned coincidence with the statement in the other Evangelists. The form in which the discourse stands, presents the appearance of having been derived from a memorandum

which confined itself simply to the statement of the expressions of our Lord directly bearing on the charge made against him of working by Satanic influence.

Now is it probable that Mark had the additional portions of the discourse which we read in Matthew or Luke before him, and deliberately left them out? If we suppose that he has done so, we are compelled to assume that an Evangelist must have exercised a large amount of discretion in forming a judgment as to what were, or were not, important utterances of our Lord. We cannot account for such omissions on the supposition that the Spirit informed the writer that such portion of our Lord's discourse was not of general applicability; for then the omission would have extended to all the Evangelists. It is obviously impossible to assume that the Spirit directed one Evangelist to omit what he has directed another Evangelist to insert. If, therefore, Mark had the whole of the discourse before him, we must assume that he took this liberty with our Lord's words, and that he omitted them because he viewed them as unimportant, an assumption completely at issue with all the phenomena presented by the Evangelists, who have not permitted scarcely a trace of their individuality to appear in their reports of the words of our Lord. The natural explanation of the phenomena in Mark is, that he used a memorandum which had been composed from the account of some apostolic man, and that the compiler of it reduced to writing only that portion of the discourse which had the most direct bearing on the ascription of our Lord's miracles to Satan. In accordance with this the account ends with the words, "Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit."

Now the discourse in Matthew and Luke presents a very striking general agreement. Still it is impossible to assume that they could have used precisely the same source of information, or have copied from the same document. Had they done so, it is impossible to conceive on what principle the transpositions have been made. In this case also, either Matthew must have had an additional source of information, and from it he must have introduced the passage omitted by Luke, or else Luke must have taken on himself to judge that the contents of this paragraph are unimportant. Still the reports of the two Evangelists so closely resemble each other, that we must assume that they have been derived from two sources of information of a very kindred character. We are compelled, therefore, to assume that the words used by them, and attributed to our Lord, must have undergone a slight amount of deflection in the course of transmission, and that they must have used two distinct memo-

randa which sprung out of a common source, but which had become deflected in the degree in which we read them in the two Evangelists in the course of oral delivery, or by the respective authors of them. But here we are met by a remarkable fact, that there are passages in Mark which present a greater degree of agreement with those in Matthew than the corresponding passages in Luke. While Mark has inserted, in strict agreement with Matthew, our Lord's direct denunciation of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, Luke has omitted it. This is very remarkable, because Luke has inserted a similar denunciation in another place. It is inconceivable, therefore, that had Luke known that it formed part of this utterance (as it unquestionably did), that he should have omitted it. Still less is it conceivable that if it were contained in any memorandum used by him, that he would have deliberately struck it out, as he must have done if he knew that it formed part of the utterance. We must conclude, therefore, that it was wanting in the memorandum used by him.

The phenomena presented by the discourse imply that it originally existed in a common form, from which the three versions contained in the synoptics have become deflected. The threefold form in which we read the objection of the Pharisees is an instance of this. Here Luke is more closely allied to Mark than he is to Matthew, though the words in all three versions present traces of a common origin. In the first utterance of our Lord the words in Matthew and Luke are closely allied. Mark's presents a deflection from both. In the following sentence the words in Luke are evidently an abridgment of the longer expressions of the other two. In form they more nearly agree with Matthew. The opening clause of the following sentence presents us with three distinct varieties of construction united with verbal identities. The conclusion in Matthew and Luke is word for word alike. In Mark they are varied. The following sentence in Matthew and Luke is identically alike even to the extent of a peculiar arrangement of the words. This verbal agreement is so remarkable, as to prove that it must have grown out of an original Greek form. In Mark a sentence is wanting. But while the next sentence in Matthew and Mark is in close verbal agreement, the corresponding sentence in Luke, while it expresses the same thought, has a greater variety of expression than any of the preceding, and in fact presents a very small degree of affinity with that in Matthew. But it is most singular that the following sentence, which is omitted by Mark, is the same in Matthew and Luke word for word. Then follows the clause containing the denunciation of blasphemy against the Holy

Spirit, which presents a close verbal identity in Matthew and Mark, but which is entirely omitted by Luke. At this point Mark parts company with the other two, but he here introduces the attempt of Mary and the brethren, which Matthew also has placed at the termination of the discourse reported by him, and in doing so he again agrees with Matthew and dissents from Luke. The whole of the intermediate discourse in Matthew and Luke has so strong a verbal agreement, as to prove that it must have originated in the same source of information, the chief difference being that Matthew has inserted an additional utterance of our Lord, either spoken on this occasion, or which has been introduced by the Evangelist from some other context. In all other respects the identity is complete until Luke at the close introduces four utterances of our Lord, which are found elsewhere in Matthew word for word, and which have a very small connection with the present discourse.

The phenomena prove that the utterance recorded in Luke is the same as that reported by Matthew, with which the internal evidence as closely identifies it as the one found in Mark. The narrative of the words giving an account of the attempt made by Mary and the brethren differ in Luke from those reported in the other Evangelists; but the difference is no greater than we find in other reports of what must have unquestionably been the same discourse. It is in the highest degree improbable that the same act was attempted to be repeated by them twice. This narrative, therefore, has been placed out of its proper order by Luke. The threefold account presents strong evidence of having grown out of a common original, from which our present discourses are deflections. Each Evangelist must have used a distinct memorandum in its composition, but the different memoranda must have contained striking verbal analogies. Those used by Matthew and Luke must have been more nearly allied to each other than that used by Mark. Mark's contained alternate agreements with the other two. These singular agreements and disagreements strongly corroborate the historical character of the whole account. They are such as would never have been hit by forgers or mythologists, although they might easily have arisen in memoranda made from recollection. Nothing is more remarkable than the preservation of the sameness of the thought amidst the diversity of the expression.

All three Evangelists report our Lord's instructions to the Apostles. Matthew's is by far the fullest. A considerable portion of the discourse in Matthew is found in Luke in a different connection.

Matthew represents our Lord as saying, "Go not into the

way of the Gentiles, and do not enter into a village of the Samaritans. But rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But going, preach, saying that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out demons. Freely you have received, freely give!" This passage is omitted both by Mark and Luke. This may possibly be accounted for on the principle that these two Gospels were intended for Gentile readers. If this is so, it renders the omission by Luke of our Lord's declaration at the healing of the centurion's servant—that the kingdom of God should be taken from the Jews and bestowed on the Gentiles, the more remarkable, and the inference the more certain, that it could not have been contained in the authorities used by him. Equally striking is the fact that it should have been inserted by Matthew in a Gospel chiefly designed for Jewish readers. It proves that he had an express utterance of our Lord to that effect.

Matthew then proceeds. "Do not acquire gold, nor silver, nor brass, for your purses." This is represented in Mark and Luke, "Take nothing for your journey but a staff (Luke—"staves") only." Matthew—"Nor a scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff." Mark and Luke—"Nor a scrip, nor bread." Mark—"Nor brass for your purse." But Luke—"Nor silver." Mark—"But be shod with sandals, and do not put on two coats." Luke has this, "Nor have two coats." At this point Mark presupposes a pause in the discourse. Matthew—"And into whatever city ye enter, search out whoever in it is worthy, and there remain till you depart." In Mark this is varied into, "And whenever ye shall enter into a house;" in Luke—"into whatsoever house ye shall enter." Mark—"there remain until ye depart thence." Luke—"there remain and depart thence." Here Matthew introduces a sentence which is omitted by the other two, "And entering into the house, salute it, and if the house is worthy, let your peace come upon it. But if it be not worthy, let your peace turn back to you." Matthew continues, "And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words." This is expressed by Mark and Luke in the plural; Luke omitting the last clause, "As many as shall not receive you nor hear you." Matthew, "Going out from that house or city." Luke—"Going out from that city." But Mark—"Going out from thence." Matthew—"Wipe off the dust (*κονιορτὸν*^a) from your feet." Mark—"Wipe off the mould (*χοῦν*) from beneath your feet for a testimony against them." In Luke we read, "Even the dust (*κονιορτὸν*) from your feet wipe off for a

^a *Κονιορτὸν*, light dust. *Χοῦν* is earth, mud, mould.

testimony against them." This variation is as remarkable as it is minute. The dust (*κονιορτόν*) would cleave loosely to the feet and legs in walking. Matthew and Luke have, therefore, given no general specification. But Mark, who uses the word mould (*χοῦν*), which, in walking with sandals, would closely adhere under the feet, reports our Lord's utterance; "Wipe it off *from under* your feet." Mark alone notices the direction to be shod with sandals. Matthew and Mark continue, "It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city." Here the discourse in Mark terminates as it did in Luke with the preceding sentence. Matthew's report, however, continues the discourse through several additional paragraphs. Some of these are found in Mark and Luke in a wholly different context. In the next chapter Luke records a discourse addressed to the seventy. While this embraces much the same topics as those in the discourse to the twelve, they are expressed in greater detail. The variation in words also is considerable. This proves that when our Lord repeated the same thoughts twice over, he did not always embody them in the same language.

We must now compare the remainder of the discourse as reported by Matthew with passages which correspond in Mark and Luke, but in a widely different connection. The next portion of the utterance in Matthew is nearly identical in words and phrases with a part of our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem as given by Mark, and in a less degree as reported by Luke (Matthew x.; Mark xiii.). Matthew—"Beware of men." Mark—"See to yourselves." Both—"They shall deliver you to councils and," Matthew—"they shall scourge you." Mark—"Ye shall be beaten;" both—"in synagogues." Matthew, "And ye shall be led," Mark—"ye shall be placed;" both—"before governors and kings on account of me for a testimony," Matthew—"against them," Mark—"to them." Matthew—"When they shall deliver you up." Mark—"When they shall lead you, delivering you up," both—"do not be anxious," Matthew—"how or," both—"what ye shall say." Matthew—"For it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say." Mark—"But whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, this say." Both—"For it is not ye that speak, but," Matthew—"the Spirit of your Father who speaketh in you;" Mark—"the Holy Spirit." Both—"And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and father the child; and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death; and ye shall be hated by all on account of my name. But he that shall endure to the end, this man shall be saved." In the midst of this utterance Mark

introduces the words, "And this Gospel must first be preached to all nations." Matthew's record of this portion of the prophecy is very concise. In it our Lord informs the Apostles of sufferings awaiting them, but the long and definite statement of Mark is wanting. Luke in substance agrees with Mark, but in an abridged form, and with no great degree of verbal identity.

The following are the passages in this discourse which possess a strong likeness both in thoughts and expression to utterances found in Luke xii. The context in which they stand, however, differ widely; for while in Matthew the whole utterance forms a continuous discourse addressed to the Apostles, in Luke the passages occur in a warning against hypocrisy spoken to the assembled multitude. Matthew and Luke—"Do not fear them, for there is nothing hidden which shall not be revealed, nor secret, which shall not be known." But the next sentence, although somewhat alike in words, is varied in thought. Matthew—"Whatsoever I say unto you in darkness, speak in the light." But Luke has it, "Wherefore as many things as ye say in darkness shall be heard in the light." Matthew—"And whatsoever ye hear in the ear, proclaim on the housetops." Luke—"And whatsoever ye shall hear in the ear in chambers shall be proclaimed on the housetops." Several words, as well as the tone of thought, unquestionably agree in these two utterances; but it is impossible to view the one as being the counterpart of the other. The next sentence is in close verbal agreement. Matthew and Luke—"Do not fear them who kill (*μη φοβηθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων*) the body," Matthew—"but are not able to kill the soul;" Luke—"and after this are not able to do anything more; but I will point out to you whom you shall fear." Matthew—"But rather fear him who is able to kill both body and soul in hell." Luke—"Fear him who, after killing, has power to cast into hell. Yea, I say unto you, Fear him." Next comes the illustration from the sparrows, alike in sense but varied in form. Both—"Are not," Matthew—"two," Luke—"five," both—"sparrows sold for," Matthew—"one," Luke—"two farthings, and one of them," Matthew—"shall not fall to the ground without your Father." Luke—"is not forgotten before God." Both—"For the hairs of your head are all numbered: do not fear." Matthew—"Therefore," both—"ye are of more value than many sparrows." A great agreement in words and thought pervades the two next paragraphs. Matthew and Luke—"Every one who shall confess in me (*ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ*) before men," Matthew—"I also," Luke—"the Son of man," both—"shall confess in him (*ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ*) before," Matthew—"my Father who is in heaven." Luke—"Before the angels

of God." Both—"But whosoever shall deny me (*ἀρνήσεται με*) before men shall be denied," Matthew—"before my Father who is in heaven." Luke—"Before the angels of God." Luke then inserts a denunciation of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, and a promise of the Spirit's aid when called on to make their defence. Although the sense is precisely similar to that found elsewhere in Matthew, the words in which it is expressed present but an inconsiderable amount of agreement. The discourse in Matthew contains two more additional paragraphs, one or two of the detached sayings of which are found in the other Evangelists, but in widely different connections.

Now it is obvious that if the discourses in Matthew's Gospel were derived from the testimony of that Apostle, those discourses which he himself heard ought to be set forth in this Gospel with peculiar fulness. That Matthew was present at the utterance of this discourse is unquestionable. If therefore it is the report of Matthew, it ought to present every mark of authenticity. It is six times the length of the corresponding discourses in Mark and Luke. The first portion of it contains directions respecting the special mission on which our Lord was then sending the Apostles. This is the only part of it which the other two Evangelists have recorded, although utterances embodying a considerable portion of the remainder are placed by them in different connections. The next portion of the discourse presents a peculiar aspect. Its instructions are but little applicable to their present short mission; but they are exactly suitable for the mission on which they were to proceed after the ascension. During their first mission they had the promise of a special supply of all their natural wants; not so in their second; for these they were to make careful provision. In their first they were to encounter little danger of persecution; in their second they were distinctly forewarned of this danger. The difference between the circumstances of these two missions is distinctly brought to their notice by our Lord at his last passover. The portion of the discourse which is peculiar to Matthew is chiefly occupied in impressing on them the reality of this danger, and in bringing before them such considerations and promises as would enable them to encounter it. This is the sum of the larger portion of the discourse. The promises which it contains are unusually large. So far then the fulness of this discourse is in agreement with the position occupied by Matthew.

Now when we compare that portion of the discourse which is reported by all three Evangelists, we find that in Matthew to be much the more definite and precise. Following Greswell's arrangement, in Matthew it is printed in forty lines, in Mark

in twenty-one, and in Luke thirteen. While Mark and Luke omit several things contained in Matthew, they insert nothing which he has not reported. The most remarkable of these omissions is the first, in which our Lord during this mission of the Apostles forbids them to preach either to the Gentiles or the Samaritans. It is conceivable that Mark and Luke might have had this passage before them, but as they were writing for Gentile converts, and the prohibition was only temporary, and was expressly repeated by our Lord's subsequent directions, they might have considered it unnecessary to incorporate it into their Gospels. Under these circumstances, we should not be justified in inferring from its absence that they might not have found it in the report which they followed. But the next omission cannot be accounted for on any similar principle. It is a direction how they were to conduct themselves on their entrance into the places in which they were to preach. The opening of the discourse in Mark is in the indirect form, and presents the appearance of a summary. Matthew having enumerated the things which the Apostles were not to take, gives as a reason that the labourer was worthy of his maintenance. This is omitted by Mark and Luke. The arrangement of the forbidden articles in Matthew is orderly: they are placed in the degree of their importance. In the others no certain order is observed. Mark omits the prohibition that they were not to carry shoes, but introduces the precept that they were to be shod with sandals. It is likewise omitted by Luke. While Matthew notices the distinct prohibitions of carrying gold, silver, or copper, in the other two we find as it were but an echo of this precept, Mark noticing copper only, and Luke silver. Another short precept contained in Matthew is omitted by Mark and Luke,—the direction to the Apostles on first entering into a city to make a careful enquiry who in it was worthy, before they took up their abode in a house. In Matthew the Apostles are simply directed to wipe off the dust from their feet; Mark and Luke, however, subjoin a reason for this; Mark giving it as “a testimony to them,” and Luke, “against them.” Mark concurs with Matthew in recording the saying, that it would be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for the city rejecting the Apostles, but Luke omits it.

All the phenomena therefore prove that the account followed by Mark and Luke was extremely fragmentary. It has the appearance of having been a memorandum which confined itself to reporting that portion of our Lord's utterance which gave instructions to the Apostles how they were to act during their first short mission. It is very possible that an apostolic man

may have narrated only this portion of the discourse, and from his account the memorandum followed by them may have been composed. While it is evident that the memoranda used by them were very closely allied, it is no less clear that they had undergone a slight deviation from the common type in the course of transmission. The variations between them, though inconsiderable, are real, but they are certainly such as no two writers would have purposely made if they had a common document before them. All three accounts, however, bear very distinct traces of having been deviations from a common original, being precisely of such a character as would arise if the discourse had been frequently repeated, and different memoranda originated out of those repetitions. We cannot hesitate to assign to the report in Matthew the rank of being the closest approach to our Lord's *ipsissima verba*. The variation which we find between Matthew and Mark, whether it was dust or mud (*κονιορτόν*, or *χούν*) which the Apostles were to wipe off, whether from their feet or from beneath them, shews that while the Evangelists have given us the precise ideas, they have not always reported those ideas in identical language.

The second portion of the discourse in Matthew must have been wanting in the memorandum used by Mark and Luke. It is evident that they have not omitted it because it was not their purpose to record the truths contained in it, for we find nearly every one of them recorded in another connection in their Gospels. The verbal similarity between the passages in Matt. x. 17—23 and Mark xiii. 9, 13 is of a very striking character, and it is most remarkable that the greater portion of the utterance and the entire verbal identity is wanting in the corresponding context in Matthew. If the words as recorded by Mark formed a portion of our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, Matthew may have omitted them in his account of that prophecy, because he had recorded them nearly *verbatim* as a portion of our Lord's instructions to the Apostles. In Luke, although the sense is nearly the same as in Mark, yet it is expressed in an abridged form, and the words are varied. Leaving out the words, "And it is necessary that the gospel should first be preached to all the Gentiles," which in Mark occur in the middle of the utterance, the similarity between Matthew's record of the discourse and the words of the prophecy in Mark is certainly of a very striking character. It is such that under all ordinary circumstances we should consider them as two reports of the same utterance. It seems hardly possible to account for the identity by assuming that it has originated by the same translator having translated both passages

from Aramaic into Greek. The phenomena seem only to leave us two alternatives: either our Lord must have spoken the same sentiments twice in the Greek tongue in nearly the same words, or he must have given utterance to the same ideas on each occasion; and the language which he used on one occasion has been incorporated into the other, or substituted for it. In favour of this latter alternative, we observe that each discourse is stated to have been a private one; that in Matthew having been addressed to all the Apostles, and that in Mark, to Andrew, Peter, James, and John. If the sentiments were exactly alike, the Apostles may have set them forth in a common form of words. The form in which the prophecy is recorded in Matthew is a sufficient testimony that it contained a prediction of a similar import to that which is contained in his tenth chapter. If it formed also a portion of the discourse, we can see a sufficient reason why he should have only so slightly alluded to it in the prophecy. In the course of transmission the words of the one may have been used to express the exactly similar thoughts of the other. But if the words in Matthew's discourse were not uttered on that occasion, but have been introduced from the corresponding passage in the prophecy, it is impossible that they can have been derived from the Apostle. Matthew was a hearer of the discourse, but not of the prophecy. He could not have helped knowing whether the words formed a portion of the discourse. His account of the words of the prophecy must have been derived from testimony. If therefore the discourse was derived from Matthew, even on the supposition that he is not the immediate author of the Gospel, but that a considerable portion of its materials are derived from his teaching, it must be assumed to be an accurate setting forth of the address which Matthew heard. The comparison of the phenomena presented by the three accounts strongly corroborates this supposition.

The difficulties which arise from finding thoughts expressed in words similar to portions of the utterance in Matthew in a discourse addressed to a different auditory in Luke's Gospel are less considerable. In Luke our Lord is condemning the sin of hypocrisy. All the thoughts are closely connected with, and naturally arise out of it. They suit the one occasion equally well as the other. The identities of expression in each discourse consist of a number of pointed sayings, which our Lord was likely to repeat in different connections as illustrations of different truths. These in the course of transmission would become expressed in language nearly identical. Some of these sentences undoubtedly present a remarkable similarity of idiom. But others differ both in words and thoughts. The declaration

about the future discovery of hidden things is a sententious aphorism, which may have been often uttered, and it suits both contexts equally well. But the inference drawn from it in Matthew differs entirely from that in Luke; the one declaring that the things which Christ said in secret should hereafter be proclaimed openly by the Apostles; the other, that whatever men might think that they had buried in concealment, should be brought to the clearest light. In the same manner the idioms in which the warning is conveyed, not to fear those who kill the body, strikingly agree, even to the extent of preserving the common Hebraism. But the illustration connected with them has all the appearance of an independent utterance. The number of the sparrows, and the price, differ in each; the difference in price being such as is common when a larger purchase is made, but the remainder of the words, while they convey precisely the same thought, present considerable variation. A similar agreement in idiom is found in the next two aphoristic sentences, and the variations are such as would grow up in the transmission of the same sayings by different reporters. But the identities of expression in all these instances are far from being sufficient to prove that they must be different accounts of the same utterance. The diversities with which they are closely united forbid it. The occasions also on which the discourses are stated to have been spoken wholly differ. On the other hand, the subject matter naturally called forth the same thoughts, which are exactly suited to the context. Still it is undeniable that the idioms in some cases present such an agreement in words as we should hardly expect under ordinary circumstances if the discourses were spoken on different occasions. But as they are all aphoristic sentences in which this identity is found, it is almost certain that as detached sayings they would have gained very considerable currency before either Gospel was committed to writing, and as such had become deeply impressed on the Christian consciousness. Whatever difference of idiom they may have been originally presented in, their aphoristic character would gradually lead to their becoming embodied in a common form of words, which became gradually incorporated in the different memoranda used by the authors of the Gospels.

It is a very singular fact, that in each of the discourses connected with John the Baptist a very close verbal identity is preserved throughout the common reports. Matthew and Luke give us an utterance of the Baptist which is nearly word for word the same. But the persons to whom it is addressed are differently stated by them. According to Matthew, it was spoken to the Pharisees and Sadducees; but Luke says that it

was addressed to the multitudes who came to be baptized. Matthew, however, had previously recognized the presence of great multitudes who came to his baptism, out of whom he specially selects the Pharisees to whom the discourse was addressed. The agreement in words is almost complete. Matthew and Luke—"Generations of vipers, who has warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance: and," Matthew—"think not," Luke—"do not begin," both—"to say in yourselves, We have Abraham as our father: for I say unto you, that God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid to the root of the trees. Every tree therefore not producing good fruit is cut down, and is cast into the fire." Here the continuous utterance in Luke ends. In Matthew, however, it is prolonged through several more lines, one or two expressions of which bear a close analogy to some which we find in St. John's Gospel. Matthew—"I indeed baptize you in water to repentance." John—"I baptize in water, but there stands in the midst of you one whom you do not know." Matthew—"But he who comes after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear." John—"He who comes after me, of whom I am not worthy to loose the latchet of his shoe." But Matthew continues, "He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit, and in fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and he will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire." The only passage in the other utterances of the Baptist recorded by John which contains words in common with this is, "He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit," but the context in which it occurs differs widely. The former utterance, which so nearly agrees with that in Matthew, is expressly stated by John to have been addressed to the Pharisees. Luke, however, who makes the parallel discourse in Matthew to break off in the manner we have seen, records a dialogue between John and different classes of his hearers. To this there is nothing similar in either Evangelist. He then gives us the passage in Matthew which so closely agrees with that in John, as a separate utterance of the Baptist. The verbal variations between the two accounts are very inconsiderable. Matthew, instead of "baptize with water," adds "unto repentance," which is omitted by Luke. Luke uses *ἐρχεται* instead of *ἐστι*, and omits "he who comes after me." Matthew says, "Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear," but Luke, "Whose shoe latchet I am not worthy to loose." A portion of this same passage is also recorded by Mark with the smallest possible variation.

Notwithstanding therefore that the identities of the expressions which Matthew and Luke attribute to the Baptist are so complete, yet it is impossible that they could have exclusively used either the same document or the precisely same source of information. If Luke had Matthew's before him, he must have added the dialogue, suppressed the fact that the utterance was addressed to the Pharisees and Sadducees, and have separated off the concluding sentences of the discourse in Matthew into a separate utterance spoken on a different occasion. If Matthew used Luke's account, he must have inserted the information that the Pharisees and Sadducees were the persons addressed, have deliberately omitted the dialogue, and have united Luke's separate utterance to the original discourse. That either of the Evangelists should have purposely made these alterations is all but incredible.

But the utterances themselves are almost identically alike, and this requires to be accounted for. Whence this identity united with diversity? The phenomena indicate that each Evangelist must have been in possession of a memorandum which set forth the address of the Baptist in exactly the same words. It had undergone, therefore, the smallest amount of oral transmission before it was committed to writing in the Greek language. Matthew's information enabled him to supply the fact that it was specially addressed to the scribes and Pharisees. Luke's investigations furnished him with the dialogue between the Baptist and his auditors, and enabled him to ascertain that the concluding paragraph was a distinct utterance. The phenomena do not enable us to arrive at any distinct conclusion respecting the passage in John, except that it certainly proves that those persons who assert that St. John composed the discourses which he has attributed to the Baptist, and put them into his mouth, have arrived at a conclusion which the facts do not justify. A portion of the words closely resembles those in Matthew and Luke, and by both Matthew and John are stated to have been addressed to Pharisees. But as it may be taken for granted that the Baptist addressed Pharisees more than once, and the utterance is one which was likely to have been repeated by him, we cannot infer from the verbal agreement the identity of the discourses.

But it is impossible not to be struck by the fact, that not only is this utterance in Matthew and Luke verbally identical, but our Lord's discourses, in which allusion is made to the Baptist in both these Evangelists, present a sameness of language little less striking. When we consider how diversified in expression are other parallel discourses in Matthew and Luke, a

cause must exist for this identity in these particular utterances. The probable reason would appear to be, that these two Evangelists must have used memoranda which described the utterances of the Baptist and our Lord's comments on his character and mission, which were probably composed and carefully preserved by John's disciples. We know from the Acts that followers of the Baptist existed many years after his death, who although not Christians, closely approximated with Christianity, and were easily brought within the pale of the Church. These must have had a common bond which united them. Is it credible that a man like Apollos was without some account of the Baptist's teaching? After the number of years which had elapsed, it must have existed in a written form. The same spirit which induced many to set forth narratives of things more surely believed amongst Christians, would not be entirely quiescent among the followers of the Baptist. The narrative in Luke implies that Apollos, although he knew only the baptism of John, was far from being ignorant of every truth connected with Christ. What Aquila and Priscilla did was to explain to him the way of God more perfectly. There were, therefore, sources of information open to Apollos respecting Jesus. When Paul converted twelve of John's disciples at Ephesus, the account in Luke implies that they had at least a partial acquaintance with Christian truth. Nothing is more probable than that the followers of the Baptist would carefully treasure up the utterances of our Lord, describing the dignity of their founder. When we consider that the followers of the Baptist undoubtedly professed much of the rigidness of Judaism, it may help us to account for the small variation in form which these utterances present. His followers were few in number, and the utterances treasured up by them would be less the subject of oral recitation than the great utterances of our Lord. From this source Matthew and Luke probably derived the utterances connected with the Baptist, which present such a singular degree of verbal identity.

We quote the brief account in Matthew xiii. and Mark vi. of the opinions expressed about our Lord at Nazareth, as another illustration of the mode in which the sayings of the Gospels were originally transmitted. Matthew—"From whence, say the Nazarenes, to this man is this wisdom and the mighty works?" But Mark—"From whence to this man are these things? And what the wisdom which is given to him, that also such mighty works are done by his hands?" Matthew—"Is not this man the carpenter's son?" Mark—"Is not this man the carpenter?" Matthew—"Is not his mother named Mary?" Mark—"The son

of Mary?" Matthew—"And his brethren are;" Mark—"the brother of;" both—"James and Joses, and Simon and Judas, and are not his sisters," Matthew—"all with us?" Our Lord's reply, Matthew and Mark—"No prophet is dishonoured except in his own country," Mark—"and in his own kin," both—"and in his own house." In the narrative, part of this account varies considerably. The variations which we have noticed are exactly such as would arise if the transmission of the discourses during the quarter of a century next succeeding to the ascension was such as we have supposed; and if the Evangelists derived their respective accounts from similar sources of information.

Matt. xvi., Mark viii., Luke ix., contain a prophecy of our Lord's death, and an account of his rebuke of Peter. The prophecy is nearly word for word the same. All three—"It behoves (Matthew, "him") the Son of man (Matthew, "to go to Jerusalem, and") to suffer many things," Mark—"and to be rejected," all three—"of the elders, and the chief priests and scribes, and to be killed, and on the third day (Mark—"after three days") to rise again." Matthew gives the words of Peter, which are omitted by Mark and Luke. "May it be propitious to thee, Lord; this shall not be to thee." In fact, Luke passes over all notice of Peter's rebuke, although he records the discourse which arose out of it. Matthew and Mark—"Get thee behind me, Satan;" Matthew—"you are my stumbling-block;" both—"for you think not the things of God, but the things of men." All three resume, Matthew and Luke—"If any one;" Mark—"whoever;" all three—"wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross (Mark—"daily"), and follow me; for whosoever wishes to save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for my sake," Mark—"and the Gospel," Matthew—"shall find it;" Mark and Luke—"This man shall save it." Matthew and Mark—"For what will a man profit (Luke—"be profited"), if he gain the whole world, and lose his own life." This last idea is represented in Luke by the expression, "Gaining the whole world, but having destroyed or lost himself." Matthew and Mark—"Or what shall a man give as a ransom for his life?" Matthew alone—"for the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and he shall repay to each according to his deeds." But Mark and Luke have, "For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words (Mark adds, "in this generation adulterous and sinful"), the Son of man shall be ashamed of him, when He shall come in the glory of his Father;" Mark—"with;" Luke—"and of" "the holy angels." All three—"Verily I say unto you, There are some of those standing here, who shall not taste of death until they

shall have seen," Matthew—"the Son of man coming in his kingdom;" Mark—"the kingdom of God come in power;" Luke—"the kingdom of God."

Now how can we account for these most singular identities, variations, and omissions? What documents or information had each Evangelist before him when he wrote his Gospel? Could they have copied from and altered the account of one another? Could they have had the complete discourse before them, or any written document containing it in a complete form, and have made the alterations in it which each has respectively? Respecting these two last alternatives, we all feel instinctively, on comparing the variations, and observing their utter absence of purpose, that they are impossible. The passage in Matthew, which begins, "The Son of Man shall come," and that in Mark and Luke, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me," is either two distinct utterances, or intended to express the same ideas in different words. If they are distinct utterances, what could have induced either Evangelist to suppress one of them? Surely if our Lord uttered both, neither Evangelist would on his own judgment have pronounced half the utterance needless. Although the same in general idea, they put it in very different points of view. It cannot be said that either Evangelist has omitted either passage, because he thought it a needless repetition. If our Lord uttered both, this supposition is out of the question. But if we assume that the Evangelists had before them the same utterance which they have chosen to express in language thus diversified, on what ground can we suppose that they have ventured on so wide an alteration, while they have preserved the larger portion of the utterance word for word alike? The alteration could have served no purpose, for it is evident that the general truth contained in both passages is the same. Why, again, has Luke omitted all notice of the rebuke of Peter by our Lord while he records the words consequent on it? Why has Mark recorded our Lord's rebuke, but omitted the words in which Peter rebuked our Lord, which Matthew has preserved? If the Evangelists had before them a document or information of any kind containing all the facts and words which the threefold account brings before us, on what conceivable principle could each writer have made the omissions which his Gospel presents, then resumed his account in expressions word for word identically alike, and preserved unaltered the common facts of the discourse with scarce a single verbal disagreement?

It is evident that we must take it for granted, that no such kind of information was in possession of either Evangelist when he wrote his Gospel. It is utterly inconceivable that any three

human writers could have composed three discourses like these if they had precisely the same materials before them. But if these discourses were the subject of frequent repetition, and if memoranda were composed by different hearers of such repetitions, it becomes intelligible how such variations have originated. The more difficult problem is to account for so large a portion of a discourse in three different accounts of it, derived from independent memoranda, being verbally alike. The authors of such memoranda would doubtless be careful to preserve the words of the utterance as far as they were able. This they could succeed in doing if the memorandum were made before the discourse had passed through many stages of transmission. In the case of the present discourse the variations consist of omissions. The same ideas are for the most part expressed in the same words. But in a large number of the discourses kindred thoughts are expressed in words more or less varied in expression. In such cases the memoranda used by the Evangelists must have passed through more than one transmission, which has caused the deviation from the common type. We infer, therefore, that in composing their reports of this discourse, the Evangelists must have used separate memoranda, but which were composed before the original words had varied materially from a common type. The verbal identities prove that they must have originated out of a report of our Lord's utterance in Greek; or if that utterance were in Aramaic, that the three accounts have sprung out of a common original translation.

The only remaining important parallel discourse is the account of the temptation. In Matthew and Luke the verbal identity is remarkable. This may be accounted for from its consisting largely of quotations from the Old Testament. A general account is given by Mark, but with considerable variations from the other two. He gives us neither the words of the tempter nor of our Lord. His account is evidently a very general and abridged one. He agrees, however, with Luke in representing that our Lord was tempted during the whole of the forty days, which we should not have gathered from Matthew. Mark also states that he was with the wild beasts; and from the mode in which he has stated it, we should suppose that during the whole forty days angels came and ministered to our Lord. The notice of their presence is altogether omitted by Luke. But Matthew is express that their appearance took place after the end of the temptation, and the termination of the forty days' fast. It is very remarkable that in Luke the place of the last temptation is transposed. Every consideration shews that the order in Matthew is the right one. This seems so obvious, that

even if it were differently arranged in the memorandum used by Luke, we can hardly help thinking that the Evangelist would have corrected it as a manifest error. We are inclined, therefore, to consider that the transposition must have originated in the inadvertence of an early transcriber.

The identities of expression are so complete that we shall simply notice the variations. In the first temptation Matthew has the plural where Luke has the singular—λίθοι, λίθος, ἄρτοι, ἄρτος. In the second temptation, Luke adds the words ἐντεῦθεν, and adds to Satan's quotation of the ninety-first Psalm the words (τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε), "to keep thee." The third temptation is varied. Matthew—"These things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Luke—"I will give thee all this power and this glory, for it is delivered to me; and to whomsoever I will, I give it. If then you will worship before me, all shall be yours." To our Lord's answer he adds the words, "behind me" (ὀπίσω μου).

Here again, notwithstanding the degree of identity in the words, all the phenomena prove the independent sources of the two accounts. If Matthew had before him the addition which Luke gives to the devil's words in the last temptation, is it conceivable that he could have omitted them? What purpose could the omission have served? No writer would have wilfully struck them out unless he had doubted their authenticity. We must conclude, therefore, that they were wanting in the account followed by Matthew. The other variations between the Evangelists must be assigned to a similar reason. The memorandum used by Mark must have been very brief, or he has designedly abridged it. Short as it was, however, it must have contained one or two additional facts, and have more nearly approximated to that used by Luke than to that employed by Matthew. We conclude, therefore, that each Evangelist must have used a distinct memorandum or other source of information, which must have originated in a similar manner to those which were used for the preceding discourse.

The following conclusions are most clearly established by this examination of the parallel discourses in the Evangelists:—

1. Neither of the Evangelists had before him the Gospel of another when he composed his own, nor has either of the synoptic Gospels been derived one from another.

2. No one large collection of our Lord's discourses was used in common by the Evangelists, out of which they have composed the discourses in their Gospels, either by making omissions, abridgments, alterations, or separate translations.

3. The phenomena indicate that each Evangelist used inde-

pendent memoranda in the composition of his Gospel, and that he introduced into them such independent sources of information as were within his reach.

4. These memoranda varied in length and minuteness of detail. Some of them handed down the same thoughts in the same words. In others the same thoughts were expressed in a considerable diversity of expression. They all originated out of a common type in the Greek tongue. The language of the memoranda was varied in proportion to the peculiar circumstances of their authors, or their distance from the original sources of information.

5. Varied in expression as were the memoranda used by the Evangelists, they have presented us in the Gospels with the same Christ. Neither Evangelist has introduced any foreign element in the utterances which he has ascribed to him. The teaching in the discourses presents a complete and unbroken unity.

6. The number of the memoranda used by the Evangelists was very considerable.

7. The greater the number of these memoranda, and the more varied the media through which the discourses were transmitted before they were incorporated in the Gospels, the stronger is the proof which is afforded by the unity of character presented by Christ, and the identity of the doctrines contained in the discourses, that a divine influence guided the minds of the Evangelists in the composition of the Gospels.

8. The peculiar character of the phenomena presented by these discourses, and the evidence which they afford as to the sources out of which they have originated, fully establish the historical fact that they represent the veritable utterances and teaching of our Lord, and are alike repugnant to the theory that they have originated in the form of myths, or that they have been deliberately composed by others with the design of falsely attributing them to our Lord.

9. The phenomena distinctly prove that each Evangelist made use of his own natural faculties in the composition of his Gospel, and that the supernatural assistance afforded him was not for the purpose of rendering needless the exertion of those faculties, or of superseding them, but of aiding and assisting their imperfections.

10. Whatever difficulties the varied forms in which the same utterance is expressed may present, they afford the most incontestible proof that the teaching of the Gospels has not originated with impostors or enthusiasts, and that it is not the work of a pious fraud, but is a veritable representation of the actual teaching of Jesus Christ.

KAREN TRADITIONS AND OPINIONS.

[In 1843 there appeared a second edition of a small book with the following title: "The Karens: or, Memoir of Ko Thah-Byu: the first Karen convert. By a Karen Missionary. Tavoy: Karen Mission Press." The memoir of Ko Thah-Byu is followed by an appendix (pp. 151—210), containing much that is curious. Now that our Ethnological and Anthropological Societies are so active in their exertions, and exciting so much attention, it seems desirable to preserve as completely as we can the records of tribes and nations which are gradually succumbing to the metamorphic influences of modern missions and civilization. No doubt the following details have many of them found their way into the world, but we are not aware that they have all been reprinted; and whether they have been reprinted or not they will be new to many, and become at any rate accessible to those who wish to read them. The compiler was of course an American connected with the Christian mission to the Karens, and the memoir which he has written of the "first Karen convert" proves him to have been thoroughly familiar with the people. Comment upon the extraordinary resemblance between some of the Karen sayings and Scripture passages is unnecessary. The only question for us would be to discover, if possible, how this resemblance is to be explained and accounted for. The natural solution, and perhaps the true one, is that the Karens, prior to their migration to their present habitation, Burmah, had received instruction from the professors of a creed which was at once monotheistic and opposed to idolatry. Was it Judaism? Was it Christianity? What was it?—*ED. J. S. L.*]

The Karens have well defined traditions of being comparatively recent emigrants in Tavoy. They say, "The elders said, we came down from the upper country. Some fled from punishment, and some came because they heard that it was a good country. At first, we came down and settled on the Attaran; next, we came to Ya; and finally to Tavoy." The tradition receives confirmation from the fact, that while the dialects spoken at Tavoy and Maulmain differ in many respects, the Karens on Belu Island at the mouth of the Salwen, are said to speak "precisely the same dialect as that at Tavoy;" which may be easily accounted for on the supposition, that the Karens on the island are a part of the original wanderers from the upper country, that did not go further south.

The testimony of tradition is equally definite as to their

recent introduction into Siam. They say, "The elders said, the Karens have not been long in Siam. Many went thither when Martaban was destroyed, because they heard it was a good country; some, that the Siamese had kidnapped, were there before; and some went when the Siamese besieged Tavoy." This tradition is made probable by the well-established fact, that there are no Karens in Siam except on the western side of the Meinam. It is well known that there are none in Arracan, except a few that have straggled over the mountains into the southern province of Sandoway. Thus we are enabled to trace them satisfactorily to the valleys of the Irrawaddy and the Salwen; and we have equally definite traditions that their home is not there; but whence they came to inhabit these regions is not clear. Tradition says, "The Karens, anciently, came from beyond the waters of running sand, and having marked out Zimmay for themselves, returned. Afterwards, when they came to dwell there, they found the Shans occupying the country. Then the Karens cursed them, saying, 'Dwell ye in the dividing of countries. May Ava make war on you on one side, and Siam on the other.'" There is a hint on this subject in Dr. Richardson's account of the Red Karens, who, he says, represent themselves as coming from the north-west. Malte Brun, too, arguing from the accounts of Marco Polo, confirms this tradition. He concludes, "Thus the country of Caride is the south-east point of Thibet, and perhaps the country of the nation of the Cariaines; which is spread over Ava."

This view is strongly confirmed by Mr. Kincaid, who, writing wholly from original sources of information, says, "The result of all my inquiries is, that Kakhyen is only another name for the *Karens*. All these mountain tribes, through the whole extent of the Shyan country and still north into Thibet, are called Kakhyens, except in the Hukong valley, between Mogaung and Assam, where they are called Thing-bau-kakhyen. The whole mountain country between Mogaung and Cathay is inhabited by the same people. Around the Martaban gulf, and thence inland as far as the Burman population has ever extended, the mountain tribes are called Karens. Between Rangun and Toung-oo, and between Toung-oo and Ava, they are very numerous, as also between Toung-oo and Monay, a Shyan city, about two hundred and fifty miles east of Ava. There are some tribes scattered along between Burmah and the Shyan states, called Karen-nee, Red Karens, and these extend as far east as Zimmay. These are less civilized than those who live in the vicinity of Burman towns. Some have erroneously considered them as belonging to the Shyan family. Their language and

everything else pertaining to them is Karen. In addition to this, the south-east part of Thibet is inhabited by Kakhyens; at least I have reason to believe so, as the Shyans, who live in the most northern part of Burmah and adjoining Thibet, call the country, 'The Kakhyen country.' It will be seen, then, that these mountain tribes are scattered over a vast extent of country, and their population I make to be about five millions."

Dr. Helfer testifies strongly to the "Caucasian countenance" of the *Karens*, and Captain Hanney says, "The Kakhyens are remarkable among all the nations around them in being wholly destitute of the Tartar countenance, having long faces and straight noses." Testimony so independent and so free from all theory on the subject, goes far to prove the identity of these tribes.

Admitting that the Karens are emigrants from the borders of China and Thibet, it could hardly be expected that at Tavoy much evidence of the fact would be found. Still there are some things in their customs and traditions which point strongly that way. The nation is divided into two parties, which may not be improperly denominated sects: the one is in the constant practice of offering to the Manes of their ancestors, a custom which could not well be derived from any but the Chinese; while the other denounces the practice, and is careful to avoid it, as they say their ancestors were; which further goes to shew that the practice has been engrafted on their ancient customs. Again, Teen, the Chinese name for God, exists in Karen poetry as the name of a false god, which they regard as having been worshipped by a people with whom they were formerly in contact; without having the most distant idea that that people were the Chinese. One little coincidence would indicate a connection with Thibet. The names of the months in Karen are usually significant, each designating some circumstance or labour indicative of the season, but the two months corresponding to June and July are exceptions, being designated numerically. June is called the seventh month, and July the eighth month; by which enumeration the first month would be December. Now no people, with whom the writer has met in his reading, commence their year in December but the Thibetians, who also denominate their months numerically. In the publications of the Asiatic Society it is stated, "The civil year commences differently in different parts of Thibet, varying from December to February. At Asadakh it begins in December. The months have several names expressive of the seasons, etc., but they are usually denominated numerically first, second, etc."

Concerning the Miris, one of these north-west tribes, Mr.

Cutter says, "They resemble the *Karens* more than any people I have seen in the Brahmaputra valley. Their dress is precisely like the Karen, both males and females. They live in small villages in high raised houses like the Karens, but never stop more than a year or two in a place. If I should meet one of them in Burmah, I should take him instantly for a Karen. For the last two years, my heart has gone out more for this people than for any I have seen in Asam. They are scattered along the banks of the river from Bishnath up to Sadiya, and some distance up the Dihing. They speak the language of the Abors, a numerous and powerful race inhabiting the high ranges of mountains on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, between Jorhath and Sadiya."

Finally, evidence to the connection of the Karens with the north-western tribes is furnished by their language. Of a vocabulary of seventy words published in the periodicals to illustrate the language of those tribes, about fifty, with slight modifications, are found in one or other of the Karen dialects.

[Here follow Karen fragments and traditions on many sacred subjects.]

God, Eternal.—"God is unchangeable, eternal,
He was in the beginning of the world;
God is endless and eternal,
He existed in the beginning of the world.
God is truly unchangeable and eternal,
He existed in ancient time, at the beginning of the world.
The life of God is endless;
A succession of worlds does not measure his existence,
Two successions of worlds do not measure his existence.
God is perfect in every meritorious attribute,
And dies not in succession, on succession of worlds."

God, Omnipotent.—"The Omnipotent is God,
Him, have we not believed.
This Omnipotent one,
We have not believed."

God, Omniscient.—"God created men anciently,
He has a perfect knowledge of all things:
God created man in the beginning,
He knows all things to the present time."

God, Omnipresent.—"O my children and grandchildren! the earth is the treading place of the feet of God, and heaven is the place where he sits. He sees all things, and we are manifest to Him."

"God is not far off. He is among us. He has only separated himself from us by a single thickness of white. Children! it is because men are not upright, that they do not see God."

His countenance Shines.—"The face of God is said to shine con-

tinually like the rays of the sun; and the wicked dare not look straight at Him."

His glory enlightens Heaven.—"There can be no night in heaven, there can be no darkness; for the rays of God enlighten it continually like the sun."

He cannot look on Iniquity.—"On those that use obscene language, or swear, or commit fornication, or drink, or kill, the righteous One in heaven cannot look. Avoid wickedness, for the righteous One in heaven cannot look upon it."

He created Heaven and Earth.—"God created heaven and earth. The creation of heaven and earth was finished."

The Sun, Moon, and Stars.—"He created the sun, He created the moon, He created the stars. The creation of the sun, the moon, and the stars was finished."

Man.—"He created again (creating) man. And of what did he create man? He created man at first from the earth. The creation of man was finished."

Woman.—"He created a woman. How did he create a woman? He took a rib out of the man, and created again (creating) a woman. The creation of woman was finished."

Life.—"He created again (creating) life. How did he create life? Father God said, In respect to my son and daughter, I love them. I will give them my great life. He took a little piece of his life, breathed into the nostrils of the two persons, and they came to life; and were real human beings. The creation of man was finished."

Food, Quadrupeds, and Birds.—"He created again (creating) food and drink. He created rice, he created water, he created fire, he created cows, he created elephants, he created birds. The creation of animals was finished."

Eden.—"Father God said, My son and daughter, Father will make and give you a garden. In the garden are seven different kinds of trees, bearing seven different kinds of fruit; among the seven, one tree is not good to eat. Eat not of its fruit. If you eat you will become old; you will die. Eat not. All I have created I give to you. Eat and drink with care. Once in seven days, I will visit you. All I have commanded you, observe and do. Forget me not. Pray to me every morning and night."

The Temptation and Fall.—"Afterwards Satan came and said, 'Why are you here?' 'Our Father God put us here,' they replied. 'What do you eat here?' Satan enquired. Our Father God created food and drink for us; food without end.' Satan said, 'Shew me your food.' And they went, with Satan following behind them, to shew him. On arriving at the garden, they shewed him the fruits, saying, 'This is sweet, this is sour, this is bitter, this is astringent, this is savoury, this is fiery; but this tree, we know not whether it is sour or sweet. Our Father God said to us, 'Eat not the fruit of this tree; if you eat, you will die. We eat not, and do not know whether it be sour or sweet.' 'Not so, O my children,' Satan replied; 'The heart

of your Father God is not with you; this is the richest and sweetest: it is richer than the others, sweeter than the others, and not merely richer and sweeter, but if you eat it, you will possess miraculous powers; you will be able to ascend into heaven, and descend into the earth; you will be able to fly. The heart of your God is not with you. This desirable thing he has not given you. My heart is not like the heart of your God. He is not honest. He is envious. I am honest. I am not envious. I love you and tell you the whole. Your Father God does not love you; he did not tell you the whole. If you do not believe me, do not eat it. Let each one eat carefully a single fruit, then you will know.' The man replied, 'Our Father God said to us, Eat not the fruit of this tree, and we eat it not.' Thus saying, he rose up and went away. But the woman listened to Satan, and thinking what he said rather proper, remained. Satan deceived her completely, and she said to him, 'If we eat, shall we indeed be able to fly?' 'My son and daughter,' Satan replied, 'I persuade you because I love you.' The woman took one of the fruit and ate. And Satan, laughing, said, 'My daughter, you listen to me well; now go, give the fruit to your husband, and say to him, I have eaten the fruit; it is exceedingly rich. If he does not eat, deceive him, that he may eat.' The woman, doing as Satan told her, went and coaxed her husband, till she won him over to her own mind, and he took the fruit from the hand of his wife and ate. When he had eaten, she went to Satan and said, 'My husband has eaten the fruit.' On hearing that, he laughed exceedingly and said, 'Now you have listened to me, very good, my son and daughter.'"

The Curse.—"The day after they had eaten, early in the morning, God visited them; but they did not (as they had been wont to do) follow him, singing praises. He approached them and said, 'Why have you eaten the fruit of the tree that I commanded you not to eat?' They did not dare to reply, and God cursed them. 'Now you have not observed what I commanded you,' he said; 'the fruit that is not good to eat, I told you not to eat; but you have not listened, and have eaten, therefore you shall become old, you shall be sick, and you shall die.'"

Origin of Sacrifices to Demons.—"After this, one of their children became very sick, and the man and his wife said to each other, 'We did not observe God's command, Of the fruit of the tree eat not, but we ate. Now what shall we do? God has cast us off; we cannot tell what to do. We must go and see Satan, and ask him. They arose and went to him. 'O Satan,' they said, 'God commanded us, Eat not of that fruit. Thou saidst, Eat; and we hearkened to thy words, and ate. Now our child is sick, what wilt thou say? What wilt thou devise?' Satan replied, 'To your Father God you did not hearken, you hearkened unto me; now that you have hearkened unto me, hearken unto me to the end.'"

Satan then institutes the principal sacrifices, offerings and ceremonies, that are practised in worshipping demons. First,

he orders a *hog* to be sacrificed ; and when that fails, a *fowl* ; and after that, he prescribes the mode of fortune-telling by fowls' bones, with many other rites and ceremonies, the details of which would not be interesting.

Creation and Fall, in Verse.

“ In ancient times God created the world ;
 All things were minutely ordered by Him.
 In ancient times God created the world ;
 He has power to enlarge, and power to diminish.
 God created the world formerly ;
 He can enlarge and diminish it at pleasure.
 God formed the world formerly ;
 He appointed food and drink.
 He appointed the fruit of trial ;
 He gave minute orders.
 Satan deceived two persons ;
 He caused them to eat the fruit of the tree of trial.
 They obeyed not, they believed not God ;
 They ate the fruit of the tree of trial.
 When they ate the fruit of trial,
 They became subject to sickness, old age, and death.
 Had they obeyed and believed God,
 We should not have been subject to sickness ;
 Had they obeyed and believed God,
 We should have prospered in our doing ;
 Had they obeyed and believed him,
 We should not have been poor.”

Temptation and Fall.—Although the elders say, “ Satan is a being of superhuman powers, able to take the form of either male or female,” he is usually represented as a woman ; but in the following fragment he appears in the character of a dragon. This tradition is further remarkable for giving the names of the progenitors of the human race ; and it is worthy of observation, that had it been a modern composition, Adam would not have been Tha-nai ; nor Eve, E-u,^a but A-wa, as written and printed by both Protestant and Catholic missionaries in Burmah.

“ God commanded man anciently ;
 Satan appeared bringing destruction.
 God commanded man formerly ;
 Satan appeared deceiving unto death.
 The woman E-u and the man Tha-nai
 Did not meet the eye of the great dragon ;
 The woman E-u and the man, two persons ;
 The dragon looked on them, and they did not meet his mind.
 The great dragon deceived the woman, and Tha-nai ;

^a U, pronounced like the French u.

How is it said to have taken place?
 The great dragon succeeded in deception, deceiving unto death;
 How is it said to have been done?
 The great dragon took a yellow fruit;
 And gave to eat to the son and daughter of God:
 The great dragon took a white fruit;
 And gave to eat to the children of God.
 They did not observe all the words of God;
 They were deceived, deceived unto death;
 They did not observe all the commands of God;
 They were deceived, deceived unto sickness;
 They transgressed the words of God,
 And God turned his back on them:
 Having transgressed the commands of God,
 God turned away from them."

Tree of Life and Tree of Death.—"O children and grandchildren! in the beginning, God, to try man whether he would or would not observe his commands, created the tree of death and the tree of life, saying, concerning the tree of death, 'Eat not of it.' He wished to see whether man believed. Not believing, he ate of the fruit of the tree of death, and the tree of life God hid. Because the tree of life has been hidden, men have died ever since that time."

"Temptation, temptation, the fruit of temptation,
 The fruit of temptation fell on the ground;
 The fruit of temptation was bad,
 It poisoned to death our mother;
 The fruit of temptation, 'Do thou eat it not.'
 In the beginning it poisoned to death our father and mother.
 The tree of death came by woman.
 The tree of life by man."

The Curse.—"O children and grandchildren! because we did not believe God, we have to work and sweat. Then do not be angry because you have to work; for it is the consequence of man's transgression against God at the beginning."

Death.—"O children and grandchildren! because in the beginning man ate the fruit of the tree of death, poison descends to us and we all die."

Angels.—The Karens believe that there are beings in heaven who have never sinned, and that they are employed in executing God's purposes.

"The sons of heaven are powerful,
 They sit by the seat of God;
 The sons of heaven are righteous,
 They dwell together with God;
 The sons of heaven are good,
 They lean against the silver seat of God."

The beings whom God employs to execute his purposes
Have, to the present time, the reclining place of God."

Satan.—Satan is known by several names; among which the most common are Ku-plaw, the deceiver, from his deceiving the first man and woman, and Yaw-kaw, the *neck-trodden*, from the belief that man will ultimately tread on his neck, or overcome him. The Karens believe that he was formerly a holy being in heaven, but that he disobeyed God, and was driven from heaven.

"Satan in ancient times was righteous,
But he transgressed the commands of God;
Satan in ancient times was holy,
But he departed from the love of God;
And God drove him away.
He deceived the daughter and son of God,
And God drove you (him?) away;
For you (he?) deceived the daughter and son of God."

"O children and grandchildren! though we were to kill Satan, he would not die; but when the time of our salvation comes, God will kill him. Because that time has not yet arrived, he still exists."

Deluge.—Though the writer has never met with any direct traditions of the deluge, indirect allusions are occasionally found in their fabulous stories. For instance, "It thundered, tempests followed; it rained three days and three nights, and the waters covered all the mountains." Again, "Anciently, when the earth was deluged with water, two brothers finding themselves in a difficulty got on a raft. The waters rose and rose till they reached to heaven; when seeing a mango tree hanging down, the younger brother climbed up it and eat; but the waters suddenly falling, left him in the tree."

Dispersion of Men.—"O children and grandchildren! men had at first one father and mother; but because they did not love each other they separated. After their separation they did not know each other, and their language became different; and they became enemies to each other and fought."

"The Karens were the elder brother,
They obtained all the words of God;
They did not all believe the word of God,
And became enemies to each other:
Because they disbelieved God,
Their language divided.
God gave them commands,
But they did not believe him; and divisions ensued."

Resurrection.—The astronomical systems of all the nations around the Karens teach that the sun, moon, and stars revolve

round a great north mountain, in planes parallel with the surface of the earth; while the Karens retain the old idea, that the heavenly bodies go round the earth, descending under and rising above it. Under the earth they suppose that there is another world, where people go at death. It is enlightened by the same heavenly bodies as the earth; but its days and nights are the reverse of ours, the sun rising there when he sets here. It is regarded as an intermediate state, where all the dead go, and where the inhabitants are employed much as the inhabitants of the earth, corresponding to the Jewish idea of Sheol.

Connected with this subject, the Karens have an obscure notion of a final resurrection. One of their old prophecies says,

“O children and grandchildren! you think the earth large. The earth is not so large as the Entada bean! When the time arrives, people will be more numerous than the leaves of the trees, and those who are now unseen will then be brought to view. O my children, there will not be a hiding place for a single thing on earth.”

The Karens explain this by saying, that the earth is as large as a bean when compared with the whole of God's works. Concerning the numerous people that are to appear, they confess their ignorance, but think that the inhabitants of Hades are intended, whom God will cause to come up on the earth.

Another statement is, that after the world is burnt up, God will come and raise men to life again. When “the lazy shall become dogs, but the industrious, men.”

Love to God.—“O children and grandchildren! love God, and never so much as mention his name; for, by speaking his name, he goes farther and farther from us.”

Prayer.—“O children and grandchildren! pray to God constantly by day and by night.”

Repentance and Prayer.—“O children and grandchildren! if we repent of our sins, and cease to do evil, restraining our passions, and pray to God, he will have mercy upon us again. If God does not have mercy on us, there is no other one that can. He who saves us is the only one God.”

Idolatry.—“O children and grandchildren! do not worship idols or priests. If you worship them, you obtain no advantage thereby, while you increase your sins exceedingly.”

Honour to Parents.—“O children and grandchildren! respect and reverence your mother and father; for, when you were small, they did not suffer so much as a mosquito to bite you. To sin against your parents is a heinous crime.”

“If your father or mother instructs or beats you, fear. If you fear not, the tigers will not fear you.”

Love to others.—“O children and grandchildren! do not be fond of quarrelling and disputings, but love each other. God in heaven looks

down upon us; and if we do not love each other, it is the same as if we did not love God. O children and grandchildren! quarrel not, but love each other."

Relative Duties.—"O children and grandchildren! parent and child, master and slave, husband and wife; let not the child deceive his parent, the slave his master, nor the wife her husband."

Associates.—"O children and grandchildren! do not associate with the wicked. Those that associate with robbers, become robbers; those that associate with the honest, become honest; those that associate with the passionate, become passionate."

Murder.—"O children and grandchildren! do not take the life of man. If you kill, you must bear your sin. In the next world, you will be killed in return."

Wantonly killing Animals.—"O children and grandchildren! we may eat anything on earth without sin; for God created them all for us; but do not kill or destroy anything wantonly. If we kill or destroy wantonly, we sin."

Robbery.—"O children and grandchildren! do not forcibly take the property of another. Observe, my children, that robbers quickly become slaves. Should you even be a slave, good remains; but there is no calling on God in hell."

Theft.—"O children and grandchildren! do not steal the goods of another; for the owner worked for them until he sweat. Thieves will have to repay."

Adultery and Fornication.—"O children and grandchildren! do not commit adultery, or fornication, with the child or wife of another; for the righteous one looks down from above, and these things are exposed to him. Those that do thus will go to hell."

"If you meet the wife of another, avoid her, and pass on the lower side of the road."

Polygamy.—"O children and grandchildren! if you have one wife, lust not after another female or male; for God, at the beginning, created only two: one male and one female."

False Swearing.—"O children and grandchildren! that which is not true, swear not to by the true One. Swear not to that which you do not well know."

Lying and Deception.—"O children and grandchildren! do not speak falsehood. What you do not know, do not speak. Liars shall have their tongues cut off."

"O children and grandchildren! do not use deceitful language, but speak the words of truth only. The righteous one in heaven knows everything that is said."

"O children and grandchildren! do not talk at random concerning that which you do not know. Random talkers speedily become slaves."

Swearing.—"O children and grandchildren! do not curse, or use imprecations, and do not use obscene language. If you curse, or use imprecations, they will return on yourselves."

On giving Alms.—"O children and grandchildren! give food and drink to the poor; and, by so doing, you will obtain mercy yourselves."

Doing good to all Men.—"O children and grandchildren! according to your ability, relieve the distresses of all men. If you do good to others, you will not go unrewarded; for others will make like returns to you."

Idleness.—"O children and grandchildren! while in this state here on earth, be not idle, but labour diligently, that you may not become slaves; and when persons visit you, have food and drink to give them."

Covetousness.—"O children and grandchildren! do not envy the possessions of others. Though exceedingly abundant, covet them not. Work yourselves, and eat your own things."

Intemperance.—"O children and grandchildren! do not be guilty of excess in eating and drinking. Be not intemperate, but take that which is proper only."

Obedience to Kings.—"O children and grandchildren! obey the orders of kings, for kings, in former times, obeyed the commands of God. If we do not obey them, they will kill us."

Earthly-mindedness.—"O children and grandchildren! do not covet the good things of this world; for when you die, you cannot carry away the things that are on earth."

"O children and grandchildren! do not desire to be great men, and possess authority. Great men sin exceedingly, and when they die, go to hell."

Anger.—"O children and grandchildren! never get angry. If we are angry with others, it is the same as if we were angry with God. The righteous One looks down from heaven upon us. The person who looks on the great and small, the vile and the wicked, children and youth, without anger, and gives them food and drink, he shall be established unchangeably."

On Forbearance and Humility.—"O children and grandchildren! though a person persecute you with deceit, anger and revenge, though he strike you, thump you, beat you, do not return him evil. If you return evil, you derive no advantage thereby. Then with the heart forbear, and speak to him respectful words; by doing thus, you will not go unrewarded."

"The man who without anger endures all with humility, shall be established unchangeably, for by doing thus the advantages of meritorious qualities are his."

Circulating Evil Reports.—"O children and grandchildren! transgressions in the house do not carry into the woods; transgressions in the woods do not bring into the house."

On Love to Enemies.—"O children and grandchildren! if a person injures you, let him do what he wishes, and bear all the sufferings he brings upon you with humility. If an enemy persecute you, love him with the heart. On account of our having sinned against God from the beginning, we ought to suffer."

How to act when one cheek is struck.—"O children and grandchildren! if a person strike you on the face, he does not strike you on

the face; he only strikes on the floor. Therefore, if a person strike you on one cheek, give him the other to strike."

When spit on.—"O children and grandchildren! if a person spits in your face, do not spit in his face in return. He only spits in the air."

The Two Roads.—"O children and grandchildren! the road that leads to heaven is a track scarcely discernible, but the road that goes to hell is very great."

Rewards and Punishments.—"Good persons, the good,

Shall go to heaven :

Righteous persons, the righteous,

Shall arrive at heaven.

Unrighteous persons, the unrighteous,

At death go to hell :

Wicked persons, the bad,

Shall fall into the fire of hell :

Wicked persons, the wicked,

Shall fall into the deepest hell."

A people beloved of God.—"O children and grandchildren! formerly God loved the Karen nation above all others, but they transgressed his commands, and in consequence of their transgressions we suffer as at present. Because God cursed us, we are in our present afflicted state, and have no books. But God will again have mercy on us, and again he will love us above others. God will yet save us again; it is on account of our listening to the language of Satan that we thus suffer."

Possess the Word of God.—In one of their old war songs, the Sgau Karens boast of possessing the Word of God.

"Though thou sayest the Pghos are insignificant,

Thou must pay a fine for killing them.—

The Sgaus have the word of Jehovah :

They will pay no fine for the life of a Pgho."

Departure of God.—Many of the Karen traditions, both in prose and verse, allude to the departure of God, but to what event reference is had, it is difficult to say; for all the accounts are evidently fabulous in their details. For instance,

"The elders said, that God returning anciently said to the Karens, 'Karen, guide me.' The Karens replied, 'The weeds are very thick, we cannot guide thee;' and God said, 'May you pull up weeds generation after generation.' Coming to the Burmans he said, 'Burman, guide me.' The Burmans replied, 'We are hewing out a canoe, we cannot guide thee;' and God said, 'May you hew out canoes generation after generation.' So said one after another in succession till he came to the white foreigners, the youngest brother, to whom he said, 'White foreigner, guide me.' The white foreigner replied, 'I have no ship, no boat, I cannot guide thee; but I wish to guide thee.' Then God made him take off his hat and put it in the sea, and it became a large golden ship; in which they conducted God away to the west. When they arrived God

blessed them, saying, 'May you ride in ships and boats : may you cross waters and reach lands : may you dress in fine clothes : may you be handsome : may you have rulers from among yourselves : may you have large towns and great cities.' Then God went up to heaven, and the white foreigners returned. Hence it is, that the white foreigners are more skilful than all other nations, and ride in ships to the present time."

Some poetical pieces represent God as calling upon the sun, moon, and all created beings, to come and weep at his departure; as in the following fragment.

"God about to return commanded, commanded,
 God about to depart commanded, commanded;
 He commanded the sun to come and weep for him,
 He commanded the moon to come and weep for him,
 He commanded the birds to come and weep for him,
 He commanded the squirrels to come and weep for him."

Return of God.—The return of God is confidently expected; and the dead trees are represented as blossoming on his arrival.

"At the appointed season, God will come;
 The dead trees will blossom and flower :
 When the appointed season comes, God will arrive;
 The mouldering trees will blossom and bloom again :
 God will come and bring the great Thau-thee;^b
 We must worship both great and small.
 The great Thau-thee, God created;
 Let us ascend and worship.
 There is a great mountain in the ford,
 Can you ascend and worship God?
 There is a great mountain in the way,
 Are you able to ascend and worship God?
 You call yourselves the sons of God,
 How many evenings have you ascended to worship God?
 You call yourselves the children of God,
 How often have you ascended to worship God?"

Sometimes he is represented as coming with a trumpet.

"God comes down, comes down;
 God descends, descends :
 He comes blowing a trumpet,
 He descends sounding a trumpet;
 Blowing, he gathers men, like the flowers of the Areca,^c
 Sounding he gathers people, like the flowers of the Areca."

Sometimes angels in glory would seem to be accompanying him, while the great among the people play on golden harps.

^b A mountain so called, which is to be the seat of future happiness, according to some statements.

^c The flowers grow thick and are very numerous.

“The glittering, the angels of heaven,
The dazzling, the angels of heaven :
The great trumpet that God comes blowing !
The great one that strikes the golden harp.”

In one fragment God is represented as coming in rags.

“O children and grandchildren ! before God comes, Satan will come deceiving men ; and in order to deceive he will come dressed in fine clothes and handsome attire ; but follow him not, children and grandchildren ! After Satan, will come one with scarcely clothes enough to cover him. Follow him. That one is God. When God comes, he will take the appearance of the poorest of men ; and will dress in rags. Follow him.”

Sometimes God, it is said, is to save them by his youngest son.

“O children and grandchildren ! God will yet save us again. He has saved us twice, and his youngest son will be able to save us again.”

Appearance of Satan.—Some statements represent Satan as coming to deceive men before God returns. The elders said,

“O children and grandchildren ! before God arrives Satan will appear, and the unrighteous, and the lascivious, and adulterers, and deceivers, and the contentious will follow him ; and when they have all gone after him, there will be happiness, and God will come.”

Darkness to Come.—A Karen assistant, after reading the account of the plagues in Egypt, related the following :—

“The elders said, there will yet be a great darkness. The darkness will be such that men will not be able to see each other, and they will be compelled to creep and feel. At that time the faggots will become serpents ; and the bamboos snakes ; and people will feel here, and they will lay their hands on a serpent : and there, and they will lay their hands on a snake.”

In the following fragment God is represented as purifying men.

“When the generation arrives and the time comes,
When the age arrives and the time comes ;
Woman will take two husbands,
Man will take two wives ;
It will not please God.
God will strike and the earth will quake :
When God shall purify the earth,
He will purify thee, and me, and all.”

King.—Many of their compositions represent them as expecting great temporal prosperity under their own kings.

“O children and grandchildren ! the Karens will yet dwell in the city with the golden palace. If we do well, the existence of other kings is at an end. The Karen king will yet appear, and when he arrives there will be happiness.”

For this they have been in the habit of praying. The following are specimens of their prayers.

"O Lord, we have had affliction for a long succession of generations; have compassion, have mercy upon us, O Lord. The Taleing kings have had their season, the Burman kings have had their season, the Siamese kings have had their season, and the foreign kings, all have had their season; the Karen nation remains. Let our king arrive, O Lord. Thou, O Lord, whom we adore, to whom we sing praises, let us dwell within the great town, the high city, the golden palace. Give to us, have compassion upon us, O Lord."

"O Lord, the God whom we adore, have compassion, have mercy upon us. Let us have kings, and let the city, the town, the great town, the silver city, the new town, the new city, the palace, the royal residence arrive to us all, O Lord. Have compassion, and grant unto us, O great God."

Sometimes they represent themselves metaphorically as becoming civilized, while other nations become barbarous.

"The elders said, children and grandchildren! the high mountain will be levelled; and the plain will become a sink. The deer will ascend the mountains, and the wild goat will descend to the plains."

"The great mountain will become a plain,
Children be happy and play;
The great mountain will be levelled,
Children be joyful and play."

Some compositions represent the Karen king as the sole monarch of the earth, and that there will be neither rich nor poor in his reign, but that all will be happy.

"Good persons, the good,
Shall go to the silver town, the silver city;
Righteous persons, the righteous,
Shall go to the new town, the new city;
Persons that believe their father and mother
Shall enjoy the golden palace.
When the Karen king arrives,
There will be only one monarch;
When the Karen king comes,
There will be neither rich nor poor;
When the Karen king shall arrive,
There will be neither rich nor poor;
When the Karen king shall come,
Rich and poor will not exist."

They believe when the Karen king comes, the beasts will be at peace, and cease to bite and devour one another.

"When the Karen king arrives,
Everything will be happy;

When the Karen king arrives,
 The beasts will be happy;
 When Karens have a king,
 Lions and leopards will lose their savageness."

FUNERAL RITES.—Death is a fearful event to a Karen. Whenever the death of an individual is announced, the man drops his axe, the woman her shuttle, and the child his toy; not to be resumed again that day; and the unfinished work, never. The house, or canoe, or other article on which the man was at work when the intelligence reached him, is abandoned to the beasts of the forest; and the labours of the loom are given to the worms, as articles more deadly than the tunic of Nessus. The corpse is bandaged up in cloths or mats shortly after the person has expired, so that no part is visible, and then the spirits of deceased relatives are called to visit the person who has just died, and guide him to Hades. Rice is next poured down at the head and feet of the corpse, and a basket, such as a Karen carries on his back, with an axe, a knife, a bag, a cooking pot, and a drinking cup, are placed by its side, while one exclaims, "O dead! eat as in thy state of consciousness on earth; eat, fear not, be not ashamed." As the neighbours and friends arrive at the house, each one expresses his grief in expressions like the following: "Alas! what is this! Now I am afflicted indeed. Alas! alas! formerly thou conversedst happily with me. Alas! what shall I do! O Lord, take this my friend, and suffer him not to go where he will be subjected to suffering."

If the visitor comes from a distance, food is brought out, and before he eats, addressing the corpse, he says, "O deceased! eat and drink; eat and drink as in thy state of consciousness formerly." After the company has assembled, they commence a musical chant typifying life, as below.

<i>One Person :</i>	<i>Whole Company :</i>
"What is the matter?"	"Ascending the trunk."
"What is the matter?"	"Ascending the branch."
"What is the matter?"	"Taking the fruit."
"What is the matter?"	"Descending the branch."
"What is the matter?"	"Descending the trunk."
"What is the matter?"	"Depositing the fruit."

General Chorus.

"Pitying the dead exceedingly,
 Unable to wake him up again."

This is repeated, or supposed to be repeated, in several different languages which no one understands, but which has been represented to me as in part from an old language, and in part from the *Kyen* language.

The people next engage at "tiger and fowl," a game resembling drafts, intended to prefigure the struggle of mankind with evil spirits. After this is over the company rises, and, marching slowly round the corpse, sings.

"One house post, a pillar red,
Two house posts, a pillar red :
Stamping round a smooth path,
Beating round a smooth path.
Catch a red cock of Hades ;
He will crow at night and shew the morn easily.

Chorus.

O deceased, deceased ! art thou dead, hast thou departed ?
We speak, we call, but he cannot reply.

One house post, a pillar white,
Two house posts, a pillar white :
Stamping round to the starting point,
Beating round to the starting point.
Catch a white cock of Hades ;
He will crow at night and shew the morn easily.

Chorus.

O deceased, deceased ! art thou dead, hast thou departed ?
We speak, we call, but he cannot reply."

When evening comes, lights that burn for a short time only are placed near the head and feet of the corpse, to represent the evening and morning star, which in their legendary lore are lights shewing departed spirits the way to Hades ; and believing, as they do, that that world is the antipodes of this, they say to the corpse, "the foot of the trees is there," pointing to their summit ; "the tops of the trees are there," pointing to the roots ; "the west is there," pointing to east ; and "the east is there," pointing to the west. At the close of this address the people commence singing the following lines.

"The light at the head of the corpse is red, red.
The light at the foot of the corpse is red, red.
He goes with a torch the morning star,
He goes with a light the morning star."

Hot water is next poured out near the head and feet of the corpse, which closes all the regular ceremonies till the burning of the body, which may occur next morning, or be delayed a day or two.

The interval is occupied with drinking and singing, slowly marching round the corpse. The compositions that are sung often partake of a dramatic character, and the dialogue is sung by men and women alternately ; and are usually but ill adapted

to the solemnities of the occasion. Love and war are the most prominent subjects. The following are offered as specimens.

The Deadly Feud.

“Lututu killed Likoku’s wife with a spear;
Likoku’s wife, he went and stabbed with a spear;
Likoku resolved to fight him,
Likoku resolved to attack him.
Thy slaves are how many? how many?
Thy people are how many? how many?
My slaves come to the number of five hundred;
My people come to the number of five hundred:
They come in ranks from all parts,
They come in ranks from every quarter.
Who is the leading champion?
Who is the foremost champion?
The champion is Saule’s son.
The foremost man is Saule’s son.
Where do the spears meet? where?
Where are the arrows shot? where?
The spears meet at Klekhoda,
The arrows are shot at Klekhoda.
Thou saidst, though the arrows hit they injure not;
Thou saidst, though the spears pierce they hurt not.
The arrows have hit and slain thee outright;
The spears have pierced and slain thee outright.
They weave thy bier, they carry thee;
They weave thy bier, they bear thee.
They have borne thee over the gravelly plain;
They have borne thee past the gravel plain.
Thy house comes in sight to-day;
Thy house is in sight to-day:
Thy house comes in sight, thy children know;
Thy house is in sight, thy wife knows:
At once thy children wail for thee,
Thy bearers tread the steps to thy house;
At once thy wife is wailing for thee,
Thy bearers tread the ladder of thy house,
They have reached the middle of the hall,
They have reached the centre of the hall.
Where shall be performed thy funeral rites?
Where shall be performed thy mourning rites?
Perform them in the great hall,
Mourn for me in the great hall.
How many klos^d shall be hung around?
How many klos shall be hung in the hall?
Hang up five hundred and ten,
Hang around five hundred and ten.”

^d A musical instrument of metal, that is played on by beating.

The Lovers.

- Women.*—"Formerly one heart,
 But now divided;
 Formerly of one mind,
 Divided now into two.
 The brinjal^e wild is of a handsome yellow,
 The wild brinjal is of a beautiful yellow.
 May thy wife be white as a flake of cotton,
 Working like the rapid thunder:
 The brinjal wild is yellow and handsome,
 The wild brinjal is yellow and beautiful:
 May thy wife be white as the opening cotton pod,
 Working like the running thunder.
- Man.*—"Thou hittest my heart, thou pleasest me;
 Thou touchest my heart, I am pleased with thee.
 But thy mother does not love me,
 Thy father does not love me.
 Listen to my words,
 Then stone and water will give light like sand.^f
- Woman.*—"I conversed with thee under the eaves,
 I talked with thee under the eaves.
 Our bracelets we put off and exchanged,
 Our bangles we put off and exchanged.
- Man.*—"The country of Sere of Sere,
 The land of Sere of Sere;
 It is famed for the frogs that are there,
 It is famed for the fish that are there.
 The hornbills ascend high in the sky,
 And fly away two abreast."

In the morning, when the body is burned, a bone is taken from the ashes, and preserved with great care till a convenient time for assembling a large concourse of people. Booths are then built on the bank of some stream, a feast made, and the ceremonies renewed round the bone, which have been described above as performed around the body. On the evening of the day that the bone is buried, the friends of the deceased assemble round the bone and sing a particular dirge, of which the following is a part.

"Clear the road,
 The queen will go forth,
 Clear the road well,
 The queen will go forth again.
 The seven great roads;
 Go the middle road;

^e The young man is meant to be indicated by the brinjal.

^f The Karens sometimes pray, "May my heart be white as stone and light as sand; pure as water and light as sand."

The seven great paths,
 Go the middle path.
 Mother brought up her daughter,
 Mukha^s has seized her;
 Mother brought up her son,
 Mukha has got him.
 Black-backed Mukha
 Leaped down from behind the partition :
 Black-winged Mukha
 Leaped down from about the partition.
 The great hall descends gradually,
 A short post remains firm ;
 The great hall descends slowly,
 A beam remains firm.
 We do not love to die,
 Thus we are made insane ;
 We do not love to depart,
 We are driven to insanity.
 The flat-billed duck,^a
 The dead goes with him ;
 The flat-nosed duck,
 The dead returns with him.
 Tie up the cord of seven stringsⁱ
 That the dead may arrive at his grave :
 Tie up the cord of seven strings,
 The dead arrives to-day."

At the close of the ceremonies around the bone a bangle is hung up, and a cup of rice placed under it. The departed spirit is then called, for it is supposed to be hovering around till the funeral rites are completed. When the spirit answers the call, the string trembles, the bangle turns round, and the string snaps in two as if by miracle. If no answer is returned, the spirit has gone to hell. When he signifies that he is present, he is guided to the graveyard, which is always one of the best spots in the neighbourhood. Here the bone is buried, and money with other articles thrown on the grave. Should any one take the money that is left on a grave, he would become childless, and his family extinct, which is a sufficient terror to a Karen to keep him honest. After burying the bone, the spirit is addressed as follows ; " Now thou mayest go to thy land, thy country, thy kingdom. When thou arrivest, do not forget us. We shall come to thee. Go not to hell, go to the abodes of

^s An evil spirit, that is supposed to seize and kill persons that become obnoxious to him.

^a The wild duck is supposed to go and return to and from Hades.

ⁱ Between the place where the funeral ceremonies are performed, and the grave, strings are tied across the streams, a bridge for the departed spirit.

bliss. As to this silver, if thou art taken by force, buy thyself with it. Go. Here is thy little house; thy great house is on the river Naudokwa.' Go."

The Karens suppose that these ceremonies are of a comparatively recent origin, and say that they formerly buried their dead. Burning the body and singing round the bone were first introduced, as some of their traditions say, by an individual of the name of *Mautau*, to whom many of the songs are attributed. Others charge the whole on Satan himself, to which we see no special objection, for their funerals are complete scenes of bacchanalian revelry, in which the spirit of Satan most certainly presides. The most detailed account of the origin of these rites is in a tradition that Mr. Wade obtained from a Maulmain Karen, and is as follows.

Origin of the Funeral Rites.—"Afterwards the man and his wife died. Of the children that they left behind them, some became sick and died, others became sick and recovered, and others died of age. When a thousand years were completed, God looked down and had mercy on them again, and came to them. He said, 'Your parents at the beginning I commanded, but they did not listen to my words: they listened to Satan, and ate the fruit of the tree of temptation. They became sick and old, and died; as in like manner have their descendants unto you. Now I have looked down and I pity you. I will save you, will you obey my words? if you will listen to me I will save you.' God having spoken thus, men consented, and said, 'O Father God; our parents anciently did not listen to thy words: we observe them. They listened to the words of Satan, and ate the fruit of the tree of temptation. Death and old age came upon them, and these things have descended to their children even unto us. Have mercy upon us, and save us. We are exceedingly glad.' God replied, 'If you will obey my words I will help you: but if you do not obey, you will suffer and die.' Having said thus, God proceeded to direct them as follows. 'When any one dies, bind him up in seven thicknesses of wild plantain leaves, and go place him in the road. As soon as seven days are fulfilled, he will come to life again.' Having said thus, God departed. Two or three days afterwards a man died. As God had directed, they bound him up and placed him in the road; and, as God said, when seven days were completed, he came to life again. For a hundred years they observed the word of God, and were happy.

"After a hundred years had passed away, Satan was born, and at fifteen years of age he began to ruin man again. He said, 'Children and grandchildren, doing this way is not the way to be happy: I will shew you how to obtain pleasure.' Having said thus, he rose up and killed his father. Having killed his father, he took the body, placed it in the hall, and called his uncles and aunts, his brothers and sisters,

^j This is a river either in Hades or on its borders.

and all his other relatives. His relatives having assembled together, he adorned the young men and maidens with new garments, and caused them to walk round the corpse of his father and sing. Addressing his relatives he said, 'Let some weep, let some laugh, and let some sing. In this way we shall have real pleasure.' Nobody listened to him except his relations; they did as he told them, but the worshippers of God would not obey him. Satan after devising within himself the course to be pursued, directed his relatives to make handsome clothes, shewing them how to dye various colours, and how to ornament their garments. His relations having adorned themselves with new clothes, in striped and variegated garments, he caused them to go out and sing.

"The children of those that worshipped God came to see. Satan at the funeral feast saw them, and induced them to dress themselves in new garments and sing. They went away and called their relations to come and do likewise, saying, 'Brethren! as to what Satan is doing, we went to see, and found it very pleasant.' 'What does he do?' was the inquiry. They replied, 'What he does we cannot tell you; you must go and see with your own eyes.' 'If we go,' was asked again, 'shall we like it?' 'Like it!' they replied, 'You will like it exceedingly; and more than like it, for if you go to him, he will give you new garments, and cause you to walk and sing.' After conversing in this manner they all went to Satan, who as soon as he saw them, laughed and said, 'There was no pleasure in doing as your parents taught you. I will teach you how to obtain pleasure. Go sing.' 'Why, Satan,' they replied, 'we do not know how.' 'I will shew you,' he continued; and he dressed them in handsome clothes, and taught them how to sing funeral songs. They then said to others, 'Brethren, what Satan has taught us is very pleasant;' and in this way, whenever any of Satan's relatives died, they assembled at the funeral.

"After a long time, their parents all died off, and they had not learned the customs connected with praying to and worshipping God: they had learned only the customs that Satan had taught them, so that when any one died they knew not what to do, but went to Satan and asked him. He came and taught them as above, and charged them, saying, 'Teach your children and grandchildren to do them; when I have gone and taught all nations, I shall be hidden. All I have taught you, my children! observe and do.' Satan having charged them thus, died, and the Karen nation have observed his commands from generation to generation unto the present time."

DEMONOLOGY.—We live in two worlds; the visible world, which we apprehend by means of our senses; and the invisible world, of which we have no faculties to take cognizance; and of which we know nothing more than revelation teaches. From that it appears, "the angel of the Lord," unseen, "encampeth round about those that fear him;" and that ministering spirits, unrecognized, are ministering to the heirs of salvation.

Now a Karen has so far a knowledge of truth, that he has a distinct apprehension of the existence of these two worlds.

The first, or visible one, he calls the outer; and the second, or invisible one, the inner. This spiritual world, however, brings no consolation to his heart, for his imagination peoples it, not with angels watching over him for good, but with demons that are ever devising evil, and seeking his destruction. Besides beings that he regards as of the nature of Satan, he believes that every country and sea, every mountain and stream, every large tree and great rock, has its guardian spirit; and to propitiate these beings, he makes sacrifices and presents offerings. A full account of these superstitions would fill a small volume. One specimen must serve in this place.

When about to sacrifice to the earth, a small house, two or three feet high, is built, and a fowl or two sacrificed by cutting off their heads, the blood and feathers of which are daubed on the posts of the house. The fowls are next cooked, and then presented with the following prayer.

“ Lord of the earth,
Lord of the mud,
Lord of the water,
Lord of the land,
Lord of the mountains,
Lord of the hills,
Lord of the sun,
Lord of the moon,
Lord of the trees,
Lord of the bamboos,
Lord of the great mountain,
Lord of the middle mountain;
Come, come.
I will sacrifice for you to eat,
Birds that are savoury,
Fowls that are fat :
Fowls both cock and hen.
We that dwell
By one stream of water ;
On one district of land ;
With our people, our dependants,
Both great and small ;
May our skin be cool,
May our flesh be comfortable.
Lord, put forth your hands,
Put forth your feet ;
I will wash your hands,
I will wash your feet :
Eat rice,
Drink water. O Lord.”

When a Karen sets fire to the fallen trees and dry brush-

wood, that cover the field which he has cleared, he addresses it as follows,

“ Arise, field of faggots !
Arise, arise !
Arise, comb thy head !
Arise, wash thy face !
Arise, devour the cleaver clearing !
Arise, devour the axe clearing !
Arise, devour the massy rocks !
Arise, devour the abrupt precipices !
Arise, devour the mountains !
Arise, devour the hills !
Arise, devour the central mountain !
Arise, devour the central hill !
Arise, field of faggots !
Arise, arise !”*

PROPHETS.—Power to see into the world of spirits around us is occasionally imparted. When Elisha’s servant was filled with fear for the safety of himself and his master, Elisha prayed, “ Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man ; and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.” So Stephen, filled with the Holy Ghost, saw heaven open, and “ the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God.” The Karens also believe, that this power of seeing into the invisible world is possessed by prophets, a degenerate race of which are still supposed to exist among them. “ There are two classes of prophets,” say the elders, “ the one holds communication with demons ; the other with God.” And after adding that the good prophets are not now sent unto them on account of their disobedience ; they say, “ God would have given us one for each generation ; but because we did not obey, prophets abound, and they are unrighteous.” These existing prophets confine themselves to directing what offerings shall be made to appease the demons, that are supposed to produce sickness ; and are constantly consulted for this purpose. They pretend to hold a conversation with unseen spirits when applications are made to them for information, and according to the response of the familiar spirit, they decide.

There is another class of persons called Bukhos, that are more directly connected with the worship of God, and who often unite the character of extraordinary religious teacher and

* The two extracts given above, though not poetry ; that is, the lines have neither rhyme nor measure ; are yet, like many other Karen compositions, a poetical prose, that can best be represented by being written in parallel couplets.

prophet. These Bukhos usually, if not uniformly, condemn the practice of making offerings to demons; and represent to the people that God is, in some way or other, about to appear for their salvation.

A distinguished one, who lived about ten days' journey up the Yun-za-len, a tributary of the Salwen that rises near Toun-g-u, is mentioned by Mr. Judson, in his journal of May 1832, as "an extraordinary young man of twenty, who, while he pretends to hold communication with the invisible world, professes also to be desirous of finding the true God, and becoming acquainted with the true religion. Our people remained with him three days; during which time they were surrounded with a crowd of his followers, and were obliged to preach day and night."

The writer visited this prophet in the year 1837, and found him, like many others with whom he has met in his travels, without any settled principles, unless a heterogeneous mixture of old Karen traditions and Boodhism can be called such. His leading object, as with most of his class, seemed to be to give himself importance, and acquire an influence over the people; in which he appears to have succeeded tolerably well, for at the last dates he had successfully headed a revolt of the Karens against the Burmans, and compelled a detachment of their soldiers that was sent against him to retire.

One of the most extraordinary of these men is the one that brought the Book of Common Prayer to Mr. Boardman. The following notices of him were furnished by Sau Qua-la.

"He commanded the people of Mergui and Tavoy, saying, 'Come and worship with me. Happiness will return, but those who neglect worship, when happiness arrives, will not be allowed to participate in it.' Great numbers, old and young, male and female, came from every direction, and worshipped with drums and gongs and singing of every description. He made himself a great man, and compelled others to prostrate themselves before him. He had men go before and behind him with swords and spears: while others beat drums and struck the cymbals. In the zayats, where the people worshipped, he had two divisions made; one for the women and another for the men; and there he taught them to sing and pray to God. The people made him offerings of white cloth, and silver in considerable quantities; and he would take the latter and throw it into the streams, saying,

" 'The flowered silver, the ingots of silver will flee,
The white silver, the round silver I see.' "

This he called making an end of Burman silver. The people however continued to bring him money, notwithstanding he threw it away in the manner he did. In later years he came and worshipped at Shenmouktee,¹ near Tavoy. There the Karens of Mergui and Tavoy assembled with him in great numbers. They walked round the image night and day, and worshipped standing, and worshipped sitting, and worshipped lying down. This was the way, he said, to bring the worship of the image to an end. The Burman officers, intending to massacre the Karens, went to the governor of Tavoy and said, "In the day there is not a single Karen to be seen, but when night comes, they cover the whole plain. Give us permission, and we will go and kill them, lest they rebel." The governor replied, "Fear not, the Karens can never succeed in rebellion; let them alone." Not long afterwards, however, one of the Karens themselves went and informed against him to the governor, saying, "He is endeavouring to bring thee and the king at Ava into contempt; and he prays, that the white foreigners may come and take the city." Then the governor called him, and taking away his sword and spear, threw him into prison. Here he obtained two books. Sometimes he said that a white foreigner gave them to him; and sometimes, that a foreign priest gave them to him; and sometimes, that God gave them to him; and sometimes, that he received them from an inhabitant of heaven.² They were written in Karen he said, and he prostrated himself before the books morning and evening; and made the Karens do so likewise, telling them that when the time arrived they would be able to read them, but that the time had not yet come. The governor took away one of his books, and the other was the Book of Common Prayer, that he subsequently brought to Mr. Boardman. He was set at liberty through the intercession of a Karen chief; and he afterwards went down to Palaw, where we heard he was flogged, and one of his disciples fined a hundred rupees, and narrowly escaped with his life. The following couplets are specimens of the compositions that he taught the people to sing at worship:—

"This worship is excellent worship,
The worship that the great God appointed:
This worship is pure worship,
The worship that the great God gave us.

¹ A village six or eight miles south of Tavoy, where there is a famous image of Gaudama.

² The compiler has heard two or three diametrically opposite statements from his own lips.

Ascend and worship on the mountain vale of Maurai,"
 The mountain vale of Maurai is the place where God reclines.
 Ascend and worship on Maurai.
 The mountain vale of Maurai is the seat of God.
 The wicked, those that are wicked,
 Shall fall among the fetid cassia,^o
 The good, those that are good,
 Shall ascend the smooth bamboo.
 Clear away the wild egg-plant,^p
 Build our city of peace.
 Root up the wild egg-plant,
 Rebuild our old city.
 He has come, he has come, God has come;
 Bring offerings, bring offerings of early rice.
 He comes, he comes, God comes;
 Bring offerings, bring offerings of white boiled rice.
 The golden ship has arrived, has arrived,
 It has arrived with our younger brother.
 The worship that God appointed,
 The great worship has reached the Karens.
 O the thinking of the great worship!
 Lo! it expels sleep.
 O the thinking of the origin of the worship!
 Lo! no more sleep can be obtained."

ROMANCE OF MISSIONS.—In Christian lands, there is a halo of romance sometimes thrown around the mission enterprise, which the realities of life often dissipate; but still oftener, scenes of surpassing interest are witnessed on missionary ground, whose bright colours are never seen at home.

The history of the introduction of Christianity among the Karens is, perhaps, too full of "truth stranger than fiction," to be believed by those who have not been actors in the scenes themselves. Take Mergui for a single instance. Mr. and Mrs. Wade were the first to visit the Karen villages of Mergui with the Gospel, and a more interesting reception than they received it were difficult to find on record. They were led by an intelligent chief, now a pillar in the church, and were met on their arrival by "several young women whom he had invited, among others, to meet them," singing a hymn of which the first verse and chorus was,

"The Lord his messengers doth send,
 And he himself will quickly come;

^o This is the name he gave to the zayat where he worshipped, but why no one can tell.

^p The cassia tora of Linneus, a common weed in Tavoy.

^p A species of solanum that grows wild in great abundance, but more especially on ruins and old walls.

The priests of Boodh, whose reign is short,
Must leave the place to make them room."

Three or four years afterwards the writer entered the province at its other extremity; and writing on the ground, he says, "My entrance into this village reminded me of Paul's into Lystra. The people almost quarrelled for the honour of receiving me, each protesting 'my house is the best.' They had never heard of the Gospel before, and were more attentive and quite as orderly at worship as any Christian congregation I ever saw."

These people now form a part of the settlement at Te-wa, where there is a flourishing little church.

"On descending the river two days' journey further south 'we met,' says the journal, 'with a religious teacher and his wife, who live in the neighbourhood. They begged us to stop; but after a little conversation they concluded to return, and started on before us. On reaching his house, where I now am, we found everything prepared for us in the very first of Karen style, with their garments spread on the floor, for me to walk upon from one room to another. While listening to the reading of the *View in Karen*, he occasionally exclaimed, 'The Lord,' 'The Lord,' 'The Lord.' He has built an addition to his house as a place of worship, and himself and such of his neighbours as are disposed 'assemble every night to worship, where they pray and sing hymns. In his place of worship, I found a shrine surrounded with something resembling a Chinese pagoda, and many ridiculous ornaments. I told him these things were not proper. 'Well, then,' said he, 'I will destroy them, if you say they are wrong. I made them through ignorance, not knowing what was proper. I have been long living in hopes that I should see a teacher among us, and now you have come, I am determined to do as you say.'

"I was awake in the middle of the night, by the singing of some women in the next room, who composed as they sung. I caught a few verses.

" 'If we know the Lord Jesus Christ
We are delivered from our sins;
Whoever knows the Lord Jesus Christ
Is delivered from his sins.
Upon the whole earth
No other God should be worshipped;
Throughout the whole earth
No other God should be worshipped.
Praise the law of God,
It is pure as water, even as sand;
Praise the truth of God,
It is pleasant as water, smooth as iron."

This man and his wife, with many of their neighbours, were subsequently baptized and formed the little church at Tamla, most of whose members have since moved up the river to Mata.

Ten days later, on returning to Tavoy from Mergui by the seaboard through the Burman villages, we lost our way the day after leaving Mergui, as detailed below in a communication written a few years after. "My cogitations were interrupted by a man behind calling out in his idiom 'the road is lost.' Sure enough the road was gone, and we soon found ourselves on the edge of the dismal swamp covered by a species of ficus with its thousand arms, the sure index of inextricable mazes and inundating tide waters.

"Having been walking from the first blush of morn, with a view to reaching a small Burman village by the middle of the afternoon, we were sufficiently fatigued to lie down and wait for the fresh impetus of the morrow; but unfortunately our scrip was out, and every voice counselled to move on, but in what direction was not so clear. After a short pause the Karens instinctively turned to the mountains, and we plunged through a thick undergrowth of briars and creepers.

—"The tropic sun had laid his burning head
On twilight's lap,"

"When we suddenly found ourselves on the banks of a mountain stream, and a path that appeared to lead to a Karen house. The energy of hope carried us up the hills till the last gleam of day died away, and the stars of night hung trembling in the heavens. We reached a field that had been cultivated, but alas! it had also been abandoned. Nature was exhausted, and after making a fire to keep away the tigers heard around, we spent a few minutes in considering the passage, 'Thy will be done,' and closed with prayer and praise to Him that doeth all things well. Not having either dinner or supper to prepare, our arrangements for the night were soon made. I moved away the large stones in a small ravine, and, under a few wild plantain leaves to defend me from the dew, lay down to sleep to the music of a sleepless brook, that rolled at my feet. We awoke with the wailing cry of the long-armed apes⁹ bounding from tree to tree in the forests beyond us. 'The morning has whitened,' said a Karen at my side, pointing to the first glow of dawn on the mountain summit; and while the morning fogs swept in gigantic fleeces over the plain below, except an occasional knoll peering above its waves, like an island in the ocean, we commenced retracing our steps down the hill to a path at the foot, that had been observed leading to the north.

⁹ The animal referred to by Dr. Helfer, who says, "A *Hylobates*, though the most common species in the interior, howling most pitiably in the solitary forests, seems to have hitherto escaped the observation of naturalists."

Endeavouring to conjecture in what way our losing the road would be overruled to our profit and usefulness, we moved on till nine or ten o'clock, when our eyes were gladdened by the sight of a Karen house. An old man on the verandah gazed at us a few moments in immoveable silence, like the deer of his native hills, and then turning to his family in the house, he called out, 'The teacher has arrived; the teacher has arrived.' The next moment he was before me saying, 'I will shew you to the zayat. It is close by: only a call distant.' This was passing strange to me, but as it appeared all a thing of course to the old man, I followed on to a more than ordinarily comfortable zayat in the neighbourhood of some Karen houses, whose inmates were soon around me, like Cornelius and his friends, looking, though not saying, 'we are all here present before God to hear the things commanded thee of God!' It appeared on explanation, that it had been told them 'The teacher is in the jungle, and will call on you. You must build a zayat for his reception, and listen to his precepts.' The zayat was just completed, and they were looking for my arrival daily, when I lost my way, and instead of leaving their settlement many miles to the eastward, as intended, I was most unintentionally led among them. I had fallen on an oasis in the desert, and here a few days were spent which afford pleasure in the retrospect, and will afford pleasure it is believed in eternity. We parted with mutual regret, the people loading us with substantial proofs of their attachment in the shape of rice, fowls, eggs, yams, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane, while their last words were, 'You must come again next year and baptize us.' Another year came, and another, and another; each year bringing with it that share of culture to this little spot which the missionary and his native assistants could spare from a large field with numerous and urgent demands. The result was a Christian population of about fifty, nearly twenty of whom have learned to read, and more than twenty of whom have united with a Christian church on a profession of faith," and they now form a part of the flourishing village of Ka-bin.

"From the uttermost part of the earth we hear songs;

Glory to the righteous.

For as the earth bringeth forth her bud,

And as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth;

So the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise

To spring forth before all the nations."

"THE COMING ONE:" A MEDITATION.

WHAT an immensity of weighty matter, what precious doctrines, and what stirring truths are wrapt up in the titles given to our great Redeemer. What is so simply and so pathetically said of one of his names, "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds in a believer's ear," is applicable to all his names; and the real Christian views each as so many precious volumes, which he can read and examine and ponder over day by day, to his soul's satiety. In one sense, it is most blessed to think how familiar all are with the different appellations given to our Lord, although, in another sense, it is distressing to know that this very familiarity with his different names is the cause of many not pondering them as they ought to do, and of their not entering into those deep meanings which they contain, and which are opened up before the enquiring spirit, the spiritually investigating mind.

But passing over this, we would observe that whilst conscientious painstaking searchers after truth, and real enjoyers of Jesus Christ, are well acquainted with the general titles given to our Lord, it may be that many even of them have failed to notice the title which stands at the head of this paper, as it is not so patent to general readers as our Lord's other titles; and, therefore, the writer of this paper ventures to call the attention of such persons to it, that they may be enabled to view our glorious Lord in one other aspect beside those in which they are already privileged to gaze upon him.

Ὁ ἐρχόμενος. "*The coming One.*" This is as much a distinctive title of our Lord as the names *Christ*, *Messiah*, etc., etc. Olshausen observes, "The expression ὁ ἐρχόμενος has a fixed doctrinal signification, viz., *Messias*; perhaps from the passage in Psalm cxviii. 26. In Hebrews x. 37, Christ, with reference to his parousia, is even called ὁ ἐρχόμενος, i.e., he at whose future coming all prophecy will be fulfilled."

"*The coming One.*" We ask, coming to do what? All that is expressed by those other significative appellations which our Lord bears. "*The coming One*" to be man's "propitiation," "deliverer," "mediator," "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, redemption," "Saviour," "light," "life;" and to be what embraces all within its vast compass, man's "*paraclete*" (ὁ παράκλητος): the one called in to man's aid, to do for him everything which he stands in need of for time and eternity.

Ὁ ἐρχόμενος. "*The coming One!*" How much is involved in this title. It implies a work to be done, and continuous

action till it be accomplished; it implies that Jesus Christ is the mysterious and glorious Being who should repair the otherwise irreparable loss mankind had sustained at the fall, and that his coming to effect this work commenced immediately upon the fall taking place; and that his coming will not terminate till redemption work in all its mighty results is completed, and "*the coming One*" takes his redeemed with him to glory. It is a New Testament expression, referring us back for its origin to the oldest of the Old Testament dispensations.

Let us go back then to the beginning, and trace out the first step of "*the coming One*" in the work of redemption, "whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting," touching his eternal power and godhead. The first promise of redemption, "the protevangelium," as it has been called, runs thus, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." It is here declared that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. What are we to understand by the seed of the woman?—her offspring. But her offspring, in what sense? Hengstenberg remarks upon this prophecy thus, "The greater number of the earlier Christian interpreters were of opinion that by the seed of the woman the Messiah is directly pointed at. But to this opinion it may be objected that it does violence to the language to understand by the seed of the woman any single individual; and the more so, since we are compelled to understand by the seed of the serpent a plurality of individuals, viz., the spiritual children of Satan,—the heads and members of the kingdom of darkness. *Further*, as far as the sentence has reference to the serpent, the human race alone can be understood by the seed of the woman; and to this, therefore, the victory over the invisible author of the temptation must also be adjudged. The reference to the human race is also indicated by the connection between 'her seed' in the verse and the words, 'Thou shalt bring forth sons,' in verse 16. *Finally*, as the person of the Messiah does not yet distinctly appear even in the promises to the patriarchs, this passage *cannot well be explained of a personal Messiah*, inasmuch as by such an explanation the progressive expansion of the Messianic prophecy in Genesis would be destroyed."

Von Garlach again, observes, "'The man shall bruise the serpent's head,' and it shall bruise his heel, *i.e.*, man shall in open fight inflict deadly wounds on the serpent (which can be wounded fatally only in the head), while it shall often by cunning wound man in a painful, dangerous, and even fatal manner. As God pronounces here his sentence on the *serpent*,

he must also foretell in this enmity that is betwixt man and it the final triumph of man. If this judgment is applied to the spiritual tempter (as in New Testament, St. Luke x. 19; Rom. xvi. 20), then the word 'seed,' descendants, acquires necessarily a spiritual meaning. (Seed can in Hebrew never mean an individual, but only an aggregate of persons.) Man has been overcome by the devil, but the hope of preservation has not yet been destroyed. The 'seed of the woman' are therefore (in opposition to 'the children of the devil') all who are true to their original destiny, who cleave to God and serve him. The 'seed of the serpent' are all bad men and evil spirits, who are adherents of Satan (St. Matt. xxiii. 33; 1 John iii. 8). The descendants of the woman,—mankind, shall on some future day obtain an entire triumph over the devil, and bring to nought the power of the evil one. It is to be observed that the triumph is promised to the *woman's* seed; and there appears in this a manifest reference to him whose mother 'knew not a man,' and through him to his spiritual descendants. This is the first dark prediction of a future redemption of mankind; a victory over the tempter, and thereby over temptation with all its consequences. *A personal Saviour is not here expressly promised; only alluded to.* It is said the 'woman's seed,' *not* Christ; but in him only has the prophecy attained its completion, which at first was obscure, and afterwards became more and more clear. He, and they who believe on him before and after his appearing, these are they who tread on the serpent's head ('the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise,' Gal. iii. 29). The fulfilment is not therefore granted once for all, but attains accomplishment only at that time when 'all enemies shall be put under his feet.'"

With all respect for the opinions of these learned men, we feel constrained to differ from them in the view which they take of this prophecy. We believe that Jesus Christ *is* personally pointed out in this prophecy, not alone, but in that glorious position in which he always stands, as the head of his mystical body his people. We believe that this bruising of the serpent's head by the seed of the woman, and this bruising of his heel by the serpent, has been all fulfilled by Christ and in Christ. We believe that the whole of the Redeemer's life of suffering, in all the variety of his sufferings, till the last great throes were over, was his heel being bruised by Satan. We believe also that the whole of the Redeemer's life of victories over Satan, whether in his childhood or his youth, over which a veil is drawn, or in his forty days' special temptation in the wilderness, or during the years of his public ministry, or in the garden of Gethsemane,

or on the cross, till the cry came forth from his holy lips, "It is finished," and he bowed his head and gave up the ghost,—we believe all was one continuous bruising of the serpent's head, till he thus finally "destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil."

But all Jesus suffered and all he did was for his people. Whatever *he* has done *they* have done. They are members in particular of his mystical body, hence they also are "the seed of the woman" in him; and in him they have bruised Satan's head. The bruisings which Satan inflicts upon the heels of Christ's people, and the victories which they obtain over Satan in this their time-state, are of course included in this prophetic declaration, but they lie in the background. The grand intent of the prophecy is to point to Jesus Christ personally and pre-eminently as the seed of the woman, and only to his people as they are a part of him. But it may be said, here is a prophecy of the Messiah, of his victory over Satan, and the rescue of his people from his deadly grasp; but where is there here any mention of the special and distinguishing title, "*The coming One?*"

The following citations from two writers, who, amongst others, have written upon this all-important subject, will furnish a reply to this question. We first of all make the following quotation from Mr. Tyler's interesting volumes, entitled *Jehovah the Redeemer God* and *Christ the Lord, the Revealer of God*, etc., as he states, "that so far as he is aware, the view of the words in Gen. iv. 26, which takes them as indicating the time when '*Jehovah*' began to be used as a divine name, was first proposed by himself in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1854.

"Gen. iv. 1 contains the first recorded instance of the employment of the name (*Jehovah*). Eve 'bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man, even Jehovah.' Here '*Jehovah*' may be reasonably regarded as meaning, "*He who shall be*," and it may be supposed that *Eve used this name* with reference to the promise of Gen. iii. 15. In Gen. iii. 15, however, there is no mention of a *divine* deliverer, who was to spring from Eve; and it would appear to accord entirely with this fact, to take the word *Jehovah* in Gen. iv. 1 as expressing Eve's previously entertained expectation of a *human* deliverer, who, in accordance with the promise, '*was to be*.' This is found to agree with the remarkable fact that Eve elsewhere does not use the name *Jehovah*."

"Adam and Eve after they were expelled from the garden of delights, we may well believe often pondered the mysterious

prediction concerning the 'seed of the woman:' 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it (or he) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' The gloom which would arise when they thought of the happiness which they had forfeited, of the displeasure of their gracious Creator, and of the penalty which still awaited them, was probably relieved only by the ray of light which this promise afforded. It would thus become the centre, around which their most fondly cherished hopes would cluster, and the theme upon which, more than others, they would like to converse. A little reflection will probably suffice to shew that if they looked forward to a personal deliverer, and discoursed frequently concerning his advent, they would not only naturally but necessarily give some name to the object of their hope. Such a name might be expected not only to represent their belief that the promise would be fulfilled, but also to be in harmony with the indistinctness of the terms in which it is expressed. Perhaps no name can comply with these conditions more closely than *Jehovah*, *Yahveh*, taken as properly future, 'He who shall be.' "

This view of the origin of the name *Jehovah* agrees with the fact already mentioned, that the first recorded instance of its employment was after the birth of Cain. If the mind of Eve had been intensely occupied with the promise, it was natural that she should suppose, when she became a mother, that she had received its fulfilment, and giving vent to her feelings, should exclaim, "I possess a man, even *Jehovah*."

Mr. Macdonald also, in his introduction to the Pentateuch, after giving the derivation of the word *Jehovah* from the root "To be," and referring to the fundamental passage in Exod. iii. 13—16, remarks as follows on Gen. iv. 1, where we have the earliest instance of the use of the name *Jehovah*, "I have gotten a man, *Jehovah*:"—"As employed by Eve at the birth of Cain, the term *Jehovah* occupies, indeed, a strangely isolated position. It is repeatedly used, no doubt, in the chapter at the head of which it thus unexpectedly appears, but in every other instance in a way which leaves it quite uncertain whether it be not merely the expression of the historian, looking at the matter from his own point of view. It is never used on any occasion similar to the first; and what makes the matter more noticeable is the fact that the same speaker, on an after occasion, uses only the name *Elohim* (chap. iv. 25). And yet in this, its first occurrence, the idea conveyed appears in nowise dubious or indefinite; on the contrary, it seems to have been quite familiar to the speaker, while it was certainly expressive of more than

simply maternal feelings and aspirations. Taking a careful survey of the case, and the relation in which the first mother found herself, on giving birth to a living seed, there need be no hesitation in concluding that the appellation thus employed had special reference to the memorable promise regarding 'the woman's seed' (Gen. iii. 17), made by God immediately after the fall, and may, indeed, be said to originate in the announcement of mercy then made." "The name of *Jehovah* had thus, there is reason to conclude, a special relation to redemption, and the agent through whom the promised deliverance should be accomplished. This is further confirmed by the fact, that it is at special epochs in the history of redemption, or in connection with such promises, that it comes prominently into view—as in the case of Eve just considered, of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac on Moriah, and more especially the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, when the import of this name was so fully revealed, and set, so to speak, in a position from which it was never afterwards displaced. Viewing the matter in this light, there is presented an easy solution of the meaning and origin of the name. The character and the advent of 'the seed of the woman,' through whom, according to the divine promise, man's deliverance was to be realized, must have been a subject of much thought and frequent converse with Adam and Eve, who must necessarily have given him some specific name; and what so suggestive and expressive of reliance on the promise as the designation יהוה, 'He that shall be,' or 'shall come,' ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "*the coming One*," to whom the entire Old Testament Scriptures pointed, and for whose advent the patriarchs longed, seeing his day afar off, and to whose second advent the Church now again looks forward to with expectancy." "The name *Jehovah* must indicate at least some relation in which God specially draws near to his people, and through which he manifests himself more fully than by any displays of power, however glorious or irresistible. It is a covenant relation into which he enters with them, and by which he engages to be their God, and to take them for his people. God, in his character of *Jehovah*, will thus fulfil those promises on which faith rested from the beginning, and as such he will be more fully recognized for the future." "Only on the supposition that the name *Jehovah* was connected with *redemption*, as it is expressly in this very passage (Exod. vi. 6), can any tolerable account be given of its first occurrence in Scripture, and of its subsequent relation to the term ὁ ἐρχόμενος of the New Testament, which originated in the promises in the books of Moses and the Prophets, which prepared for the coming of *Jehovah* in the person of the Messiah."

It appears, then, from the view taken by these writers, that as Eve had her eye of faith distinctly fixed upon the promise when she uttered the words, "I have gotten a man, Jehovah" (Gen. iv. 1), and as *Jehovah*, probably, is a covenant name, adopted in connection with the promised redemption, and signifying "*He that shall be*," or "*He that shall come*," equivalent to the expression *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, we may reasonably infer that this New Testament appellation stands connected with, and dates back its origin to, this first promise. In other words, "the seed of the woman" is *Jehovah*, and *Jehovah* is *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," in His first movement in the work of redemption; and as "the coming one's" first movement in the great work of redemption commenced the very instant the great promise was given, so the *continuous comings* of "*the coming One*" (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*) have since unceasingly gone on in one or other of its various and mysterious forms and senses, and will, as we have observed, continue to go on without intermission till the consummation.

But here an objection may be started. How can the title *Jehovah* in the Old Testament, and *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* in the New, be viewed as *distinct* titles of Jesus Christ, when we find both these titles applied also to the Father?

To cite only a few instances:—"I will declare the decree: *Jehovah* hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee." (Ps. ii. 7; Heb. i. 5; see also Ps. cx. 1, 2). "*Jehovah* hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name." "And now, saith *Jehovah*, that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of *Jehovah*, and my God shall be my strength" (Is. xlix. 1, 5; see chap. lxi. 1; Zech. xiii. 7; Mal. iii. 1, etc., etc.). "Grace be unto you, and peace, from him which is, and which was, and *which is to come*:" *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*—"The coming One" (Rev. i. 4). This is our reply to such an objection. As the Father acts *in* and *through* the Son in the great work of redemption, so the title which is given in a *peculiar* and in a *distinct* sense to the Son, is most aptly applied to the Father also. As Jesus is, in a *peculiar* and in a most *distinct* sense, *Jehovah*, "*He that shall be*," and also "*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*" "*The coming One*," so the Father, also, is *Jehovah*, and *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* in Him.

Take somewhat parallel cases. "*Creator*" (1 Pet. iv. 19). Who is the *Creator*? *Jesus Christ*. "All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made" (John i. 3). "For by Him were all things created that are in

heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him" (Col. i. 16). The Father is Creator also. How? By His Son. "God, who created all things by Jesus Christ" (Eph. iii. 9). "Hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, by whom also He made the worlds." (Heb. i. 2).

Again, "*Saviour*." Who is "*The Saviour*?" Most emphatically "*Jesus*." The Father is the *Saviour* also. "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the commandment of *God our Saviour*." "We trust in the living God, who is the *Saviour* of all men, specially of those that believe" (1 Tim. i. 1; iv. 10, etc., etc., etc.). Jesus is the *Saviour* in a *special* sense, as having undertaken and completed the great work of *salvation*. The Father is the *Saviour*, also, in his Son.

Let us now, then, attempt to trace some of the comings of *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," during the whole period in which those continuous comings were and are to take place. First. His *personal* manifestations under the older dispensations. In referring to these we shall, of course, be travelling over ground which has been travelled over again and again by all who have pondered the Word of God; but as one distinguishing characteristic of the divine book is, that however often any part of it may be brought before us, it always refreshes, never wearies, we make no apology for commenting again upon those portions which are so intimately connected with the subject we are upon.

Gen. xviii. 1, etc. Jehovah appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre. Three *men* presented themselves before him as he sat at his tent door in the heat of the day. Abraham, in proffering to them hospitality, addresses *one* of the three strangers, and singling that particular one out, we may infer that in appearance he was clearly distinguished from the other two. As they were partaking of the meal which Abraham had prepared for them, *all* are represented as making the enquiry, "Where is Sarah thy wife?" And when Abraham informed them, "Behold, in the tent," *one* of the three (the marked one, whom Abraham had previously addressed) said, "*I* will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and, lo, Sarah shall have a son." The news was too good for Sarah to credit it. She laughed—not with the laugh of believing joy, but of unbelief. The same Holy Being who had just uttered the promise rebuked her for her incredulity. And who was he?—*Jehovah*. "And Jehovah said unto Abraham, wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old? Is anything too hard for *Jehovah*?" In continuation of

the narrative it is said that "the men rose up from thence, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way." And who were the men who looked toward Sodom with the intention of going thither, and whom Abraham accompanied a short distance on the way? Were they all the three?—No; only *two* of the three. In the following chapter (Gen. xix. 1) it is said, "And there came *two* angels to Sodom at even," etc. Where, then, was the distinguished one of the three men whom Abraham singled out and addressed as "My Lord," when they first presented themselves before him at the tent door? *He* tarried still with Abraham after the others had departed. And who was he, we ask again?—*Jehovah*. "And the men turned their faces from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before *Jehovah*." And this same divine Being having revealed to Abraham the judgments which he was about to inflict upon Sodom, the latter makes earnest intercession for the devoted city; and this unlooked-for and mysterious visit having been brought to a close, "*Jehovah*" (it is said) "went his way, as he had left communing with Abraham." If one of the three men, then, was *Jehovah*, "He that shall come" of the Old Testament, the same was *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," of the New Testament.

Gen xxxii. 24. A *man* wrestled with Jacob. Jacob was allowed to prevail over the man, and his victory was memorized in a new name, "Israel," for said the man, "As a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Jacob evidently thought that it was simply a man. The stranger's appearance was that of a man; and his powerful grasps and violent strugglings were apparently those of a human hand and of muscular force. And yet it was God—it was *Jehovah*—with whom Jacob wrestled. "And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." And Hosea remarks, "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us; even *Jehovah*, God of hosts; *Jehovah* is his memorial:" *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*."

Joshua v. 13, etc. It was a solemn and anxious time for Joshua. The chosen people had entered the land of promise. The wars of Israel were about to commence. Their leader Joshua was reconnoitring the fortifications of the first city they were about to attack—Jericho. "Behold, there stood *a man* over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: and

Joshua went up unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay; but as captain of the host of *Jehovah* am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my lord unto his servant? And the captain of *Jehovah's* host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy." Who was this man—this chief commander of the host of *Jehovah*—who permitted Joshua to worship him, and said not, "See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow servant?" and who reminded Joshua of the awful sanctity of the spot which he was standing upon (rendered pre-eminently holy by the holiness of the Holy One, in whose special presence he was), by repeating the solemn command which he had given on a former occasion to Joshua's predecessor, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Who was it? It could be no other than he who revealed himself to Moses in the burning bush—*Jehovah*, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "*the coming One*."

Judges vi. 11, etc. Gideon was one of those remarkable persons who were raised up from time to time as great deliverers of the Israelites from the thralldom of their enemies. His appointment to the office of judge was sudden and marked. As he was thrashing wheat the angel of *Jehovah* appeared to him, and gave him his divine commission. And who was this angel or messenger of *Jehovah*? The context furnishes us with the answer. "*Jehovah* is with thee (said the angel of *Jehovah*) thou mighty man of valour." This cannot be, was the import of Gideon's sad and desponding reply. "*Jehovah* looked upon him and said, Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hand of the Midianites: have not I sent thee?" It is the same speaker in both instances. Gideon started various impediments which, in his estimation, wholly unfitted him for so important an office as he was called upon to fill. "And *Jehovah* (the same glorious being who had been addressing him hitherto) said unto him, Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man." Without referring to the latter part of the sacred narrative of this event, can any doubt who this messenger or angel of *Jehovah* was? It was the angel of the covenant—*Jehovah*, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "*the coming One*."

Judges xiii. 3, etc. The birth of Samson. Many of the circumstances connected with it carry us back in thought to the birth of Isaac. Like Sarah, Samson's mother was barren. The angel of *Jehovah* appeared to her, and declared that she should bear a son. The man of God appeared a second time, both to

her and her husband, and renewed the promise. Manoah wishes to detain him, to shew him hospitality, or to offer him divine honour. The angel of Jehovah objected to his doing so. If he prepared food for him, he would not eat it: and if he proposed offering a burnt-offering, he must offer it only to Jehovah. Manoah asked the stranger what his name was? "Why askest thou thus after my name (was the reply), seeing it is secret" (wonderful)? Without further parley, "Manoah took a kid, with a meat-offering, and offered it upon a rock unto *Jehovah*, and (He) the angel did wondrously." Who was this holy being, we ask again? Was he simply a created angel? Manoah viewed him simply as a man. "Art thou the *man* that speakest unto the woman?" And taking him to be only a man, it would have been highly wrong for Manoah to have offered to him a burnt-offering. "If thou wilt offer a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto *Jehovah*." The Holy One did not forbid his offering a burnt-offering to him, but he forbade his offering it to him in the light in which he then viewed him, as a *mere man*. He was right in offering a burnt-offering to him, but he must do so viewing him as Jehovah.

Take a somewhat analogous case. A ruler thus addressed our Lord. "Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life? And he (Jesus) said unto him, Why callest thou me *good*? There is none good but *one*, that is God." Did Jesus intend to forbid the ruler's calling him *good*? Assuredly not. The ruler evidently erred in calling Jesus *good*, because *he* viewed Jesus only as a *man*. He was right in calling Jesus *good*: but as God only is *good*, he alone could call Jesus *good*, in the highest sense of this word, without being guilty of sin, who viewed Jesus as very God as well as very man. The holy stranger, who appeared to Manoah and his wife, was no created angel. He was *Jehovah*. His name was "wonderful," and he did "wondrously:" and when He ascended up to heaven in the flame of the altar, Manoah and his wife "fell on their faces to the ground, and the former exclaimed, "We shall surely die, because we have seen God." This again was *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*."

These were some of the *personal* manifestations of "*the coming One*." In former dispensations, and in this last dispensation, a beautiful and striking similarity exists in this respect; namely, *personal* manifestations under each. Under former dispensations the human nature was shadowed forth. Under this last dispensation the real human nature was assumed and exhibited. But the comings of "the coming me," in other ways: in visions, in dreams, and in his invisible presence, by an audible voice, are so

constant and continuous throughout each of the dispensations preceding the Christian, that we need only to remark that their very frequency and *continuousness* cannot be more aptly described than by this very title itself, “ὁ ἐρχόμενος.” But whether in dreams, or in visions, or in his invisible presence, by an audible voice, or by personal manifestation, “*the coming One*” was continually acting out his glorious office of “ὁ παράκλητος,” rendering that aid, ministering that comfort, giving those commands, uttering those prophecies, and repeating those gracious promises to his people, and at such times, and in such a manner, and in such proportion, as He saw that their need required.

We pass on now to the glorious period when “*the coming One*” manifested himself, not in anticipation but in reality, in that new form and in that new nature which the first promise designated. “Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you: ye shall find the Babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger.” In this manner a messenger from heaven proclaimed the mysterious event of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. “The seed of the woman,” “the man Jehovah,” “*the coming One*,” was come: not come for the first time: but come in one other of the various forms of his *continuous* coming; and that too the most momentous. Born in obscurity, He was to continue in obscurity till the set time arrived for his presenting himself publicly before the world, to carry out the special part of the great work which He had undertaken. We notice various parties pointedly applying the title ὁ ἐρχόμενος, “*the coming One*,” to Jesus Christ.

John the Baptist sent to ask Him, “Art thou *the coming One* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος), or do we look for another?” John was well acquainted with “*the coming One's*” comings in all previous dispensations. He knew well the prophecies which spake of his coming. He knew that he was himself the harbinger of “*the coming One*,” when he should appear in the flesh. “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.” “I baptize with water, but there standeth one among you whom ye know not: he it is who, coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose. This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me, for he was before me.” “Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him.” John knew that the time was come when “*the coming One*” should manifest himself in his new nature. Nay more, he knew that he had

manifested himself, for John felt that he had himself fulfilled his office in bearing testimony to him; and without entering into the discussion *why* he sent from his prison cell two of his disciples to ask Jesus the question, we only note the question itself as giving the special title to our Lord. "Art thou ὁ ἐρχόμενος, *the coming One*; or look we for another?" as ὁ ἐρχόμενος. On another occasion, John, in drawing a comparison between himself and Jesus, degrading himself in his own eyes, and in the estimation of the world, in order to elevate his Lord and to attract special attention to the essential dignity, and to the developing glory of Jesus, declares, "He must increase; I must decrease. *The coming One* (ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος) from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: *the coming One* (ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος) from heaven is above all."

The *people* again spake of Jesus Christ under this emphatic and distinguished title. "Then those men, when they saw the miracle which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth the prophet, the *coming One* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) into the world" (John vi. 14). "And the multitude that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is *the coming One* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxi. 9). "And when he was come nigh, even now at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice, and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen; saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Luke xix. 37, 38).

Such was the statement and such were the impulsive feelings and exclamations of the thousands who looked upon our Lord in the flesh. Though through their blindness and their infantile condition, they scarcely caught even a glimpse of his glory, yet were they familiar with the title, "ὁ ἐρχόμενος," "ὁ ἐρχόμενος βασιλεὺς." What was wrapt up in the title they could not see. A thick veil hung over his essential Deity. He had emptied himself. A thick veil also was upon their hearts.

But there was an end to this particular form of His coming. "The things concerning me (said Jesus, viewing them in this sense) have an end." As he hung upon the cross, on the eve of entering the world of spirits, the memorable cry came forth from his lips, "It is finished, and he bowed his head, and delivered up his Spirit" (παρέδωκε τὸ Πνεῦμα, John xix. 30; ἀφῆκε τὸ Πνεῦμα, Matt. xxvii. 50; ἐξέπνευσε, Mark xv. 37, Luke xxiii. 46). At this solemn and mysterious moment then, we ask, Were the comings of "*the coming One*" suspended for a season?

He was gone. He was no longer visible to mortal eyes. Did Jesus then cease to be *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," as he had hitherto been? No, by no means. There was no pause whatever. His continuous comings still went on, invisible to mortal eyes. Jesus himself spake of them in the most comprehensive form, comprising every kind of coming, till his final coming, when the great work of bringing his redeemed to glory shall be completed; and, in doing so, he applied the title, "*the coming one*," in one instance to himself. "I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is *the coming One* (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*) in the name of the Lord." "If I go and prepare a place for you, *I am coming* again, and will receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also." "I will not leave you orphans (margin); *I am coming* unto you." "Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and *am coming* unto you." "Behold *I am coming* quickly." "And behold, *I am coming* quickly," "surely *I am coming* quickly." The apostle Paul also speaking of our Lord's coming, applies to him the same title. "Yet a little while '*the coming One*' (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*) will come and will not tarry."

We proceed to notice then the continuous comings of "*the coming One*," which were not for a moment interrupted even by his death. Jesus dismissed his spirit from its earthly tabernacle of flesh. His holy body was placed in the tomb: but Jesus was still invisibly present with his people, and left them not for an instant orphans. If Jesus was in heaven when he was upon the earth, ("and no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man who *is* in heaven;") and if Jesus is in the earth now that he is in heaven, then was Jesus upon the earth when he was *where he was* during the there days' separation from his body. We forbear making any remarks upon those speculations which some have indulged in as regards whither our Lord went, and what he did, during this brief period. It is sufficient for our present purpose to know that he was still "*the coming One*," present with and watching over those who were his. But this sad and solemn season of visible separation passed away. The third day dawned: and the Sun of Righteousness rose again. "*The coming One*" presented himself once more before his enraptured followers, in that holy body of flesh and blood which he had assumed for the special work of redemption. Who shall ever estimate the bliss experienced by those who enjoyed the comings of *the coming One* during those forty days he yet sojourned upon the earth?

There were a privileged few to whom these renewed personal visitations were vouchsafed, "witnesses chosen before of God:"

many of whom did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead.

Oh! the ecstasy that filled that holy woman's bosom, whose love and devoted attachment to her Lord brought her early to his tomb with the aromatic spices to embalm his sacred body. Bowed down with grief, she stood weeping at the sepulchre door, little aware of the exquisite joy which was to be her portion that day. The angelic sentinels, who were yet keeping watch over the hallowed spot where the holy body of Jesus had lain, attempted to assuage her grief by words of kindness: but her sorrow was too deeply rooted to receive relief even from angels' words. "Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto him, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." As Mary turned herself, a man appeared who, with equally kind intent, essayed by sympathizing questionings to soothe her troubled spirit. But there was no balm, however kindly administered, which would heal Mary's wound. Her precious Lord, her departed Lord, was the one absorbing subject of her thoughts. The one only earthly gratification left to her was to visit, to gaze upon, to honour and adore his sacred body: and now even this was taken from her, for some one had "taken it away." "Sir," she said to the stranger who had addressed her, "if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." Mary's sorrow had now reached its summit; and the moment of her exquisite joy was come. The man who stood by her, though she did not know him, was her risen Lord. "Ye now, therefore, have sorrow (said Jesus to his disciples on an occasion); but I will see you again, and your heart shalt rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you." This gracious promise was now fulfilled in Mary's case; and can we picture to ourselves the bliss which she must have experienced when Jesus said to her, in a voice she recognized, "*Mary!*" and she replied, "*Master!*" and in the moment of ecstatic joy was about to embrace her beloved Lord. This coming of (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*), *the coming One*, what must it have been to Mary's loving, holy soul? A taste, a foretaste, of heaven's bliss. But Mary Magdalene, though she was the first who was favoured with a visit from "*the coming One*" after his resurrection, was not the only one. Other holy persons also were similarly blessed. Among these were Mary the mother of James and Joses: the two disciples on their way to Emmaus; Peter, when alone by himself; certain of his disciples when fishing on the sea of Tiberias; the eleven on a mountain in Galilee; the five hundred at once; the chosen ones who witnessed the solemn and mysterious event of his ascension; the ten who were in a room together

with closed doors, to whom "*the coming One*" addressed these words of deep and pregnant meaning, "Peace be unto you:" and then breathing on them, (an act symbolizing the deep import and significancy of the words which followed,) "saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained:" and also the eleven, eight days after, when the precious words, "Peace be unto you," came forth again from his lips: and when the only event which cast a momentary shadow over the bright and joyful scene was the well-merited but mild rebuke, which Thomas received for his incredulity.

These were the privileged ones to whom "*the coming One*" shewed himself alive after his resurrection. Can we estimate their joy? The dense cloud which spread over them when their Lord was gone had cleared away, never again to darken their horizon. It is true his visible presence in the flesh was ere long again to terminate; but the next separation would be widely different from the one which they had just experienced. That separation, for aught they knew, might have lasted for ever: but now that their Lord had risen, and had appeared, and had conversed again with them, former prophecies and promises had had fresh light flash over them, and had been repeated in a still clearer form; and, as the necessary result, their next separation for a season would be more than compensated by the new view which they now had of "*the coming One's*" continuous and un-remitting comings, till the last great coming to take his redeemed to glory.

Passing over that particular coming for judgment, to pour out the vials of his righteous indignation upon the devoted city Jerusalem, which event many (and perhaps rightly) refer the following Scriptures: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. xvi. 28); "Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" (John xxi. 22);—passing over, I repeat, this coming, we would now notice the continuous comings of (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) "*the coming One*" from the time of His ascension.

Doubtless, "*the coming One*" comes now to his people by his Spirit. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you *another* Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you and shall be in you." Has Jesus, then, ceased to be "*Comforter*," paraclete (ὁ παράκλητος)? No. He has sent the Holy Ghost to be the paraclete in his place, as regards a per-

manent abode in the bodies and souls of his people; but Jesus is still the paraclete at the right hand of God. "If any man sin, we have a paraclete (παράκλητον) with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous" (John ii. 1). Jesus is then not simply an intercessor; but in his glorious, comprehensive office of paraclete, he is at the right hand of God to do (as we have observed before) for his people everything which they can possibly stand in need of. The Holy Spirit is the abiding paraclete on the earth. Jesus Christ is still his people's paraclete, to do for them whatever their wants require in heaven. By his Holy Spirit, then, abiding with his people, and in his people, during their earthly sojourn, Jesus in a sense comes to his people; but as "*the coming One*" (Jesus) comes himself personally, though invisibly, to his people, and it is the glorious office of faith to realize his coming.

"*The coming One*," then, comes to his people now, *continuously*, by his invisible but real presence, in the following ways. First, *generally*. "Lo, I am with you alway (says Jesus), even unto the end of the world." Is there a spot, is there a moment of time, where and when "*the coming One*" is not present with, watching over his body the church, and each individual member? Secondly, *specially*. "Where two or three are gathered together into (εἰς) my name, there am I in the midst of them." This must be special, otherwise it would have been sufficiently expressed in the general. Where his people meet together for joint worship, what is the one desire of their souls? To meet Christ, as the one great central object of attraction. The Lord, who knows the heart, knows when those who are his are longing to meet together for congregational worship. He knows that each and all are more or less animated by one spirit, one holy longing to gather together into him, as their head, their paraclete: the one, and the only one, in union with whom, and through whom they themselves and their offerings can be accepted of God. With this feeling in their hearts, he knows that they each and all come forth from their different abodes to meet into him, in some spot which they have fixed upon; and as he knows all this, and recognizes in this oneness of desire and purpose which pervades them all the indwelling workings of his Holy Spirit, in each of their hearts, so "*the coming One*," according to his promise, comes to meet them in a special manner, not simply to receive their adoration and to bless them, but as their head, to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to his Father and our Father. And if (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) "*the coming One*" comes in this *special* manner to *few*, or to *many*, gathered together into his name, so also does he come in a *special* manner to individual Christians.

"If a man love Me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will *come unto him*, and make our abode with him" (John xiv. 23). "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door, *I will come in to him*, and sup with him, and he with me" (Rev. iii. 20). Words cannot describe the depth of meaning contained in these expressions. The experience of individual Christians alone can gauge it, and the experience even of the most advanced among them in the spiritual life is capable of realizing but a small portion of that infinite bliss which is wrapt up in the simple but significative figure employed by our Lord.

The special comings of "*the coming One*," to individual believers, how precious are they, and how continuous on his part. There is not a moment when they cannot be enjoyed. If they are not experienced at any time by any member of his mystical body, what is the cause? A lack of lively faith in that particular member. As long as lively faith keeps open the door, *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," is always at hand to enter in.

How privileged, how blessed, is the condition of the true believer. What is such an one's source of happiness and ever animating joy? Realizing the reality of "*the coming One's*" actual presence, his coming to *him*. Faith in him is of a truth the "*substance (ὑπόστασις)* of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." The real Christian believer derives his joy not from faith, but from the actual presence of *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "*the coming One*," which faith in him realizes. As each new day dawns upon the world, and he rises from his bed, what is that one thing which reflects a holy sunshine upon the believer's existence—makes him happy even when his spirit may be bowed down within by bodily affliction, mental grief, distressing bereavement, or other earthly trial?—The coming of "*the coming One*," which to him is no sentimental idea, but a veritable fact, a certainty.

Then again, as regards the inward enjoyment of "*the coming One*," which the believer experiences when lying upon his death-bed—emaciated, feeble, and now in every respect emancipated from the world; contrast it with the death-bed feelings of the worldly one who lies in the same state of bodily prostration, in the adjoining house (it may be), or in the same town or village. The latter presents a miserable spectacle, a sad exhibition of fallen humanity. Such an one has been living an essentially carnal life, though not perhaps a grossly immoral one. This world has been his all; he has really loved it, lived for it, and the world has been to him his only fountain of enjoyment. But now, what is the world to him? He is incapable

of any longer entering into its amusements and pleasures. It is torn from him, and he is torn from it. His worldly friends and associates, what are they now to him, if at least one here and there cares to think of him, or visit him in his dying chamber? Will their kindly expressions of pity, or of grief, administer consolation to his unhappy mind? Will any utterances of their's calm his troubled spirit? Perhaps his conscience is sufficiently awake to know and to feel that he has lived an unprofitable and a godless life; that the most solemn period of his existence which he has arrived at, and which he is now passing through, has been that against which he has always closed his eyes; and when at times it was brought vividly before his mind by others, he put it from him at once, and rushed deeper into gaiety and worldliness to obliterate it from his thoughts. Miserable comforters, indeed, are the most feeling and the most kindly of his worldly acquaintances, for they are ignorant themselves of the only source of real consolation; how, therefore, can they draw out to others from a fountain from which they have never drawn for themselves? The dying worldling is a distressing spectacle to gaze upon: no ray of blissful hope lights up his bosom. It is all dark, cheerless, hopeless.

Now turn from this scene of sadness, and visit in thought the dying chamber of the Christian believer. It is indeed the place of mourning, but it is mourning having in it an element of joy. Death is hovering there, and there is something necessarily sad connected with death; but the Christian believer has no dread of death. There he lies, cheerful, happy, and calmly awaiting death's approach. Look intently upon that dying form and think. It is a study, solemn and sublime. The earthly tabernacle is emaciated, weak, helpless; the tongue is well nigh dumb: the eyes are dim; the cheek is palid, colourless. The human frame is in its last stage of existence; and yet within that feeble frame there is a spirit joyous, happy. Heavenly bliss is experienced there which no mortal's tongue can describe. Its sacred, silent existence, though unperceived by human eyes, yet felt by those who are of a kindred spirit, casts a halo around that dying form. Yes, heaven's joy has long ago, in its foretaste, been felt within that dying Christian's breast. Months may have passed away since sickness first laid him low on his bed of death, but throughout that time unutterable comfort has filled his heart; and what to the world has appeared to be a condition of misery and gloominess has been to him a paradise of joy.

What a contrast between these two sick and dying persons. Hopeless misery marks the one; exquisite bliss is the characteristic feature of the other. And whence this differ-

ence between them? The one is now deserted by that world which he has worshipped, and disowned by that Holy Being whom he has not worshipped. His whole life has been a life of closing the door against the comings of "*the coming One*," and now on his death-bed wretchedness and despair are his portion.

How different the state of the other, the Christian believer. The comings of "*the coming One*" have been the continuous feeders of the spiritual life in Christ which he has lived. These comings continue without interruption to light up his spirit, whilst animal life is gradually going out, flickering in the socket; and when the solemn moment arrives for his spirit being set free from its earthly tenement to wing its flight into the eternal world, the comings of "*the Coming One*" to him will only then be stopped because of his being in the immediate presence of his Lord.

But we have yet to notice the special coming of "*the coming One*," which is yet future. How many and how varied are the Scriptures which speak of it. "Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh" (Matt. xxv. 13). "Watch, therefore, for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh" (Matt. xxiv. 42—44). "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven" (Acts i. 11). We are all aware of the differences of opinion which exist in the minds of Christians as regards this momentous event. Very many are advocates for a premillennial advent, and as many perhaps are opposed to that view, and look for a postmillennial advent only. There are certain ones also who are most dogmatic in their opinions and statements, and can hardly bear with any who are opposed to them. To every dispassionate and reflecting mind the subject is surrounded with difficulty. It is the one of all others upon which persons should not dogmatize; but whilst they hold and rigidly adhere to their own opinions, they ought to respect the opinions of others who may differ from them.

Men of the deepest piety and of the profoundest learning, and in every way qualified to form an opinion upon so mysterious a subject, have widely differed from each other in the conclusions which they have come to; and this should make all modest minds pause before they condemn those who cannot see with them upon this point, or regard such as spiritually unenlightened. Moreover, most persons who hold pre-millennial views, and are of one mind as regards the broad question, differ so much from each other in the details, that this again should

dispose them to be considerate towards those who are of opposite sentiments. The pre-millennial personal reign of Jesus Christ has its difficulties, and the spiritual millennium has its greater difficulties, which are apparently insurmountable. It certainly appears that there will be two future special comings of "*the coming One*." As regards the former of these, the writer of this paper forbears, in the present instance, giving his opinion. The second will take place when Jesus Christ "shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him; and he shall sit upon the throne of his glory; and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them, one from the other, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Then shall he say also unto them on his left hand, Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. xxv. 31, etc.). This is the general resurrection. The comings of "*the coming One*" will then be ended. Satan, sin, and death, which necessitated his taking up the glorious office which his title designates, will then be destroyed, and he will take his people with him to glory. In the full view which the Church has of this glorious subject, what is her prayer, as stated by the Apostle, in reply to "*the coming One's*" declaration, "Behold I am coming quickly?" "Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus." Gracious is the declaration; simple, loving, is the prayer in reply.

In concluding this paper, the writer would inculcate upon others what he would pray more and more to be enabled to do himself. *First*, to grasp this great subject embodied in the title (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*), "*the coming One*," in its most comprehensive form. In speaking and thinking of the comings of Jesus Christ, most persons confine their thoughts to our Lord's first and second advents: viz., his coming in the flesh in his state of humiliation, and his future coming in glory at the end of the world. The whole period, from the fall of man to his complete recovery, "*the coming One*" has been fulfilling, and will continue to fulfil, the glorious office which his name describes. Stier speaks "of the fulness of meaning in this promised coming again (John xiv. 3); that it takes in *perspectively* the whole series of the resurrection, pentecostal, home-fetching, and judicial coming again, as it was to develop itself by degrees into full consummation." And Dean Alford, again, in his note on John xiv. 3, referring to Stier's remarks, observes: "In order to understand this, we must bear in mind what Stier well calls the *perspective* of prophecy. The coming again of the Lord is

not one single act, as his resurrection, or the descent of the Spirit, or his second personal advent, or the final coming to judgment; but the great complex of all these, the result of which shall be his taking his people to himself, to be where he is. This *ἐρχομαι* is begun (v. 18) in his resurrection; carried on (v. 23) in the spiritual life (see also ch. xvi. 22 ff); the making them ready for the place prepared; further advanced, when each by death is fetched away to be with him (Phil. i. 23) fully completed at his coming in glory, when they shall for ever be with him (1 Thess. iv. 17) in the perfected resurrection state.”

Secondly. To seek more and more to realize the personal Christ in his comings. Not simply to believe in him as having worked out a righteousness for us, and atoned for our sins on the earth, and as being now in heaven, at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us, but as being “*the coming One*” to us whom we can realize as personally present. *Lastly.* To be in a waiting spirit—waiting “*the coming One’s*” special personal comings now day by day; and also his future special coming, when the whole body of the redeemed shall unite in singing this glorious song of victory, “Lo, this is our God: we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is Jehovah; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.”

W. R. COXWELL ROGERS.

“ELIAS WHO WAS TO COME.”

By ORIENTALIST.

THOUGH, from our standpoint, we may speak of Elias who *was* to come, yet Jesus spoke differently: *ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι*, “who *is* about to come.” On the import of these words various opinions are afloat. Thus some, including perhaps the English translators of this part of the New Testament, assume that Elias was John. Others maintain that the two Apocalyptic witnesses are yet to appear, and are to be Enoch or Moses, and Elias. To elicit and elucidate the real meaning of the words in question, I shall present a close translation of the various passages relating to the Elias of the Gospel period, with brief expository remarks; and shall combine with these, two relating to John, on account of his supposed identity with Elias.

Isaiah xl. 3. “The voice of a caller in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of Jehovah, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.”—These words, quoted by Christ with a little abbreviation, were applied to John (Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3). But no allusion is made to Elias in name or character.

Mal. iii. 1. "Behold, I am sending my messenger; and he has prepared the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye are seeking, shall come suddenly to his temple."—Christ quoted these words, and applied them to John (Matt. xi. 10); therefore there is no room to doubt that Malachi here predicted John's appearance. And the latter part of the verse shews that John was to precede, as we know he did, the coming of Christ to his temple, whether we understand that of his entrance into it before his crucifixion, his visit to it at twelve years of age, or his presentation in it, according to the law, on the fortieth day from his birth.

Mal. iv. 6. "Behold, I am sending you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and awful day of Jehovah. And he hath turned the heart of fathers upon children, and the heart of children upon fathers, ere I come and have smitten this land with destruction."—This passage has been often in quotation confounded with the preceding, and thus erroneously, as we shall see, applied to John. The LXX. have unwarrantably used the word "Tishbite" instead of prophet, and have thus sanctioned the idea of an advent of the Tishbite.

"*The day of Jehovah*" is the gospel age, as in Joel ii. 31, cited by Peter on the day of Pentecost. The same great day is repeatedly spoken of by Zechariah, in connection with Christ's death (xiii. 1), the fall of Jerusalem (xiv. 1, 2), etc., and by Paul as the day of salvation (2 Cor. vi. 2), etc.

"*Upon children.*"—The preposition לְ, *al*, here rendered "upon," often expresses falling upon, etc., in the sense of opposition. Thus it is employed to express the murmuring of the people against Moses and God. Jacob employs it, saying (Gen. xlii. 36), "*All these things are against me.*" This sense is given in lexicons. And in Noldius's concordance of Hebrew particles, the sense of *contra* (against) is given to לְ no less than three hundred and fifty-three times. To express turning *to*, or reconciling, the usual preposition would be לָ. The rendering "to" may be thought to receive support from Luke i. 17, in which Gabriel says of John, "He shall turn the hearts of fathers to (ἐπὶ, *upon*) children." This preposition with an accusative, as here is explained (see Dunbar's *Lexicon*), *to*, *for*, *against*, etc. John commenced the work, which Jesus performed much more completely, of exciting parents and children against each other, by converting men, and thus rendering them objects of persecution by bigotted relatives. Thus were fulfilled the words of Micah (vii. 6), "A man's foes are those of his own

house." Gabriel, however, did not call John Elias, though he compared him to that prophet "in spirit and in power."

"*Ere I come*," is in the English, "lest I come," which would imply a doubt whether or not Christ would come to smite the land." But this was no matter of uncertainty. This preposition is a word of warning (see Newm. *Lex.*) joined with the future, and is sometimes explained by *verily, certainly*. In the Syriac it is rendered by a word meaning "before that." Christ before his death foretold his coming to bring the catastrophe on Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv.). And ere it occurred, he had by his preaching, and especially by the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit, converted multitudes, and thus given occasion for their suffering from their countrymen. Thus the two passages of Malachi do not both point to John. In the former, the "messenger" was to precede Christ's coming to his temple. In the latter, Elijah the prophet was to perform a converting work before the great and awful day of Jehovah. This Elijah, then, is obviously Christ, of whom the Tishbite was an illustrious type, whose name, as explained in onomasticons, *God Jehovah*, described the prophet only typically, and was literally applicable only to Christ.

Matt. xi. 10—14. "I tell you truly, Among those sprung from women there has not been raised up a greater than John the Baptist; but he who is junior in the kingdom of the heavens^a is greater than he. But from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of the heavens suffers violence, and the violent plunder it. Now all the prophets and the law, until John, prophesied. And if ye are willing to receive (it or him), he is Elias who is about to come."—The phrase, "*He who is junior*" (ὁ μικρότερος, *the less*), is doubly misinterpreted.

1. "He" is arbitrarily taken to mean "*quisque*,"—every one.
2. The oriental idiom is overlooked by Europeans. In Indian, Shemitic, etc., languages, words for *great* and *small* are often applied to age, and then mean *older* and *younger*. Thus Ham is called in the English "the younger (יָשָׁר, *small*) son of Noah." "James the less" or junior is mentioned by Mark (xv. 40). With this idiom those who hear and understand Eastern languages as vernaculars are familiar. Jesus was the younger in relation to John, but his superior and acknowledged Master. We therefore need no fanciful reasons for making the lowest believer greater than "the Friend of the Bridegroom;" nor need we, with Bengel, make a special rule by construing the comparative as a superlative. John, who was beheaded,

^a Not from the end of his days but their beginning; for though his ministry was at its close, he was still in life.

could not have been the Tishbite who was carried up to heaven without death. From the murder of John till the present, our Lord in effect says, the kingdom of heaven has been like Israel, oppressed by Jezebel, before Elijah vindicated the honour of Jehovah. No such vindication was wrought by John: he only preached and warned. The prophets and the law, down to John inclusive, predicted the advent of one who had not his full portraiture in John,—of a great Restorer. John testified to one superior to himself. Therefore Elias, the restorer of true worship, and of man to God’s favour, was not John, but his junior and Lord.

As verses 12 and 13 are parenthetical and explanatory, the antecedent of “He” (αὐτός) in verse 14 is the μικρότερος, or junior, of verse 11, viz., Jesus. “*He is Elias,*” not who was, but “*who is to come;*” for there is no past tense in the clause, ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι, *who is about to come.* John had ended his ministry and was in prison, about to pass into the church triumphant. It is therefore simply impossible that the words can apply to him. But of Jesus they are obviously true; He is the antitypal Elias, who restored all things from traditional encrustations on the divine law, and from the priesthood of Scribes and Pharisees, and especially his people from the curse of sin. He is the true Elias who ascended to heaven, never to return and be put to death.

Matt. xvii. 10—13. “The disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must have come first? But he having answered, said to them that Elias indeed cometh and will restore all things. But I tell you that Elias has now come, and they have not known him, but have done to him as many things as they wished. Even thus the Son of Man is about to suffer from them. Then understood the disciples that concerning John the Baptist he said it to them.”—The scribes no doubt derived their opinion from the occurrence of the name of Elijah in Mal. iv. 6, and the construction they put on that and other scriptures from their theory of Messiah. And that the disciples, during our Lord’s ministry, were of the same opinion, is evident from their making the appearance of Elias on the mount of transfiguration the occasion of putting the question.

It does not seem possible, without forcing each clause of this passage, to identify Elias with John, or with any other than Jesus. “*Elias cometh*” (ἔρχεται).—This cannot apply to the past. But John had already come and completed his ministry. “*Restore,*”—a word in the future, and of important meaning, referring to Christ’s atoning work, followed by the efflux of the Spirit. The disciples just before the ascension employed the words:

"Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i. 6). Even they had continued to think of a temporal kingdom of the Messiah,—an opinion not rectified until the Spirit descended. "*During^a the times of restoration of all things spoken by the prophets,*" etc. (Acts iii. 21). Now whatever opinion is entertained of the length of these times, the restoration was not in any sense effected by John, but by Jesus. He, therefore, is Elias the Restorer. "*They have not known Him.*"—This is not anywhere said of John. They knew that he was a prophet; and he informed them he was not the Messiah. But it is repeatedly and emphatically said of Jesus: "*No man knoweth the Son but the Father:*" "*The world knew Him not:*" "*Whom none of the princes of this world knew,*" etc. "*They have done what they wished.*"—Herod, it is true, did violence to John; but it was in opposition to his own wish. But Christ here speaks not of one persecutor, but of the people at large. Hence He adds, "*Even thus (ὁυτως καὶ) the Son of Man is about to suffer,*" thus identifying Him with Elias. On what other principle did He introduce the name of the Son of Man at all? This we have never seen explained; nor does any explanation but the one seem possible.

But the last words may seem a difficulty: "*They understood that He spake of John;*" συνῆκαν, a verb explained in lexicons to mean "*putting together in the mind,*"—drawing an inference, forming a mental judgment, or opinion. Νοέω (or ἐννοέω) would be the word for the understanding of a proposition (Matt. xxiv. 15; John xii. 40; Rom. i. 20). But was this understanding of their's correct? It was often erroneous, and why not here? We have reason to put this question; for in this passage, and the parallel one in Mark, we find that they understood various most important matters incorrectly, and of which they never attained a right understanding until the day of Pentecost. Thus, they thought Moses and Elias had come to remain with Christ, and needed tabernacles. They did not understand the rising from the dead, nor the necessity of their Master's

^a Ἀχρι=μέχρι (see lexicons). This is translated in various parts of the New Testament *for, in, while, hitherto*, etc. (Luke iv. 13; Acts xiii. 11; xxvii. 33; Heb. iii. 13, etc.). It means *during* in such classic phrases as μέχρι πολλοῦ *for or during a long time*; μέχρι ζωῆς *during life*, etc. The lexicographers also apply it to a time both exclusive and inclusive of that time. The latter is the evident sense in Acts iii. 21; for long periods in the plural are spoken of. The meaning, then, cannot be, until the beginning of them all, but rather until they are all ended,—*during* them all. The heavens were to receive Christ during the fulfilment of all the prophecies of the *restoration*, or, which is tantamount, until all these prophecies are fulfilled. By the heavens are meant the worlds of glory, of which the New Jerusalem in the gospel age (αἰών) is the capital, and from the throne in which he dispenses judgment among the nations during his making of his enemies his footstool.

death, nor how some standing there should, before death, see the kingdom of God, nor even the nature of that kingdom. But it is plain from Acts ii. and iii. that after the fiery baptism, they did understand these things aright, and knew that Jesus was the restorer of all things.

Matt. ix. 12. "He said to them, Elias indeed having come restoreth all things. And how is it written respecting the Son of Man, that He must suffer many things, and be despised? But I tell you that Elias has come, and they have done to Him whatever things they wished, thus it has been written respecting Him." Here again Elias and the Son of Man are terms interchanged. The question is asked, How is it written concerning the Son of Man? and the answer is given from the treatment of Elias, and that the very treatment which Jesus received. There can be no reasonable question that *πῶς*, *how*, is interrogative. But if viewed only as an indefinite, the meaning would be tantamount: "how,—thus."

We are thus freed from all the *quasi* interpretations which too many commentators build loosely on the mere translation of these passages. Those who are content to tread the mill of commentaries on translations, will be likely to resist my appeal to the original passages. And those whose minds are pre-occupied with the theory that the Tishbite must come from glory to be slain as a witness, are deprived of this fulcrum for their lever. Those who think John was Elias,—and with these I confess I classed myself, as long as I merely drew from the floating capital of translations and traditional interpretations of these passages—are shewn that the prophecies respecting John are quite unconnected with that respecting Elias; and it may here be added that John's garment of camel's hair only marked him to be a prophet, as the surplice marks an Anglican divine, but did not prove him to be Elias; and there is no evidence that the food of John was the same with that of the prophets, or that they were restricted to any kind of food. Our Lord shewed the fulfilment in himself of Malachi's prophecy respecting Elias the prophet. As this title was, or may have been, taken from Elijah the Tishbite, so the typical status of that honoured though persecuted prophet should be kept in view. He testified against human rites superadded to the professed worship of Jehovah; so did Jesus. He was driven to the desert, and preserved by miracle; so was Jesus. He brought fire from heaven; so did Jesus bring the cloven tongues of fire on the disciples. He slew the priests of Baal; so did Jesus "take away the name and place" of the Jewish nation. He was raised to heaven: so was Jesus. A double portion of his spirit rested on his disciple; so Jesus gave greater gifts of the Spirit after his ascension than during his ministry.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN JOB.—Chap. xxxii.—xlii.

(Concluded from Vol. IX., page 314.)

WITH chap. xxxii. we enter on the conclusion of the drama of this book. The friends of Job have sought in vain a solution of the meaning of his troubles in the sinfulness of his past life. Job has defended himself against these charges, and maintained his innocence. All the arguments of his companions are exhausted, and they are brought to silence. Then Elihu's indignation is roused. He has waited in expectation that the other three would resume the subject, but in vain. So perforce, as he says, he gives his judgment on the subject. He blames Job for justifying himself before God, and his friends that they have not found out the true answer. After he has uttered his own sentiments, the true answer to the difficult question of Job's troubles is given. Elohim himself appears, and declares the whole truth. Before His voice Job, who had resented the accusations of his friends, humbles himself. And the book ends with a description of the happy conclusion of Job's life.

Chap. xxxiii. 19. The latter clause of this verse the English version has not rendered quite correctly, though the sense is in the main given. Instead of "and the *multitude* of his bones with strong pain," it should be rendered, "and the contention or pain of his bones is continued;" רִיב contention. Lis, rixa. Gesenius.

Verse 23. "If there be a *messenger* with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand to shew unto man his uprightness." The Hebrew word מַלְאָכִי, like the Greek ἄγγελος, has two meanings, "messenger," and "angel;" and here there can be little doubt the latter signification is the preferable one. Elihu says at verse 14, "God speaketh *once*, yea *twice*." One way is given from verse 15—18, where man's conscience is roused by divinely sent warnings. The *second* way in which God speaks is by means of chastisements, sickness, and the fear of death; and the description of this mode of God's dealings begins at verse 19. The Septuagint has preserved this distinction between the *once*, yea *twice*, for they translate verse 19, πάλιν δὲ ἡλεγχεν αὐτόν ἐν μαλακίᾳ ἐπὶ κοίτης. Now in such a condition under sickness and the fear of death, when "his soul draweth near unto the grave, and his life to the destroyers" (verse 22), and there is a dread of the hereafter, man longs for some support, some mediator. If this be provided, then is his soul comforted. And therefore, in order to understand the transition from verse 22 to

verse 24, we must take מַלְאָכִי to mean no earthly messenger, but a heavenly being, sent to comfort the soul, *μεσότης*; and we should, then, translate, "If there be an *angel* with him," etc., "then he is gracious unto him," etc. This makes the whole passage much clearer, whereas in the English version it is difficult to understand any connection between the verses. The longing for a mediator between God and man, more especially felt at the last hour, and with the prospect of death, here finds expression. "One among a thousand" = not "one angel out of many," but one of the highest of the angelic host, who would be able to perform for man this necessary office.

Verse 27. The English version seems quite to have missed the meaning of the latter clause of this verse. The speaker is recounting the consolations which shall accrue from the presence of a mediator, and one of the chief will be the forgiveness of sin. It would be nothing for an angel to shew the dying man that when he had "perverted that which was right, *it profited him not.*" But a closer rendering of the Hebrew gives a very pregnant meaning: "I have sinned and perverted the right, and it was not made equal to me;" *i. e.* it was not reckoned to me; it was not paid to me as I deserved. לֹא שָׁוָה לִי "Et non æquale factum, non æquatum est mihi."

Chap. xxxiv. 23. "For he will not lay upon man more than right, that he should enter into judgment with God." This does not seem to be the meaning of the original, though the sense is quite intelligible and suitable. שִׁים does not here signify "place on," but rather as chap. xxxvii. 15 (לְבֹרֶה being supplied), "direct his attention to." The meaning thus will be, "He the all-seeing One needs not to give heed to man, that he should go to Him for judgment," *i. e.*, He knows man through and through without and before all inquiry, so that man need not appeal unto God for judgment, as though his cause were unknown. Here Elihu may be understood as referring to Job's impetuously expressed wish that his cause might be tried by God. It will be seen that this interpretation connects this verse more closely with the preceding than the rendering given in the English version.

Verse 31. There is a considerable difference of opinion among commentators how לֵאמֹר shall be taken, whether for לְהֵאמֹר *dicendum est*, as is done by our translators, or whether the לֵאמֹר is to be regarded as interrogative. The latter way is preferred by Delitzsch, and the meaning will be, "That one shall say to God,

I have exalted myself, I will not do evil." *אֲשַׁחֲמֵד*, "I will exalt myself," as Hosea xiii. 1. Ewald understands this verse differently. "I pay the penalty of a wrong I have not done."

Verse 33. This is a somewhat difficult passage to translate, though the meaning intended to be expressed is not hard to understand. It may be well to place a closer rendering of the Hebrew by the side of the translation in the English version. In our Bibles it is thus: "Should it be according to thy mind? He will recompense it, whether thou refuse or whether thou choose, and not I: therefore speak what thou knowest." It may be rendered literally thus: "Shall he repay it (*i.e.* good or evil) according to thee (*i.e.* thy will), that thou hast despised (His judgments), so that thou shalt choose, and not I: and what thou knowest speak." The question Elihu asks of Job is, whether God shall recompense good and evil according to *his* notions of right and wrong. His eager justification of himself shews that he is dissatisfied with the present ordering of His providence, "despises." As for Elihu himself, he is perfectly satisfied with God's justice (and "not I"); for that reason, let Job speak, if he has anything to say. And then the speaker goes on to assert (verse 34), that men of understanding will agree with him. "Men of understanding will say to me, and a man of wisdom hearkens to me." In the latter clause of verse 36, instead of "because of his answers *for* wicked men," it would be better to render the words, "because of his answers *after the manner of* wicked men."

Chap. xxxv. 15. By most modern commentators verse 16 is taken as correlative to verse 15, in which case the connection would be either (1) Because God's anger does not visit, therefore Job opens his mouth; or (2) because God does not visit Job's anger, therefore, etc. But it seems better, with Delitzsch, to regard the latter clause of the verse as interrogative, and as corresponding to the first clause. Thus the sense will be perfect in itself. There will then be no need to supply words as the English version has done, which really confuse the meaning, and render the passage as it stands in our English Bibles almost unintelligible. In the English version the passage is thus: "But now because it is not so, he hath visited in his anger; yet he knoweth it not in great extremity;" and the translators have thought it necessary to explain in the margin that the first "he" refers to God, the second to Job. Literally translated, without the addition of words to be understood, the latter clause being taken as an interrogative, the meaning will be this: "And now because His anger does not yet visit, does He not know well concerning transgression?" There is a dispute about the mean-

ing of the word **שֵׁט**, which only occurs here. Sept. *παράπτωμα*; Vulg. "scelus." Gesenius suggests that it may be put for **פֶּשַׁע**, peccatum. No other meaning can be given to the word.

Chap. xxxvi. 17, 18. In English version thus rendered: "But thou hast fulfilled the judgment of the wicked: judgment and justice take hold on thee. Because there is wrath, beware lest he take thee away with his stroke: then a great ransom cannot deliver thee." The first clause of verse 17 should rather be translated, "Thou art full of wicked judgment," though the sense of the other rendering is much the same. With respect to the latter clause Gesenius gives the meaning of **יִתְמָכּוּ**, "tenuerunt se invicem, exceperunt se," and therefore instead of "take hold of thee," it should be rendered, "take hold of one another," i.e. the judgment and justice of the wicked go hand in hand; punishment follows surely on such judgment as they give.

Verse 18 is undoubtedly a very difficult passage, the difficulty of which is increased by the use of words not in the original, which the English version has supplied. Here, as xxxv. 15, a more literal rendering would have given a more intelligible meaning. Gesenius renders it thus: "Lest wrath excite thee by His punishment, and the multitude of ransom lead thee astray;" i.e., lest the wrath of God, by which He is punishing thee, cause exasperation against Him, and thou art led to rely on thy good deeds as a sufficient defence. In this case the anger is taken to be God's wrath. Delitzsch understands **חֵמָה**, "anger," to refer to Job's expression of indignation, and gives a translation which seems to be the better one, viz., "lest anger mislead thee in its abundance, and the multitude of ransom lead thee astray;" i.e., "Take heed not to be overcome by thy present violent emotions, nor rely on thy past good deeds as a compensation for thy iniquity." Fürst gives the same meaning to **שֹׁפֵק**, viz., "abundance," while Gesenius renders it "punishment."

Verse 19. "Will he esteem thy riches? not gold and all the strength of wealth." So Gesenius translates this verse in agreement with the rendering in the English version. Delitzsch gives quite a different version. He takes **שָׁרַע** in its meaning of supplication or cry for help, and **בְּצָר** as composed of **צָר**, i.e., tribulation, and the proposition **כִּי** not as **בְּצָר**, i.e., gold. His rendering of the verse will be therefore, "Shall thy crying place thee out of trouble, and all the exertions of thy strength." How-

ever, the meaning first given, which has high authority in its favour, affords (it seems) the best sense, and agrees well with the preceding verse.

Verse 32. The insertion of the words "*not to shine*," and "*the cloud*," in the English version, has unnecessarily confused the sense of this verse, and, indeed, altered its meaning. Literally translated, the sense is not difficult to see. In the English Bible it is rendered, "With clouds he covereth the light; and commandeth it *not to shine* by *the cloud* that cometh betwixt." It may be literally rendered thus: "With the palms of His hands He hideth the light, and commandeth it against the adversary;" *i.e.*, He brings thick clouds over the sun, and out of these clouds He sends the lightnings, the instruments of his wrath. It is superfluous to remark on the poetical beauty of the idea which is conveyed by the words themselves, which do not require any addition to bring out their meaning.

Verse 33. In the latter clause of this verse only is there any difficulty, and interpreters give such very different meanings that it is not possible to offer more than a conjecture as to the best translation of it. Both the Septuagint and Vulgate are wide of the mark. Hitzig proposes, "The sound gives notice of it, making wrath rage against iniquity," and the Hebrew seems to bear out this meaning. In this version, the idea of the latter clause of the preceding verse is carried out, that the lightning is made the instrument of punishment on the transgressors.

Another meaning is given by Delitzsch, who takes מִקְנֵה (which signifies "possessions" in general, more particularly those which consist in cattle) in the sense altogether of "cattle," and renders the words, "The sound gives notice of it, the cattle truly of its rising;" and he understands an allusion to the uneasiness which is shewn by the cattle on the approach of a thunderstorm. However true to nature is the idea thus expressed, one is induced to prefer the meaning given by Hitzig as possibly most correct philologically. It would be better if verse 1 of chap. xxxvii. had concluded chap. xxxvi., since the words "at this also my heart trembleth, and is moved out of its place," belong to the preceding description of the storm.

Chap. xxxvii. 4. "He will not stay *them*," *i.e.*, the lightnings. It is obvious to point out the poetical beauty and accuracy of this description of a tempest, more especially in the East, where such an event is grander and more impressive than with us. In verse 3 the sacred poet speaks first of the thunder, "He directeth it;" then of the lightning, which He sends unto the wings of the earth (πτερυγες). Then the sound of the thunder is heard. "After it a voice roareth;" and then again

the writer speaks of the matchless swiftness of the lightning. "He will not stay them." Ewald's translation, "Should he not find them," viz., the men to be punished, introduces a thought which is not in place here.

Verse 7. Having spoken of God's wonders in the storm in summer time, the speaker proceeds to describe the natural phenomena of other seasons of the year, the rain of the late autumn, the snow and cold of the winter. In this latter season, "He sealeth up the hand of every man;" *i.e.*, men are hindered from their work out of doors by reason of the cold.

Verse 11. This verse might be more closely rendered thus: "With water He ladeth the cloud; He spreads abroad the cloud of his light." Gesenius gives to the hiphil of רָצַף the meaning either of casting forth the cloud in rain—*i.e.*, making it descend in rain, or of placing something on it. Delitzsch gives the latter sense.

Verse 17. It gives much more force to this verse not to supply (as some interpreters do), "Dost thou know how thy garments are warm," etc., but to translate רָצַף simply as the relative, thus, "Thou whose garments are warm, when He quieteth (*i.e.*, maketh sultry) the earth with the south wind, hast thou with Him spread out," etc. The meaning is, "Thou who feelest the heat under the sultry south wind, and hast not in any way contributed to it, hast thou been a fellow workman in the still greater operation of spreading out the firmament?"

Verse 20 may be thus literally rendered: "Shall it be told Him that I speak, if a man shall say that he is devoured up;" and the meaning is, "Can I, a short-sighted mortal and enveloped in darkness, wish that it should come to His knowledge what I speak about Him; or shall a man wish to be brought to nought, by his unbecoming desire to know God? shall a man invite chastisement on himself?" Bearing in mind this sense we shall understand the connection with the following verse (21): "And now (men) do not see the bright light; it is in the clouds, the wind passeth and cleareth them,"—*i.e.*, as he who murmurs against God brings destruction on himself, so he who patiently abides shall be rewarded. The bright light which shall disperse darkness is even now in the clouds, if men will only wait for God's spirit to clear away the mists. The "gold" mentioned in verse 22 is the golden light of the sun.

Verse 23. The addition of words in our English version not in the Hebrew, spoils the sense of this verse. It should be rendered thus: "The Almighty (Shaddai), we cannot find Him out: mighty in power and judgment; and full justice He doth not

bend"—i. e., pervert judgment. It quite misses the meaning to render "He will not afflict." Such an assertion is not true.

Chap. xxxviii. 8. "Or who shut the sea with doors, when it brake forth, *as if* it had issued out of the womb." The meaning of the latter clause of this verse will be made clearer by the omission of those words which the English version has supplied ("*as if*"), or by the substitution of the word "when." The idea of the writer is not a *comparison* with the birth of a child, but rather a most beautiful and poetical description of the gradual emerging of the sea from the chaos in which, hitherto, it has been concealed, as in a womb. If, therefore, we translate the Hebrew quite literally and without addition, "it issued from the womb," we have a grander thought presented to us of the first appearance of the ocean out of clouds and darkness than is conveyed in the English version. This thought is pursued in the next (9th) verse.

Verse 14. "That it turn as the clay of a signet-ring, and (that) they be placed like a garment." The subject of the first clause of this verse is the earth. The morning light is like a signet-ring, which impresses on the earth, as on clay, a distinct form. In the dark all is indistinct; when the day-spring appears, the earth affords to the senses a definite impression of its character. The subject of the latter clause, "that they may be placed," are the different objects on the earth. The light of the morning gives to each one of these its peculiar colour, "like a garment;" so that out of the uniformity of appearance which existed in the darkness, each comes forth in its peculiar form and colour. The "light" of the wicked, spoken of in the next verse (15), is, of course, the darkness which is to them and their works what light is to others.

Verse 30. "The waters are hid as *with* a stone, and the face of the deep is frozen." The English version does not here give the meaning of this verse, which, nevertheless, is plain enough. "The waters hide themselves as a stone," of course signifies that the water as a fluid vanishes, and what remains is ice, hard as a stone.

Verse 31. "Canst thou bind the sweet influence of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion." The Hebrew word translated in the English Version, "Sweet influences," is מַעֲדָנוֹת, and is derived from עָבַד=עָבַד, "to bind," according to Gesen. and Delitzsch. The Septuagint have given this meaning to the word, translating it δεσμόν. The "band" intended is the girdle or coronet of the Pleiades, and the verse may be translated thus, "Didst thou bind the brilliant girdle of the Pleiades," etc. The idea conveyed is that of a chaplet in which precious stones

are fastened together. The collection of stars in Chimah or Pleiades is likened to jewels bound in a row to form a girdle or crown.

Chap. xxxix. 4. "Their young ones are in good liking; they grow up with corn; they go forth and return not unto them." So is this verse rendered in the English Version. But it is obvious to observe that we cannot think of the young wild goats as fed on corn. כֹּרֶן certainly has this signification; it means "frumentum." But the other meaning, given by Gesenius, is of course here the proper one, viz., "campus." The proper rendering, therefore, will be, "they grow up in the wilderness; they go forth, and do not return to it."

Verse 9. By "the unicorn" (μονοκέρας), here spoken of, is not to be understood the rhinoceros, as some have supposed. It is thought to be the oryx or wild ox, which is represented in Egyptian monuments; sometimes, indeed, with two horns, but generally with one large horn, on which are several circles or rings.

Verse 13. There is no difficulty about *the meaning* of this verse in the English Version, "Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacock? or wings and feathers unto the ostrich?" but it is not in the least the meaning of the Hebrew. In the first place there is no reason for supplying the words, "Gavest thou." If intended, they would certainly have been expressed either here or in connection with what is here said. In the next place רִנְיִים does not signify "peacocks," but "ostriches" (struthiones), and חֲסִידָה does not signify "an ostrich," but "a stork" (ciconia); so called on account of its supposed love for its young, from the root חִסַּד. Gesenius, indeed, gives to the word in this verse only the signification of "pia," and understands a comparison between the maternal solicitude for her young of the stork, and the cruelty of the ostrich. He translates the passage thus, "Struthionis ala exsultat, at nunc (etiam) pia (est) penna et pluma ejus." The rendering, however, of Delitzsch is much simpler and better. It is this, "The wing of the ostrich beats joyfully, is it the wing of the stork and the feather?" i.e., though there is a likeness between the two birds in their mode of life, their building their nests, and the colour of their plumage, still they are not the same. The contrast between the two birds is described in the next verse; while the stork sits on her eggs, the ostrich leaves hers to be hatched by the heat of the sun in the sand. For a similar expression to that of "the wing beateth joyfully," compare the

description of the cranes in Homer, *Il.*, ii., 461 : *ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσιν.*

Verse 19. The expression, "hast thou clothed his neck with thunder," gives us the idea of the dignity which is to be seen in the crest of the war-horse. But that is not quite the meaning of the original, *הַצֶּנֶקֶת* = "trembling," "agitation," and is the poetical term for the mane of the horse, which waves in the air when the animal is in motion. The right rendering, therefore, is this, "hast thou clothed his neck with the mane?"

Verse 24. "Neither believeth that it is the sound of the trumpet," does not convey any distinct meaning. It should be rendered, "Has not stood still when the voice of the trumpet was heard." The hiphil of *נָצַח* = "stand still," as well as "believe." "Non constitit firmus ubi vox tubæ," sc. audita est (Gesenius). With this description of the war-horse may be compared one by Virgil, *Georg.*, iii., 83.

"Tum si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
Stare loco nescit; micat auribus, et tremit artus;
Collectumque: fremens volvit sub naribus ignem.
Densa juba;

cavatque
Tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu."

Compare also Æschyl., *Prom.*, v., 475, *ἀγαλμα τῆς ὑπερ-πλούτου χλιδῆς.*

Chap. xl. 15. Behemoth (a word used in the plural) signifies the hippopotamus, which, however, is no longer found in the Nile. The Arabs call it "the water pig." The Egyptian word is said to be "*p-che-man*," which by the change of *p* into *b* would be the word in the text.

Verse 21. "Shady trees" (*עֲנַבְלִים*) would be rendered more properly "lotus trees," under which this animal is wont to seek shelter. "Inter arundines celsas et squalentes nimia densitate hæc bellua cubilia ponit," says Ammianus Marc., xxii., 15. At verse 24 the rendering given in the margin of the English Bible is the accurate one, "Let any one take him with his eyes (*i.e.*, openly, so that he may see it), let him pierce his nostril with hooks."

Chap. xli. 1 (in Heb. Bible, chap. xl. 25). The leviathan, in chap. iii. 8, signified the dragon which was supposed to cause eclipses of the sun (see remarks on the passage in Vol. VIII., p. 375. In Psalm civ. 26 it signifies the "whale;" but here, as also in Psalm lxxiv. 14, it means the "crocodile." The latter clause of this verse is not correctly rendered in the English version ("or

his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down"). Here, as elsewhere, the addition of a word not in the original has confused, not explained the sense. It should be translated, "Canst thou sink down his tongue on the cord" (or line), *i. e.*, Canst thou cause him to bite at the hook on the line, so that thou mayest be able to draw him out. Herodotus (ii. 68) says of the crocodile that it has no tongue (γλῶσσαν δὲ μόνον θήριων οὐκ ἔφυσε). This is a mistake. It has a tongue, but cannot stretch it out of its mouth on account of the lump close to the orifice.

Verse 6 (Heb. xl. 30). "Shall the companions make a banquet of him? Shall they part him among the merchants." "The companions" are the fishermen who are joined together in a guild or society for the sake of their common occupation. The meaning of this passage is much disputed, and is very difficult to decide.

Gesenius takes יָכַר to come from כָּדַר "to dig a pit," or "lay snares," and refers to chap. vi. 27; but then the sense would only be a repetition of what has been said before about catching the crocodile with a hook, or if it introduced another idea, that of setting traps or making pitfalls as for a wild animal, this would be unsuitable here. The English version takes the Hebrew verb to be כָּדַר, which has the signification of preparing a feast, so used 2 Kings vi. 23. But perhaps the rendering by Delitzsch is the best, who understands כָּדַר in the meaning of buying and selling, and translates the passage, "Shall the companies of fishermen make traffic therewith, and divide it among the Canaanites," or merchantmen.

Verse 8 (Heb. xl. 32). "Lay thine hand on him; remember the battle; do no more." The use of the imperative in the last clause of the sentence weakens the sense. Obviously it should be translated, "Thou wilt do it no more."

Verse 13 (Heb. xli. 4). "Who can discover the face of his garment? or who can come to him with his double bridle?" The word translated "garment" (לְבוֹשׁ) means in this place "armour," and refers to the scales of the crocodile; as the word rendered "bridle" (כַּפְל) in the second clause of the verse signifies "double row," viz., of teeth. The force of the passage will be made clearer by a stricter rendering, which would be thus;—"Who hath laid open the face of his armour? into the double row of his teeth who hath entered?" "The doors of his face," mentioned in the next verse, are the jaws: the teeth being not covered by lips are so much the more terrible to look at.

Verse 18 (Heb. v. 10). "By his neesings a light doth shine,

and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning." The habit of the crocodile to sun itself on the land, and to turn its jaws towards the sun, has been observed by all travellers from the time of Herodotus to the present. It is to this custom that allusion is here made. The effect of the sunlight on the open jaws, and the appearance of its eyes under such circumstances, are here described in these few words. What a wonderful observer of nature was the writer of this book, will be felt by every one who at all accurately studies its descriptions, as in this depicting of the form and the habits of the crocodile.

Verse 22 (Heb. v. 14). "In his neck remaineth strength, and sorrow is turned into joy before him," (or in margin "sorrow rejoiceth,") would be rendered more literally and clearly "on his neck abideth (lit. 'passeth the night') strength, and before him fear exulteth," *i. e.*, it is his delight to inspire terror.

Verse 25 (Heb. v. 17). "When he raiseth himself up, the mighty are afraid: by reason of the breakings they purify themselves." All the difficulty here is in the English version; in the Hebrew text the meaning is obvious enough. The sacred writer is describing the fear which the appearance of the crocodile causes; and this verse can be thus rendered, "From the lifting up of him (*i. e.*, of his face) the mighty are afraid: from terror of him *they miss their way*." In the latter clause the confusion of a hasty flight is graphically described. נִשְׁכַּח in *kal* signifies first "to miss the mark," thence "to sin;" and so in *piel* "to purge from sin." Here it is the *hithp.*, which has the same meaning as the first signification of the *kal*, viz., "to miss a thing." So Gesenius renders the passage "aberrant a via: de homine perculso et attonito ideoque in præcipite fuga a via aberrante."

Verse 30 (Heb. v. 22). "Sharp stones are under him, he spreadeth pointed things on the mire," may be rendered, "his underpart is a sharp potsherd, he layeth a threshing instrument on the mud." By "his underpart" we cannot here understand the belly of the crocodile, which is smooth and not defended by scales, but rather his sharply armed tail. With this, as he moves through the slime of the river, he leaves behind marks, as of the teeth of a threshing instrument. In verse 32 is described the foaming appearance of the water, which is so violently moved by the passage and lashed by the tail of the crocodile. The epithet "hoary," as applied to the sea *πολλος*, "canus," is a well known one in the classic poets.

H. D.

HYMNS OF THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH, AND PRAYERS.

Translated by the Rev. J. M. RODWELL, Rector of St. Ethelburga, from
Æthiopic MSS. in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

**HYMN FOR THE FESTIVAL OF ABBA SALAMA,* OR FRUMENTIUS,
FOR JULY 3,**

I GREET thee with voice of joy,
Magnifying and extolling Salama,
For he caused the splendour of the light of Christ to dawn,
Where all had long been gloom and darkness.

Hail, Salama, who was commanded
To manifest the doctrine that had been hidden ;
It rose on Æthiopia like the morning star,
And in its healing light we still rejoice.

He renounced all earthly joys,
He strove to win souls as his crown of rejoicing,
He opened wide the portals of the faith,
We enter in with glad steps.

His life was wisdom and his death was life ;
He who is threefold in essence was with him,
By his prayers he vanquished the serpent,
Blessed, peaceful, holy saint !

His cell was the tomb in which he was buried from the world ;
Being thus dead he ministered the word of life,
He turned the widow's tears into joy,
He delivered souls from a vile slavery.

The old serpent has power no longer,
The shadows of night are for ever scattered ;
We rejoice in peace and pardon of our sins,
And in hope that we shall see the face of God.

We are fed with heavenly food
At the altars of him who died for us ;
We receive the chalice that strengthens us
As we journey like pilgrims over a sandy desert.

Abba Salama now rests in paradise,
His lot is with the saints and martyrs ;

* Sent as a missionary to Æthiopia by St. Athanasius, and revered as the founder and first bishop of the Abyssinian Church.

He there awaits his reward with Christ's true soldiers,
When He shall come again, and the dead be raised up.
Abba Salama pray for us.
May thy benediction reach us.

THE HYMN OF GABRA MENFES KEDDUS (*i.e.*, servant of the
Holy Ghost), MARCH 3.

Honoured Father Gabra Menfes Keddus,
Honoured man of God!
Heard is thy message in all the land,
For thou art united with Him with whom is power.

His grace and blessing dwelt in thine own heart,
Thence it overflowed to the souls of all around thee;
Largely was the spirit of holiness poured out upon thee,
In gifts of zeal and love and unshaken faith.

A bright star didst thou arise upon the Church,
True father wast thou to the sons of Æthiopia;
An apostolic man was Gabra Menfes Keddus,
He honoured the Spirit, and the Spirit left him not.

He abode in the deserts and caves,
He patiently endured thirst and hunger,
Dreadful lions and serpents crouched at his feet,
No evil thing came near to hurt the servant of the Lord.

He dwelt not as other men dwell,
He abode like angels with his God for companion;
He cried to his Maker and Redeemer for rest,
Till his cries and prayers expired in death.

Thou didst serve Him who is the Fount of Life,
On wings of thought thou didst soar aloft,
On wings of prayer thou didst ascend as a bird,
Thou didst lose thy life that thou mightest find it.

O thou angelic servant of Him who saves,
Thou didst diffuse among men an odour of sanctity,
Thou didst proclaim the cross with unceasing voice:
With the cross in thy hand didst thou point upwards.

Blessed Father! thou wanderest no more upon the mountains!
The sheepskin and the goatskin no longer dost thou wear!
Thy soul reposes sweetly in the bosom of Abraham,
The cool winds of paradise breathe upon thee.

HYMN FOR PRIESTS (the Third Hour).

He hath made His priests like a sapphire,
 Their hands can touch the flame ;
 In the Father's presence they offer the Son in sacrifice,
 And their incense is beloved exceedingly.

Christ is the repose of the souls of the just,
 The strength and fortress of those that follow Him.
 The just are exalted in glory.
 He hath called them, and will say to them *hereafter*,
 Come, ye blessed of my Father.

For Him have these martyrs yielded up their lives,
 Christ hath given them their recompence,
 Jerusalem is now their city ;
 Beautiful was their warfare, good their fight ;
 Their souls are "a mountain of spices,"
 They are sons of light for ever.

As bishops, priests, and deacons, hath God ordained them,
 That they might be seen of the Church of Christ ;
 He taught them the faith, He gave them light,
 Now is their converse in peace.
 Seven times brighter than the sun are their faces,
 From the glory and the radiance shed upon them.

They loved Him more than gold,
 For He loved them, and poured out His blood for them ;
 They despised this world,
 For the city where Christ shall reign over them was their hope.

Built by the hand of priests,
 Sanctified by the mouth of bishops,
 Is the Church of Christ on earth ;
 But on Zion is sung the song of Moses and the Lamb.

For our slavery Thou hast given us liberty,
 By thine evangel Thou didst shew us the way,
 By Thy cross didst Thou bring us nigh unto the Father.
 He who is not far off from His servants now
 Shall be with them eternally.

Thou hast given Thy faithful priests their heritage,
 Where there is no more toil or death ;
 They rejoice and are glad in their rest,
 They walk in light through countless ages. Amen.

SONG OF SAINTS (the Sixth Hour).

Halleluiah !

With a diadem of beauty hath He adorned their head,
With things that eye hath not seen hath He rewarded them ;
Worthy of glory hath He deemed them.

Secure in joy they openly rejoice ;
First they look up at His glory who hath brought them thither,
Then they see how bright are their own faces,
And how their light is brighter than the stars,
And their reward beyond all greatness ;
And that henceforth they shall rest in their mansions.

The guide of their way and their strength was the cross,
Prophets, apostles, martyrs leaned on this,
By the might of His cross He redeemed them,
And now are they saints, sons of light.

They are holy and shall sin no more,
Neither cold nor heat shall touch them.
The Father wipes away their tears ;
Their's is the heritage of peace and joy.

They see how they escaped all straits and troubles,
That they might come into an ample space ;
They look back over the way by which He led them
Who is now their exceeding great reward.

The guide of their way, the source of their grace was the cross.
This recovered Paradise for Adam,
Salvation to the elect thief in the jaws of death ;
The tree of life is the cross for ever.

Thus have they fulfilled their warfare,
They have fought a good fight.
Pray for us, all ye saints of God who stand before Him,
Halleluiah. Amen.

HYMN OF THE KEDASSE (SANCTIFICATION) OF THE HOUSE
(BODY) OF OUR LADY MARY.

Salute the free maiden, the perfect tabernacle !
A pure rain from heaven descended on her,
It purified the tabernacle of her flesh,
It abode upon her, and a son was born of her.

Behold, my dove, my beauteous one art thou ;
The apostles praise, the angels crown thee ;
Beyond frankincense is the beauty of thy salvation.

I will call thee " my lady," for thou art the mother of my Lord ;
Even in Adam's loins thou didst lie hid,
Like a pearl of perfect whiteness,
But the second Adam was born of thee.

Fair, beauteous, and free !
Mother of martyrs and sister of angels !
The bush that burned not art thou,
The tabernacle not made by hand of man !

Blessed art thou, Mary, praised of all !
The cherubel and seraphel laud thee !
Angels through all their ranks minister to thee,
The daughter of kings and prophets, thou !

The Father founded, the Spirit sanctified,
The Son inhabited this house.—
A work hard to be understood.
The bars of thy flesh were not opened,
The virginal enclosure was not broken.

He who made the heavens was carried in the belly,
His limbs were swaddled in Bethlehem :
We have beheld a hard matter,
Milk and virginity commingled.

When the mother of God wept and was in pain,
And when she died, like all men,
John beheld her, and covered her face with a robe.
Then as she lay at rest,
Her Son came and clothed her with royal raiment,
And now she reigns in glory.
The moon and stars are beneath her feet.
Halleluiah.

A SABBATH-DAY HYMN.

The Merciful and free from wrath
Pure and without a stain,
Righteous, unsullied by sin,
A Judge who respects not persons,
Hath ordained the Sabbath for rest and joy.

With Him is the power to forgive
 And on this day He says "Thy sins are forgiven."
 On this day He feeds us with the bread of heaven,
 That bread which is the strength of saints.

The Lord of the Sabbath went up on ship-board,
 He bridled the might of the winds,
 He rebuked the sea;
 It heard its Creator's voice and was still,
 And on the Sabbath was a great calm.

On the Sabbath He healed our sicknesses,
 On the Sabbath He rested from all His works.
 On the Sabbath He rested in Hades
 That He might arise for a new creation.

He hath permitted us to see the dawn of another Sabbath;
 It is meet and right that we should praise Him
 Who awakens us from our slumber,
 And bids us partake His very flesh.

The Lord said to Moses, Honour my Sabbaths.
 Thy people and all Thy house shall rest this day,
 That the Lord may bless thee for ever;
 In love for man hath He ordained the Sabbath.

Let us free our souls from this passing world:
 He who honours this day shall find salvation.
 Our days pass like a shadow,
 But here is Paradise laid open;
 He whose beauty covers and adorns the heaven
 Fills the Church with His grace and presence.

On Mount Zion be My sanctuary,
 And in Jerusalem My city;
 The cross My staff, and the cross My support.
 Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.
 Halleluiah. Amen.

THE HYMN OF "THE LIGHT."

Praise to the Saviour, the glory of the saints,
 The light which hath come into the world;
 His clothing was as light upon the mount,
 But He is the true light in Himself.

He came from a world of light,
And that light hath come to us ;
He will lead us back into that light
From whence he descended in love and pity.

He has come whom Moses announced,—
The Crown of martyrs, the Founder of the Church,—
The Light of light, who giveth light to the just.
Oh send out thy light and truth
That they may bring me to Thy holy hill :
Send forth Thy hand from on high to save.

God is a God who knoweth all things,
Clad in righteousness, robed in light.
A light announced Him, shining in the heavens,
And He is come, the Pilot of the souls of the just.

The Church's Bridegroom is the light of the world ;
Let us therefore be clad in light,
And put away the works of darkness,
And walk as the children of the day.

He reigns over the treasures of light,
Who existed ere the worlds were made.
He will manifest that light ;
He will give comfort in our sorrows ;
He will disperse the clouds and thick darkness,
And lead us to our rest above.
Halleluiah, O Thou first-born of Zion !

O Adonai, Thou art the bearer of glad tidings :
Marvellous is the brightness of Thy beauty.
Halleluiah. To Thee be glory. Amen.

THE VIGIL OF ST. PETER'S DAY.

We bless thy humility, Peter, chief of bishops,
For thou didst hearken to the Father's word ;
He bowed his head and gave up his soul to the death.
Blessed Peter, chief of bishops, pray for us.

The Saviour chose and ordained thee chief of bishops,
That thou mightest set in order all the faith.
Strong pillar, foundation that cannot be shaken !
Patron of celibates, teacher of the law to the peoples !

The people chose him, the perfection of bishops,
And bid him be seated on his throne.
This was he who had been shut up in prison,
But he said, Now know I that the Lord hath sent His angel to
deliver me.

In joy and peace and orthodox faith they made him their bishop,
Whom the King of glory Himself had chosen,
A true steward of the faith,
Blessed, holy Peter,—the tie-beam of the Church !

Peter was reserved for the martyr's crown !
Prince of bishops, on whom was the grace of conquering faith !
He put on the breastplate of righteousness,
And yielded up his life for the increase of the Church.

He said to the soldiers, " I go singly,
" But no sword shall cause this people to fail."
He threw back for them his holy cowl,
And yielded his honoured neck to the soldiers,
And became a martyr, and was conformed to his God.

Peter said to the soldiers,
" My sons, God is faithful who hath sent you."
The soldiers owned Him as chief of bishops,
And the perfection of martyrs.

The myrmidons who vexed Him were afraid when they saw his
face,
For strong in the spirit was blessed Peter :
He signed his face with the token of the cross,
He shone before the people like a burning torch.

The people said to Peter, Pray for us,
And ask for the pardon of all our sins ;
For thee hath the Father ordained to rule the Church.
Bless me, O my Father, let me receive Thy blessing.
Halleluiah ! O thou steward of the faith.



REMARKS ON THE "EIRENICON."

THE subjects of which the *Eirenicon* professes to treat are, "the Church of England as a portion of Christ's one holy catholic Church," which no orthodox Anglican will deny, and as a "means of restoring visible unity," of which it is the main purpose of the author to demonstrate the possibility.

To endeavour at the restoration of visible unity among the great body of Christians would indeed be one of the noblest tasks to which a Church could address itself. "That they all may be one," was the prayer of our Divine Master, and the fulfilment of that prayer would be to make this present life truly the gate of heaven. But are there any signs of the times which could lead the most hopeful among us to imagine the possibility of such a result? If there be, it must be confessed that the *Eirenicon*, though its very title proclaims "peace," is not one which will contribute to it. The learned and pious author, all whose aspirations are conceived in the spirit of the Gospel, has indeed held out the olive-branch to the Roman Church. But how has it been received? By a resolute determination to admit of "no compromise whatever," and with "a lofty air" of pity and compassion embodied in the language of the Professor of Theology at Maynooth expressive of the hope that Dr. Pusey, "like many of his former companions, may, through God's grace, come at length into the great stream of catholic unity, in which alone his soul can find safety and peace."^a

Passing over the opinions expressed by the titular Archbishop of Westminster in reference to the Anglican Church, which, as coming from one of the ultra-Montane school, are characterized by no small amount of bigotry and prejudice (though something better might have been expected from one formerly amongst us), we may be permitted to express our surprise that the author of the *Eirenicon* should find anything strange in the contrast between the niggard concessions of Dr. Manning with the large-hearted statements of Roman Catholics of other days. Yes, there were other days in the Church of Rome, days when Gallican principles were not quite extinct in a neighbouring kingdom, when some moderate opinions were found in the Church, and when there existed an episcopacy, which, though too often worldly, and decidedly secular, yet produced some

^a Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*. A Review (republished from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*). By Gerald Molloy, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth.

men of learning and enlargement of mind with the "taste and feelings of gentlemen." Besides, Rome had not then made that advance in the fabrication of new and strange doctrines for which she has since been so lamentably distinguished, nor was papal infallibility carried out to its present extent. In those days, accordingly, Du Pin, the eminent and learned doctor of the Sorbonne, wrote to Archbishop Wake, "We are not in *most things* so far from one another that we may not be *mutually reconciled*." This was the language of the most eminent among French divines in the *seventeenth* century. What that of the English titular Archbishop "would be" in the *nineteenth* we may easily guess, for its invariable tenor is, "We are in *everything* so far removed from one another that we can *never* be mutually reconciled." And whatever may be the private opinions of individuals among the priesthood, such would be the response of the whole Roman Church at the present day. Truly in this respect the trumpet gives no uncertain sound. Yet even so late as in the time of Bishop Doyle, so well known for the moderation of his opinions, it was pronounced by him, "This union is not so difficult as it appears to many," and the learned author of the *Eirenicon*, with "a charity that hopeth all things," *wishes* to believe that this opinion of one of the most enlightened prelates of his day may be endorsed by the existing hierarchy. For this purpose, and to further so desirable an end, he devotes many pages to shew that "consentaneity is far from impossible," and that the English and Roman Churches hold many doctrines in common which only require a little mutual explanation in order to be made to harmonize.

But even supposing this to be true, he forgets that the *time* for such considerations is *past*. If the Church of England were to agree to acknowledge the Trent decrees, she would still be considered as heretical, unless she surrendered herself unreservedly and implicitly to the dogma of papal infallibility and the great "practical system of belief and devotion," with all its consequences. "If the Church of England believe," or as *we* might say, "could be brought to believe the Roman Catholic Church to be infallible, it must of necessity adopt the whole body of Catholic faith, without exception or limitation. And if it believe the Roman pontiff to be, by divine right, the supreme ruler of the true Church, it must, of necessity, submit to his authority." So says Dr. Molloy, in accordance with the entire voice of his own community. "If the Church of England," said one of the Roman Catholic bishops in this country, "will return as an erring but repentant child to its

mother, she may be forgiven, and taken into favour." And this precisely expresses the real state of the case. An erring but repentant child "can make no terms" with its mother; *implicit* obedience alone is demanded on one side, and *yielded* on the other. Vain, then, is it to moot the question as to whether the Church of England, while she professes her belief in two sacraments, does not also in some modified manner admit a "certain" sacramental grace, as existing in *some* of the other five. This *may* be true, but is nothing to the purpose, even though the Trent canons seem to acknowledge, indeed, do "really admit" the distinction. Useless, therefore, is it to tell us that "marriage is called a sacrament in the homilies, that the other five are not sacraments of the *Gospel*, or that in the *exact* definition of a sacrament there be but two," implying of course that if a *certain latitude* of expression be allowed, grace may be supposed to exist in these also. Distinctions of this kind might be fairly and perhaps satisfactorily discussed between two Churches, each acknowledging the independence of the other. But Rome, the so-called "mother," arrogates to herself also the daring and presumptuous title of "mistress" of all churches. To parley with her, therefore, while making use of such language, would be at once both useless and ignominious. And again, astonishing is it to find that an individual of Dr. Pusey's learning should affirm that Tract 90 did good "by breaking off a mass of" unauthorized traditional glosses, which had encrusted over the Thirty-nine Articles! Truly speaking, it is an unauthorized Roman interpretation of those articles, which he and the original propounders of it would wish to be received instead of plain deductions from their language, to the utter confusion of all sound reasoning. In this way it might be said "that great good would arise from the publication of some of the most monstrous and unwarrantable fancies found in the works of the Jewish rabbis," in opposition to the commentaries of Chrysostom and Augustine, who had "encrusted over" the text of Scripture by their "unauthorized" glosses! Dr. Pusey evidently proceeding on the idea that the authors of Tract 90 and the compilers of the Thirty-nine Articles had the "same object in view," *i.e.*, to reconcile Anglicanism with Roman doctrine, proceeds to say that the teaching of Tract 90 might have been misunderstood and misinterpreted, but the *principle* of that Tract, *viz.*, that we are not to bring out of any "popular system" any meanings which are not contained in their words rightly and accurately understood, was not and could not be condemned. By "popular system" *we* understand that interpretation of the Articles which orthodox divines have construed

and maintained in the *natural sense*, and which, consequently, must be in entire opposition to the *false reasoning* which the author of the *Eirenicon* designates as "words" rightly and "accurately" understood, *i.e.*, right and accurate according to the reasoning in Tract 90, utterly "wrong" and "inaccurate" to those who are content to learn what the Articles *do* mean, and not what they *may be* strained and perverted to mean and teach, which is nothing else than a species of *diluted Romanism*. For example, in treating of the thirty-first Article, "The one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross," the strange interpretation put upon the concluding portion most especially shews the bias of Dr. Pusey. In that Article we read, "The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead (*i.e.*, for the souls in purgatory), were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, or in the equally strong language of the Latin, "*blasphema figmenta et perniciosæ imposturæ*." But says the author of the *Eirenicon*, the very strength of the expressions used of the sacrifices of masses, that they were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, the use of the "plural," and the clause "in which it was commonly said," shew that what the Article speaks of is not "the sacrifice of the mass." If strong language used in reference to the mass is not to be regarded as condemnatory of it, in what light are we to regard the denunciations of the Puritans? and as to the use of the plural, it is utterly incomprehensible that the abuses of it should not be intended to be shewn, because, as in these days, the "singular" number is not made use of. The clause "in which it was commonly said," certainly proves nothing but that these abuses were "everywhere" well known and commented upon. But having satisfactorily proved to himself that the Roman mass cannot be meant, Dr. Pusey comes to the conclusion that it is only certain abuses at which the Article aims, "such as the habit (which one hears from time to time still remains) of trusting to the purchase of masses when dying, to the neglect of a holy life, or repentance and the grace of God, and his mercy in Christ Jesus, while in health." If this be *all* that is meant, we may be safely permitted to return to *Historic Doubts*, and may moot the question whether the Reformation ever *really* did take place!

The assertion then of a divine authority on one side, and the denial of that authority on the other, must ever form an

insuperable bar even to the commencement of an amicable discussion. At the same time we must agree with Dr. Pusey that the Roman Church and ourselves are on some questions kept apart much more by that *vast practical system* which lies *beyond* the letter of the Trent Canons, dogmas which are taught and received extra-judicially, than by the letter of the Canons themselves. But, as before said, this does not remove one iota of the difficulty; for the Church of Rome of the present day *lives* and *moves* only in this "practical system." She "professes" to venerate the Council of Trent as she does St. Augustine; but the truth is that "neither" are in accordance with her present tone and mode of thinking. That great Doctor, with his bold independent mind and his uncompromising *regard for truth*, must be peculiarly distasteful to a Church, now so deeply dyed in the spirit of Loyola. Even the Eagle of Meaux no longer sits enthroned on an empyræan height, the former crown and glory of the faith. He has long since descended to earth, to be remembered only as one who illustrated the Church *according to his lights*, but whose theology is antiquated, since the doctrine of development has progressed and ripened.

But yet the Trent Council is not "without its use" in the Roman Church. It may be "authoritatively" referred to when a convert of a logical and separating head (if such an individual could be supposed to be a convert), shocked perhaps at the doctrines and practices to be met with in his adopted Church, applies to his spiritual guides for the resolving his difficulties. He would soon, however, make the discovery that he could go nowhere without an evil eye being turned upon him, as an intruder into the fold, who had no share in the feelings or sentiments of his co-religionists. And Dr. Pusey himself quite confirms this view of the subject. "Nothing," he says, "would be more unpractical than for an individual to throw himself into the Roman Church, because he could accept the *letter* of the Council of Trent." Yet most strange is it that with this conviction he could imagine for an instant that what would be *impossible* for the individual, would be *possible* for the Church. And he goes on to say very truly, that those who are born within the pale of the Roman Church, meaning of course her "lay" members, have a liberty which in the nature of things no convert can possibly have. At the same time he says, "I cannot imagine that any faith could stand the shock of leaving one system, criticizing it, and casting himself into another system, criticizing *it*." Now in the latter portion of this sentence Dr. Pusey had evidently the Roman Church in his thoughts. We "may" imagine that an individual could leave one Reformed Church for another,

though he "had" applied his powers of criticism and investigation to each, but that he could with such a habit of mind leave the Church of England for that of Rome, and carry his habit of investigating with him, would certainly be a moral phenomena of no ordinary kind.

Perhaps no portions of the *Eirenicon* have produced a more startling effect upon all thinking minds than those in which the author lays bare the deformity of the "quasi system" in the Church of Rome. This he has done with a gentleness no doubt in accordance with his natural disposition; but our satisfaction would have been enhanced had he shewn how completely it shuts out all idea of reconciliation with her. And though the *Eirenicon* is not a large volume, yet a "selection" of the most painfully anti-Christian dogmas with which Rome delights to indoctrinate her children, set forth and commented upon by another hand, may perhaps serve to bring them still more prominently before the attention of the reader.

We may commence with the astounding reason given by the late Father Faber, a man of considerable talent, for the lack of true religion in his Church, a reason which would bring conviction to the mind of any one who hesitated to believe in a "theological" as well as a "moral" obliquity of the intellect. "Devotion to Mary," he says, "is not the characteristic of our religion which it ought to be. Hence it is that Jesus is not loved, that heretics are not converted, that the Church is not exalted; that souls which might be saints wither and dwindle; that its sacraments are not rightly frequented or souls enthusiastically evangelized. Jesus is obscured because Mary is kept in the background." Now when we know that there is scarcely a Roman Catholic Book of Prayer to be found either at home or abroad in which this so-called "devotion to the blessed Virgin" does not occupy a prominent part, we are lost in wonder how Father Faber should have imagined that anything could be wanting to complete the *moral degradation* of his church, to stamp as an indisputable truth the observation of an individual who is mentioned by Dr. Pusey as one willing to appreciate what was good in the Roman Church,—that it comes as *near to idolatry* as can be supposed in a Church of which it is said, "the idols He shall utterly abolish." "I have often," says the author of *Eirenicon*, "had to try to remove the rooted conviction that Roman Catholics are idolaters." And he may well have found the difficulty of removing such an impression. "Thousands of souls perish," says Father Faber. Is it because they do not look to their Redeemer, the author and finisher of their faith? Quite the contrary. It is because they fail (as he supposes) in giving due

homage to her who, however exalted as a saint, was still only a "creature," though the mother of Him to whom *all power* has been given both in heaven and on earth. These souls perish because Mary is *withheld* from them ;" which means, is not elevated to *more* than an equality with her divine Son, for this is what Father Faber must really have meant, and what the Church of Rome *practically* teaches, though she would as a matter of course deny the truth of the accusation.

But in order (it may be presumed) to bring forward *some* Scriptural authority for such a perversion of the Christian faith, the Roman Church has adopted and sanctioned a reading of the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head (Gen. iii. 15), which, if true, would be wonderfully adapted for her purpose. *She* shall bruise his head. *Ipsa* for *ipse*, an error which came into the Latin Vulgate, as Dr. Pusey remarks, about the time of St. Augustine.^b "The frequent allusion to this Protevangelium," as he remarks, in the letters of the bishops and in works of controversy, as though it attributed to the blessed Virgin directly and personally what God promised as to the Person of our Lord, shews how deeply this mistake of the Vulgate has worked into the Marian system." Thus this tremendous doctrinal error is made, according to the Authorized Version of the Roman Church, to rest upon the substitution of *one* vowel for *another*. On such slight support hangs the whole mass of corrupt doctrine which spreads its baleful influence everywhere. It might have been reasonably imagined that a Church which, in its formularies at least, pays some deference to Holy Scripture, would have been cautious ere she brought forward a text which is utterly indefensible on grammatical principles. Were the reading in the Vulgate the genuine one, the blessed Virgin would be well entitled to be called "The destroyer of heresies throughout the world." This, as Dr. Pusey observes in a note (p. 124), "is her received title in the Roman Church, thus applying to her present personal power what was originally said of the Incarnation, that it, rightly believed, is the destruction of all heresies."

In the official replies of the bishops to Pius IX. we find this doctrine consistently developed, so that the mother of the Redeemer herself also *bears a part* in the work of redemption.

^b The rendering of the Roman Church is untenable, because all the MSS., with "two" exceptions, read הוּא he, and not הִיא she. And this must be correct, since the verb which follows is the third singular *masculine* in Kal with the suffix, and consequently requires the preceding pronoun to be masculine also, הוּא יִשָּׁבֵרָהּ, He shall bruise thee, the head.

These need not be multiplied because, as Dr. Pusey observes, "it is drawn out by Roman Catholic divines of every school. It occurs in à Lapide, a repertorium for sermons, as well as in the most Marian writers. Proceeding on that same ground of "the Scriptures adapted" to the blessed Virgin, Salzar writes:—

"It was *not fitting* that Christ alone should give himself to the regeneration; and so it was necessary that a woman, Mary, '*like unto Him*,' should be given Him, that, with her and by her, all the regeneration and adoption of the sons of God should take place."

According to the Scriptures *it was fitting* that Christ *alone* should give himself to the regeneration of man. Rome supplies a supplementary revelation, and teaches that Christ was *not* alone in effecting the salvation of the human race. The reasons for which the work of redemption was to be shared by the immaculate Son of God with a *creature*, however holy, are thus set forth:—

"The ways in which the blessed Virgin co-operated with Christ to the salvation of the world may be classed as 'three.'

"1. As far as she so sacrificed herself to God, for the salvation of the world by the wish and longing for death and the cross, that if it could be, she too, for the salvation of the universe, was willing to *co-die* (*commori*) with her Son, and to meet a like death with Him."

That the blessed Virgin could have entertained in her own mind such thoughts as are here attributed to her, is a conception utterly opposed to what the Scriptures tell us in the brief notices of her life there presented to us. The one great trait in her character was "humility," and to imagine her entertaining such a daringly presumptuous wish, as that of dying upon the cross like her immaculate Son for man's salvation, is to *outrage* Scripture, and in fact to make *another* Gospel.

"2. And chiefly, whereby the Virgin gave her help to Christ for the common salvation, in that she exhibiting a will altogether conformable and concordant with the will of Christ, *gave* her Son to death for the common salvation. And her zeal for the human race is not only seen therein, that it made her will conspire with the will of her Son, but also in that she excited and impelled Him to undergo death."

This second heading is an advance upon the first in utter absurdity. We know that the will of the Father and the Son must have been concordant, in order that He might give Himself to die for the common salvation; but here, with shocking profaneness, the Virgin mother is herself represented as *giving* her Immaculate Son to die for that purpose. Not only so, but that she *excited* and *impelled* Him to undergo death.

Certainly such language approaches as near to blasphemy as can well be imagined.

"3. That she acted as Mediatrix with the Mediator. The work of our salvation was so wrought. The Virgin expressed to her Son the wishes and desires which she had conceived for the salvation of the human race; but the Son deferring to the mother received these, and again presented to the Father the desire both of his mother and his own; but the Father granted what was wished first to the Son, then to the mother."

St. Paul asks, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?" The modern Church of Rome would have told him. She announces the *wish* which the Virgin had *conceived* for the salvation of mankind! which is in fact neither more nor less than to declare her to be a fourth Person in the Blessed Trinity, since the plan of redemption was determined in the heavenly councils ages before the birth of the Virgin, but which assumes that it was not so planned till the Redeemer was born! The right of private judgment may doubtless have led to very absurd conclusions, but Rome may fairly lay claim to an "indisputable supremacy" in announcing the *most astonishing heresies* for the *edification* of the *faithful*.

The whole of the above is a fitting commentary on the Latin "*Monstra te esse Matrem*." If our Lord of "absolute right" appertained to the Virgin Mother, so that she could voluntarily offer Him up for the sins of the world, of course there is no reason that she should forbear *now* from exercising her "maternal" authority in favour of all those who place themselves under her protection. There can be no doubt that this distortion of doctrinal truth has been immeasurably brought out and increased by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which indeed may be denominated the "crown and sum" of heretical pravity. To the credit of the good sense of the majority of the bishops whom the Pope consulted, but whose advice he never meant to take, it is evident that they were fully alive to the consequences which might ensue at some future time if the enemies of the Church were furnished with such an additional proof of its downward tendency to error. But the Papal See had determined to make the decree, and it was issued accordingly. But what shall we say of the degradation of an episcopacy which could act thus, who have endorsed to the full the language of Cardinal Patrizzi;—"The faithful, who shew themselves such in word and act, recognize in the voice of the Church's Visible Head the *very word of God*! That head has authority to address the whole Church, and he who listens not to him declares himself as no longer appertaining to the Church, as no longer making part of Christ's flock, and accordingly as *no longer*

having a *right* to the kingdom of heaven! On the supposition of the truth of this astonishing assumption, it might be fairly asked, Is there *really* an episcopacy proper in the Roman Church? What are the bishops but vassals of the Pope, whose business it is to obey, not to reason or remonstrate with their infallible chief. With what might be termed a refined irony, he addresses each bishop as "*Venerable Brother*," an utter misnomer, when we know that on this subject of the "*Immaculate Conception*" the Pope asked the opinion of each bishop individually; the bishops answered as *sons* who had but a *delegated* authority to an infallible head. In fact all primitive order was utterly set aside. Whatever the titular archbishop of Westminster may say as to the opinion of the Anglican Church on general councils given in the Twenty-first Article, he must be perfectly conscious that as far as Rome is concerned, general councils have "*come to an end*." The divine monarchy will take good care that henceforth there shall be no expression of opinion from the episcopacy "*assembled in a body*." Like some temporal princes, the Pope finds it easier to govern without a parliament.

But leaving the papal infallibility, we may return to the devotion to the blessed Virgin, the picture of which as presented to us in the *Eirenicon* is said by Dr. Molloy to be "*calculated to make a very false impression*." He has chosen, he says, among Catholics those who are most enthusiastic about the blessed Virgin; some of them *obscure*, and all but unknown amongst us, and from these witnesses he picks out the strongest passages he can find. But who among these writers are not enthusiastic about the blessed Virgin; and if some of them are obscure, how is it that the Pope *adopts* the language of these obscure individuals, when he speaks in the name of the whole Church! "*For ye know very well*," says Pius IX. in his allocution to the bishops, "*that the whole of our confidence is placed in the most holy Virgin, since God has placed in Mary the fulness of all good, that accordingly we may know that if there is any hope in us, if any grace, if any salvation, it redounds to us from her, because such is His will who hath willed that we should have everything through Mary!*" After this, these obscure individuals may console themselves with the fact that their doctrinal opinions on this subject are proclaimed aloud to the world by their infallible head.

But Dr. Molloy goes on to say, "*The sense of a writer upon any subject in which his affections are deeply engaged is not to be judged by a few phrases often highly rhetorical, often highly figurative, picked out from the context, and set before the reader cold and dry*." Does he then wish his readers to understand

that *his* idea of the blessed Virgin does not represent so high a standard as that of his brethren, when he concludes his remarks on Dr. Newman's reply to the *Eirenicon* in the following language:—"With true Christian chivalry he was the first to enter the lists in the *cause of our Heavenly Queen*, and with more than knightly skill and valour, but yet with more than knightly courtesy, has he done battle for her honour, and won the plaudits even of her enemies." Are we to consider the epithet here applied to the mother of the Redeemer to be merely *highly figurative* and *rhetorical*? if not, how does he dispose of this figurative language which he elsewhere calls upon us to mistrust?

It must give pain to every reflecting mind that any so-called Christian Church should be open to the charge of a doctrinal error, which could induce one of its defenders to portray "her the meek and holy, whom all generations should call blessed," in the character of the *Queen of Beauty at a mediæval tournament*! It is a pity (slightly to alter his own expressions) that he did not stop to pick and choose his language with the cautious precision of a grammarian, ere he gave such unbridled, and what most persons not of his communion would consider, such *unhallowed* expression to the "depth" and "tenderness" of his devotion.

But Dr. Molloy also asks, "Is it a fair allegation of Dr. Pusey that they (*i. e.*, these expressions of doctrinal error), have the sanction and encouragement of the Catholic Church? Undoubtedly they have; for can we for a moment hesitate to believe but that what is not forbidden or in *any* way *discouraged* is really sanctioned and *encouraged*! The Church of Rome is never slow to denounce what she calls heresy; and therefore it can be from "no reluctance," to use the language of denunciation, that she forbears to avail herself of it. Yet let superstitions of the grossest kind be ever so rampant, they are either denied altogether, or explained away in a manner which betrays no slight amount of sophistry in the explainers. And to this the Roman Church is driven by her own principles. As Dr. Pusey truly says (p. 40), "The same body of saving truths which the Apostles first *preached* orally, they afterwards, under the inspiration of God the Holy Ghost, *wrote* in Holy Scriptures, God ordering in His providence that in the unsystematic teaching of Holy Scripture *all* should be embodied which is essential to establish the faith. This is said over and over again by the fathers." But the Roman Church, which professes to lay such stress upon the "unanimous consent of the fathers," on this point practically denies it altogether, because in fact she does "not need" it. There is another grand principle, the *mainspring* of the whole system, the "Divine Voice of the Church," which the titular archbishop of Westmin-

ster very justly says the English Church formally denies. If Rome held the *really* catholic principle, that in the teaching of Holy Scripture *all* is embodied which is essential to establish the faith, the *Eirenicon* might have been written and read with unmingled satisfaction. This of course she denies, as well as practically "ignoring" the necessity of any meeting of the pastors of the Church at all. These are both superfluities which may be dispensed with. "Moreover," says Dr. Molloy, "Catholics maintain that not only are the pastors of the Church at all times preserved from error in what they teach, but the Universal Church itself, which is the 'pillar and ground of the truth,' is likewise preserved from error in what it believes." This pretended preservation of Rome from error, proclaimed by its "divine voice," is in fact nothing but an unbridled license of propagating all manner of strange and erroneous doctrines and practices, without any possible let or hindrance. And of this licence we know that she takes full advantage to the scandal of all orthodox and reflecting Christians. "It follows therefore," as he consistently says, that "whatever is universally taught or believed throughout the Catholic Church bears upon it the stamp of infallibility, *even though* it may *not* have been defined by any general council!" Infallibility, therefore, absolves itself from any obligation of adducing the authority of Scripture to justify any doctrines or usages it may think fit either to introduce or sanction *tacitly* or *openly*. The divine *Voice* ignores the divine *Word* altogether. Nor does the Church require that its pastors should assemble "for the mere confirmation of the faith;" the Pope is quite sufficient for that purpose, though he does pay his venerable "brethren" the compliment of "appearing" to ask their advice.

"We have been told," says Dr. Pusey, "that the devotion of the people to the blessed Virgin outruns the judgment of the priests; but if the whole weight of papal authority is added to the popular devotions, and the people are bidders on what is to them the highest authority to be still more devoted to the blessed Virgin as *the* mediatrix with the one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus our adorable Lord, one sees not where there shall be any pause or bound short of that bold conception, 'that *every* prayer, both of individuals and of the Church should be addressed to St. Mary.'" Now who can doubt but that this is the exact process now going on everywhere, either "more" or "less openly," in proportion as caution or boldness may be made use of or required. And to this consummation the doctrine of development, though at present kept somewhat in the background, will certainly contribute. Pius IX. gave permission throughout the Roman communion to substitute

special hours recently composed on the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin for those in the common breviary, apparently in order to give an impulse to this devotion. Candour and Christian feeling require us to be extremely cautious in what we say of those who differ from us in religion, but even these are sorely put to the test when we reflect how much this permission actually borders upon the commencement of a *total apostasy* from the Christian faith!

If any doctrine could possibly have been framed calculated to terrify and make miserable the human race, that of purgatory has in this respect the pre-eminence. To suffer unknown agonies for an almost unlimited space of time (if departed spirits are "conscious" of the lapse of time like the living), the shortening of which time, the Church teaches, depends upon the liberality of the faithful, is the strangest and most horrible plan ever conceived of bringing the supposed terrors of the unknown world to bear upon the feelings of humanity. And here again we find a part of that vast practical system, "the *quasi-authoritative* teaching which Rome is so justly accused of sanctioning. The Council of Trent states as a *minimum*, as to the doctrine of the western Church: "There is a Purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful and the acceptable sacrifice of the altar." It is stated, moreover, that the Roman Church does not require "any belief of the *opinion* that the souls there are punished by *material* fire." But the "Catechism" of the Council of Trent, out of which the parish priest is to "instruct his flock," teaches that there *is* a purgatorial fire in which the souls of the *pious* are tormented for a certain time and expiated, in order that an entrance may be open to them into their eternal home, where nothing defiled can enter." Here is a decided step from the *minimum* to the *maximum*, to be attributed without doubt to that *quasi-authoritative* teaching which must have been long rife among the people ere it was embodied in the catechism itself. We well know that there is classical authority for this "pretended" purification to which traditional Judaism lends its sanction.* Whatever benefit Rome may derive from such "aids to the faith," we willingly concede to her.

* When a man or woman dies, their children or adopted children, or those provided by the society, go night and day into the synagogue and say, *Kodesh*, i. e., a prayer for eleven months, under the idea that *every time* a prayer is said for the *departed soul*, it rises one degree out of purgatory. The reader may seem surprised that the Jews should be so misled as to think that by the *living* saying prayers for the *dead* they would be of service to their souls; but the proofs which the *Talmud*, *Mishna* and *Maimonides*, supply us with, would fill volumes.—*Ceremonies, Traditions, etc., of the Jews*. By Hyam Isaacs, a converted Jew.

It may be perfectly true that, according to the heading of page 192 in the *Eirenicon*, the Roman and English Churches *are* agreed "as to the saved," but they are assuredly *not* agreed as to the state of the departed *before* they finally attain salvation; and the Twenty-second Article on purgatory is too clear and concise in its language to admit of any equivocation whatever. "It is a common saying," as Dr. Pusey observes, "that a number of souls seem to be fit neither for heaven nor hell." We all feel the force of this remark, though obliged to confess that God has not thought fit to reveal anything concerning the intermediate state which could enable us to form any opinion whatever as to the nature of that state. But surely in no possible way does the doctrine of purgatory aid us in the attempts to resolve this difficulty. One of the great purposes of *suffering*, as sent by God, is to purify the soul so as to render it more accessible to the impressions of divine grace. But how, it may be safely asked, is a departed spirit susceptible of any "growth" in holiness when the term of probation is already past? Yet purgatory is exhibited in all its horrors to the contemplation of the people, painted on the walls of the churches and other places, as at Naples, where may be seen naked figures with uplifted hands imploring the divine mercy, while the purgatorial flames are circulating and culminating around their heads. And what is to be the consolation of the sufferers? *The moonlight* of Mary's throne, *lighting up* their land of pain! No wonder that Cardinal Wiseman, speaking of the poor of Italy who die in a penitent manner, was obliged to confess that they quitted the world with a "great horror of purgatory!"

But while we may lament that a doctrine apparently derived from the "*Æneid* of Virgil and the puerilities of the rabbis" should have been called into existence, we cannot but rejoice as Christians that on the approach of the last great enemy, the ritual of Rome ignores it altogether, and "vindicates the ways of God to man." In her visitation office, the priest prays for the dying person: "Preserve his soul in this the hour of his departure. Open to him the gate of life, and cause him to rejoice with Thy saints in eternal glory. And Thou, most holy Lord Jesus Christ, who hast redeemed us by Thy most precious blood, have mercy upon the soul of this Thy servant, and be pleased to bring him into the *green* and *pleasant places of paradise*, that he may live with Thee in undivided love, who never can be separated from Thee and thine elect."^d The moonlight of Mary's throne

^d *Salva animam ejus in hac hora exitus sui. Aperi ei januam vitæ et fac eum gaudere cum Sanctis tuis in gloria æterna. Et tu piissime Domine J. C. qui*

will *then* pale before the *bright beams* of the Sun of Righteousness!

Dr. Pusey, in his endeavour to find some resemblance between the two Churches in reference to this doctrine, is desirous to shew that when the soul first beholds our divine Lord, and remembers all its ingratitude and baseness, it cannot but have intense pain,—pain so intense that one should think that in *this* life soul and body would be separated by its intensity. But Dr. Pusey surely must be aware that there is no warrant in Scripture for such an idea. Rather does it appertain to those who “are lost,” in whom the remembrance of their ingratitude and neglect of God’s gracious offers “while living,” will, perhaps, constitute in their “disembodied” state the “worm that dieth not,” and not surely to those who in *any* sense “depart in the Lord.” Equally unprofitable is it to inquire whether those with whom, after a long period of deadly sin, repentance has been but a superficial work, may not, after death, be in a “state of privation of the sight of God.” But whatever may be conceded to the region of imagination, it seems dangerous to allow it to enter into the domain of theology. And again snatching at any opinion which can by any possibility be made to harmonize with Rome, he tells his readers that if the Church of Rome were so minded, it might propose a doctrine which our Church in no way intends to contradict. “There is no ground,” he says, “for thinking that in rejecting the popular *Romish* doctrine of purgatory, the Church of England meant to reject all suffering after this life, since the day of judgment is in Holy Scripture so plainly spoken of as ‘a great and terrible day.’” Truly on this point there *is* a decided consentaneity of opinion between the two Churches! Nor will the opinion of a purgatory be any bar, for Cardinal Wiseman (on the authority of an individual who affirmed the fact to Dr. Pusey), after taking a *day* to *reflect*, stated, “that the belief that there would be suffering in the day of judgment would ‘satisfy,’” which means, of course, would be “equivalent to” the doctrine of purgatory. This is gratifying; but yet, putting the Church out of the question, there is small hope that the Titular of Westminster would endorse the opinion of the Cardinal.

With respect to Indulgences, the author of the *Eirenicon* admits, of course, that originally they were only abridgments of canonical penances; but, at the same time, wishes to shew

redemisti nos pretiosissimo sanguine tuo, miserere animæ hujus famuli tui et eam introducere digneris ad semper virentia et amœna loca Paradisi ut vivat Tibi amore indivisibili, qui a te, et ab electis tuis nunquam separari potest.—*Ordo Commendationis Animæ.*

that, as portrayed by a writer named Amort, the author of a *History of Indulgences*, they differ from other prayers for the departed only in that they are more solemn deprecations in the name of the whole Church. But, in the first place, whatever may have been the opinion of a few divines in the reign of Charles II., we have no warrant for saying that the Anglican Church admits the doctrine of prayers for the departed, and that, even if she did, there is not the remotest probability that Rome would reduce herself to such simplicity of doctrine. How would the faith of her people *stand* such a *shock* as would be occasioned by the withdrawal of so long cherished an interference with the doings of the invisible world?

Though the subject has been already touched upon, it may not be out of place to say a few more words on the Papal infallibility, as represented in the pages of Dr. Molloy. After quoting passages from the *Eirenicon*, which however shew in the most unmistakeable manner that the Pope is considered to be unerring, he says: "It is not the way of the Catholic Church to hold one doctrine, and to commend those works in which the opposite is maintained. Let Dr. Pusey, then, 'travel through' the various schools of theology that are scattered at the present moment over the broad face of the earth, and we challenge him to produce satisfactory evidence that in any one of them such a doctrine of Papal infallibility is accepted as that which we have collected above from his volume."

This is a bold challenge; let us now see how it is sustained. We are first introduced to Father Perrone, "who has grown old in teaching theology beneath the very shadow of St. Peter's lofty dome." We are sure, therefore, that his opinion must be orthodox; and what is it? In his treatise *De Locis Theologicis*, says Dr. Molloy, he undertakes to *explain* and *defend* the common opinion of Catholics, that the Roman Pontiff is endowed by Christ our Lord with the prerogative of infallibility. This sounds rather suspicious, after the denial that in "any one" of the various schools of theology such a doctrine is to be found. But what follows shews plainly that Dr. Pusey's travels "would soon come to a termination." He—*i.e.*, Father Perrone—says distinctly that the Pope is not regarded as infallible "except when he publishes a dogmatic definition," as it is said *ex cathedrâ*, and a decree cannot be considered as published *ex cathedrâ* unless, 1, it treats of some question which appertains to faith; and unless, 2, it be addressed to the universal Church.

It seems strange that it should never have occurred to Dr. Molloy that when he wrote these words he was verifying the

adage "*Exceptio probat regulam*." The original Latin to which he refers tells us: "The common opinion of Catholics is, that the Roman Pontiff has been invested by Christ our Lord with the prerogative of infallibility in such a way that *he cannot err* when, as supreme head of the Church, *he proposes* anything to all the faithful in Christ to be believed or held *de fide*." Let it be observed that there is not the slightest allusion here to *any* Council, general or particular; the Papacy is a step far beyond that; for what would be the use of an ecclesiastical Parliament which might be mooting inconvenient questions to the disturbance of the minds of the faithful? But now come the exceptions: "Wherefore neither personal acts, nor precepts, nor rescripts, nor opinions, which the Roman Pontiffs promulgate at various times, nor decrees of discipline, nor many other things of the same kind, are to be ranked among the decrees of which we are treating." This is satisfactory, because it proves that the decrees of the Roman Chancery are not more infallible than those at Westminster; but, at the same time, it "negatively" intimates that the Pope *is* infallible when *he* proposes anything to be believed by all the faithful in Christ.

It is to be hoped that the remarks in the preceding pages may have tended in some slight measure to shew the utter futility of attempting any compromise between the Churches of Rome and England; and whatever may be the opinion of "certain sympathisers" with the former who are to be found amongst us, we answer that it can receive little encouragement from any "honest" Anglican, who feels convinced that his Church represents primitive truth standing aloof from the "divine" Voice, which in reality and to a great extent "nullifies" the divine Word. For the author of the *Eirenicon* himself there is no one but must entertain respect. "You know," he says to his most intimate friend, "how long it has been my wish to consecrate the evening of my life to the unfolding of some of the deep truths of God's holy Word as God might enable me, by aid of those whom he has taught in times past." May this aspiration, which has been "partially" but most ably fulfilled, now be carried out as he could wish, both to his own satisfaction and to the profit of the Church at large.

H. P.

CANDLEMAS DAY: A MYSTERY.^a

WE are not unaware that the "Mystery" which is here presented to our readers has been edited more than once. It is contained in the first volume issued by the Abbotsford Club, entitled *Ancient Mysteries; from the Digby Manuscripts*;^b but copies of that work are rare, and we have been unable to obtain a sight of one, nor have we been able to consult the original MS. We should have preferred giving a copy which should have been to our own knowledge an exact representation of the original; but we regret this the less as our object is not so much a philological one as it is to exhibit a specimen of the religious amusements which were in vogue before the Reformation. It must not be forgotten that amusement was not the sole aim of those who promoted the "Mysteries" and "Moralities" of days gone by. Instruction was a chief object: but whether much success was attained in this department may, we think, reasonably be doubted. Still some good may have resulted from a practice which prevailed more or less in the Christian Church for the long period of twelve hundred years. In the fourth century Gregory of Nazianzum, bishop of Constantinople, recommended his people to represent some stories from the Bible; and, in furtherance of this, wrote for them a tragedy entitled the *Passion of Christ*: his object was to drive from their stage the profane plays of Sophocles and Euripides.^c

To trace these religious Mysteries from their rise to their fall is no part of our present plan, nor would such a work be altogether suitable to the pages of this Journal. We shall therefore only say a few words by way of introduction to the play we have selected, and leave it to the careful attention of our readers. It was written in 1512 by one Ihan Parfre, of whom nothing is recorded. It is probable that he wrote other Mysteries than the one under notice, judging from the prologue and epilogue of this. In the prologue he speaks of how in the same place "last yeer" a representation was made of "the shepherds of Crist" and of the three kings that came to worship Jesus; and in the epilogue he promises for the following year

^a From *The Origin of the English Drama*. By Thomas Hawkins, M.A. Oxford, 1773. Mr. Hawkins died before the publication of his work. Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 31, 1772, contains the following obituary notice:—"Last week died, after a very short illness, at Littlemore, near this city, aged forty-four, the Rev. Thomas Hawkins, M.A., chaplain of New College, and St. Mary Magdalene. At the former he is succeeded by Mr. Huntingford, master of the grammar school; at the latter by the Rev. William Walker, M.A."

^b Mr. Hawkins's reference for the play in the Bod. Lib. is Cod. MSS. Kenelmi Digby. 1734. 133.

^c Hawkins, iv.

“The Disputation of the Doctors.” It seems probable that his intention was to write a series of Mysteries representing the chief acts in the life of Christ. How far he succeeded we have no means of ascertaining, as “Candlemas Day” is the only one left to us.

The reader will notice that very little art was exercised in the construction of the play. A little effort on the part of the author would have obviated the necessity for such a stage direction as the following:—“Here the knyghts and Watkyn walke abought the place tyll Mary and Joseph be conveid in to Egipt.” But then he could assume much on the want of discernment in his audience. We may also refer to the Hebrew soldiers swearing by Mahomet, who was not born till six hundred years after the occurrence here represented, and to the name of Herod’s messenger, Watkin. This last character seems to have been introduced as the buffoon of the piece. Witness his request that Herod would knight him before he proceeded on his errand of blood, and the pitiful figure he cuts before the women armed with their distaffs.

The play embraces two distinct subjects, and might conveniently be divided into two parts. The first part, dealing only with the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem, ends with the sudden death of Herod, the second opening with the prayer of Simeon. Though the play was as applicable to Innocents’ Day as to Candlemas Day (the Feast of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary), we believe it was intended to be performed on the latter day only. The title alone might lead to this conclusion, but the following lines seem to settle the point:—

“This glorious maiden doughter unto Anna,
In whos worship this fest we honour.”

Of the poetical merits of the play not much need be said. Herod’s speeches, though delivered in a style somewhat inflated, are not without some merit. In them may be noticed a few attempts at that alliterative style which once had been thought so much of. Thus we have, to give only two instances:—

“Royally I reigne in welthe without woo.”

And,

“I chille and chevere for this horrible chaunce.”

The nearest approach to poetry seems to be in the prayer of Simeon, which is couched in language of great force and beauty. The peculiarities of language which have struck us as being worthy of remark will be found noticed at the foot of the page.

THE NAMES OF THE PLEYERS.

THE POETE.

Kyng HEROWD.

1 Knyght.

2 Knyght.

3 Knyght.

4 Knyght.

WATKIN, Messanger.

SYMEON, the Bysshop.

JOSEPH.

MARIA.

ANNA, Prophetissa.

A Virgyn.

ANGELUS.

1 Mulier.

2 Mulier.

3 Mulier.

4 Mulier.

Ihan Parfre ded write thys booke.

Poeta.—This solemne fest to be had in remembraunce
Of blissed seynt Anne, moder to our lady,
Whos ryght discent was fro kyngs allyaunce,
Of Davyd and Salamon witnesseth the story;
Hir blissid doughter, that callid is Mary,
By Godds provision an husbond shuld have,
Callid Joseph, of nature old and drye,
And the moder unto Christ that all the world shall save:

This glorious maiden doughter unto Anna,
In whos worship this fest we honour,
And by resemblaunce likenyd unto manna,
Wiche is in tast coelestiall of savour,
And of Jerico the sote rose floure,
Gold Abryson^d callid in picture,
Chosyn for to bere mankynds savyour;
With a prerogative above eche creature.

These grett thyngs remembred, after our entent
Is for to worshyppe oure lady and seynt Anne:
We be comen heder as servaunts diligent
Oure processè to shewe you as we can;
Wherfor of benevolence we pray every man,
To have us excused, that we no better doo,
An other time to emende it if we can,
Be the grace of God, if our cunnyng be ther too.
The last yeer we shewid you, and in this place,
How the shepherds of Crist by the made letification,
And thre kyngs that ycome fro the cuntrees be grace
To worship Jesu with enteer devotion:
And now we propose with hooll affection,
To procede in oure matter as we can,
And to shew you of our ladies purification,
That she made in the temple, as the usage was than:

^d "Gold Abryson." *Abryson*, as an epithet of gold, is clearly the same as *obrussum*, which denotes the finest kind of gold. The word is variously written in Latin books, and hence for *aurum obryzum*, some would read *obrussum*, etc. *Obrisa*, *obrusa*, *obrysa*, and *obryza*, denote the test or assay of gold.

The following passages in the Latin Vulgate may be referred to "*Laminas auri obrizi affixit*" (2 Chron. iii. 5). "*Non dabitur aurum obrizum*" (Job xxviii. 15). "*Et obrizo dixi*" (Job. xxxi. 24). "*Homo mundo obrizo*" (Isaiah xiii. 12). "*Accincti auro obrizo*" (Dan. x. 5).

And after that shall Herowd have tydyngs,
 How the thre kyngs be goon hoom another way,
 That were with Jesu, and made ther offryngs,
 And promysed kynge Herowde, without delay
 To come a geyn by him ; this is no nay.
 And whan he wist that thei were goon,
 Like as a wodman he gan to fray,
 And commaunded his knyght forth to go a noon
 In to Israell, to serche every towne and cite
 For all the children that thei cowde ther fynde,
 Of ij yeers age and under, sparyng neither bonde nor free,
 But sle them all, either for foo or frende ;
 Thus he commaunded in his furious mynde ;
 Thought that Jesu shuld have be oon,
 And yitt he failed of his froward mynde ;
 For by Gods providaunce our lady was in to Egypte gon.
 Friends, this processe we propose to pley as we can,
 Before you all here in your presens,
 To the honor of God, our lady, and seynt Anne ;
 Beseechyng you to geve us peseable audiens.
 And, ye menstrallis^e doth your diligens ;
 And, ye virgynes, shewe sune sport and plesure,
 These people to solas, and to do God reverens ;
 As ye be appoynted doth your besy cure.

[*Et tripudient.*

Herodes.—Above all kynges under the clowdys cristall,
 Royally I reigne in welthe without woo,
 Of plesaunt prosperytie I lakke non at all ;
 Fortune I fynde, that she is not my foo,
 I am kyng Herowd, I will it be knowen so,
 Most strong and myghty in feld for to fyght,
 And to venquyshe my enemyes that a geynst me do ;
 I am most be dred with my bronde bryght.

My grett goddes I gloryfye with gladnesse,
 And to honoure them I knele up on my knee ;
 For thei have sett me in solas from all sadnesse,
 That no conqueroure nor knyght is compared to me ;
 All the that rebelle a geys me ther bane I will be,
 Or grudge a geys my godds on hyll or hethe ;
 All suche rebellers I shall make for to flee,
 And with hard punyshements putt them to dethe.

What erthely wretches, what pompe and pride,
 Do a geys my lawes or withstonde myne entent,
 Thei shall suffre woo and payne thugh bak and syde,
 With a very myschaunce ther fleshe shal be all to rent ;

* The plural of nouns is frequently formed in *-is* or *-ys*, after the Scotch use. Thus we find *clowdys*, *armys* (arms), *stretis*, etc.

And all my foes shall have suche commaundement
That they shalbe glad to do my byddyn ay,
Or ells thei shalbe in woo and myscheff permanent
That thei shall fere me nyght and day.

My messenger, at my commaundement come heder to me,
And take hed what I shall to the say :
I charge the, loke a bought thurgh my cuntre
To aspye if ony rebell do a geynst our lay :
And if ony suche come in thy way,
Brynge hem in to our hygh presens,
And we shall se them correctid, or thei go hens.

Watkyn, the Messenger.—My lord, your commaundement I have fulfilled
Evyn to the uttermost of my pore power ;
And I wold shew you more, so ye wold be contentid,
But I dare not, lest ye wold take it in anger :
For if it liked you not, I am sure my deth were nere ;
And therfor, my lord, I wole hold my peas.

Herod.—I warne the, thu traytor, that thu not seas
To observe every thyng thu knowest a geyns our reverence.

Messenger.—My lord, if ye have it in your remembraunce,
Ther were iij straunger knyghts, but late in your presence,
That went to Bedlem to offre with due observaunce,
And promysed to come a geyn by you without variaunce ;
But by ther bonys ten, thei be to you untrue,
For homeward an other wey thei doo sue.

Herod.—Now be my grett godds, that be so full of myght
I will be a vengid upon Israell, if this tale be true.

Messenger.—That it is, my lord, my trouth I you plight,
For ye founde me never false syn ye me knewe.

Herod.—I do perceyve, though I be here in my cheff cite,
Callid Jerusalem, my riche royall town,
I am falsly disceyved by straunge knyghts three :
Therfor, my knyghts, I warne you, without delacion,
That ye make serche thurgh^s out all my region,
Withoute ony tarieng my wille may be seen,
And sle all tho children without excepcion
Of to yeers of age, that within Israell bene :
For within my self thus I have concluded,
For to avoide a wey all interrupcion,
Sythens thes thre knyghts have me thus falsly deluded,
As in manner by froward collusion,
And a geyn resorted hom in to ther region :
But yitt, maugre ther herts, I shall avengid be :
Bothe in Bedlem and my provynces everychone,
Sle all the children to kepe my liberte.

^s *Lay*, A. S. *law*. Fr. *loy*. In *Genesis and Exodus* we read of "the ieuwes lay" (l. 1201).

^s *Thurgh* is the Northumbrian form of through; West Sax. *thurh*; and is used throughout the play.

1 *Miles*.—My lord, ye may be sure that I shall not spare
For to fulfille your noble commaundement,
With sharpe sword to perse them all bare,
In all cuntrees that be to you adjacent.

2 *Miles*.—And for your sake to observe your commaundement.

3 *Miles*.—Not on of them all our hands shall astert.^a

4 *Miles*.—For we wole cruelly execute your judgement
With swerde and spere to perse them thurgh the hert.

Herod.—I thanke you, my knyghts; but loke ye, make no tarieng,
Go arme your self in stele shynyng bright;
And conceyve in your mynds, that I am your kyng,
Gevyng you charge, that with all your myght
In confirmacion of my tytell of ryght,
That ye go and loke for myn advantage,
And sle all the children that come in your sight
Wiche ben within two years of age.

Now be ware, that my byddyng ye truly obey,
For non but I shall reigne with equyte;
Make all the children on your swords to dey,
I charge you, spare not oon for mercy nor pyte.
Am not I lord and kyng of the cuntre?
The crowne of all Jerusalem longith to me of right;
Who so ever sey nay of high or lowe degre,
I charge you, sle all suche that come in your syght.

1 *Miles*.—My lord, be ye sure, accordyng to your will,
Like as ye charge us be streight commaundement,
All the children of Israell doubtles we shall kylle
Within to yeers of age, this is our entent.

2 *Miles*.—My lord of all Jurye, we hold you for chef regent,
By titell of enheritaunce as your auncestors be forn;
He that seith the contrary, be Mahound, shalbe shent,
And curse the tyme that ever was born.

Herod.—I thanke you, my knyghts, with hool affection,
And whan ye come ageyn I shall you avaunce;
Therfor quyte you wele in feld and town,
And of all the fondlyngs make a delyverance.

[*Here the Knyghts shall departe from Herowd to Israell; and
Watkyn shall abyde, seyng thus to Herod:*

Watkin.—Now, my lord, I beseche you to here my dalyaunce,
I wole aske you a bone, if I durst a right;
But I were loth ye shuld take ony displesaunce:
Now, for Mahounds sake, make me a knyght.

For oon thyng I promyse you, I will manly fight,
And for to avenge your quarrell I dare undertake;
Though I sey my self, I am a man of myght,
And dare live and deye in this quarrell for your sake;

^a *Astert*. A. S. to escape. The word is used by Lydgate, Gower, Chancer, and in *Piers Ploughman*.

For whan I com amonge them, for fere thei shall quake;
And, though thei sharmeⁱ and crye, I care not a myght,
But with my sharpe sworde ther ribbes I shall shake
Evyn thurgh the guttes for anger and despight.

Herowd.—Be thi trouthe, Watkyn, woldest thu be made a knyght?

Thu hast be my servaunt and messanger many a day,
But thu were never provid in battaile nor in fight,
And therfor to avaunce the so sodenly I ne may:
But oon thyng to the I shall say,
Be cause I fynde the true in thyn entent,
Forth with my knyghts thu shalt take the way,
And quyte the wele, and thu shall it not repent.

Watkyn.—Now a largeys, my lord, I am ryght wele apaid,
If I do not wele, ley my hed upon a stokke;
I shall go shew your knyghts how ye have seid,
And arme my self manly and go forth on the flokke,
And if I fynde a young child I shall choppe it on a blokke,
Though the moder be angry the child shalbe slayn:
But yitt I dredde no thyng more than a woman with a rokke,^j
For if I se ony suche, be my feith, I come a geyn.

Herowd.—What, shall a woman with a rokke drive thee away?

Fye on thee, traitor, now I tremble for tene,^k
I have trusted the long, and many a daye;
A bold man and an hardy I went thu haddist ben.

Watkyn.—So am I, my lord, and that shalbe seen,
That I am a bold man and best dare a byde,
And ther come an hundred women I wole not fleen,
But fro morrowe tyll nyght with them I dare chide.

And therfor, my lord, ye may trust unto me;
For all the children of Israell your knyghts and I shall kille,
I wyll not spare on, butt dede thei shall be,
If the fader and moder will lete me have my wille.

Herowd.—Thu lurdeyn,^l take hed what I sey the tyll,
And high the to my knyghts as fast as thu can:

ⁱ *Sharm, shalm, or shawm*, to scream shrilly, to shriek. A provincialism of Norfolk and Suffolk.

^j This word *rokke* occurs several times. It is the Danish *rok*, O. N. *rokkr*, G. *rocken*, a distaff held in the hand from which the thread was spun by twirling a ball below. See *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, l. 508.

^k *Tene* (A. S.), *anger*:—"Felle temptande *tene* towched his hert."—*Allit. Poems*, p. 46.

^l *Lurdeyn, lourdin, lourdayne*; blunt, somewhat blockish; a little clownish, lumpish, rude; smelling of the churle, or lobcock. Andrew Boorde, in his *Breviary of Health*, speaks of an "euyll feuer, the which doth comber yonge persons, named the feuer *lurden*. . . . There is nothing so good for the feuer *lurden us unguentum baculum*, that is to saye, Take a sticke or wan of a yerd of length and more, and let it be as great as a man's fynger, and with it anoint the backe and shoulders well morning and evening, and doo this xxj dayes; and if this feuer will not be holpen in that time, let them beware of wagging in the galowes; and whiles they do take their medicine, put no lubberwort into their potage, and beware of knauering about their heart."—See *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. *Lurdeyne*.

Say, I warne them in ony wyse ther blood that thei spille,
A bought in every cuntre, and lette for no man.

Watkyn.—Nay, nay, my lord, we wyll let for no man,
Though ther come a thousand on a rought;
For your knyghts and I will kille them all, if we can :
But for the wyves that is all my dought,
And if I se ony walkyng a bought,
I will take good hede tyll the be goon,
And assone as I aspye that she is oute,
By my feith, into the hous I will go anon.

And this I promyse you, that I shall never slepe,
But evermore wayte to fynde the children alone;
And if the moder come in, under the bench I will crepe,
And lye stille ther tyll she be goon,
Than manly I shall come out and hir children sloon,
And whan I have don I shall renne fast away :
If she founde hir child dede, and toke me ther alone,
Be my feith, I am sure we shuld make a fray.

Herowd.—Nay, harlott,^m abyde styll with my knyghts I warne the,
Tyll the children be slayn all the hooll rought;
And whan thu comyst home a gayn I shall avaunce the,
If thu quyte thee like a man whill thu art ought,
And if thu pley the coward, I put the owt of dought,
Of me thu shalt neyther have se nor advauntage,
Therfor I charge you the contre be well sought,
And whan thu comyst home shalt have thi wage.

Watkyn.—Yis, ser, be my trouthe, ye shall wele knowe
Whill I am oute how I shall aquyte me,
For I propose to spare neither high nor lowe,
If ther be no man wole smyte me :
The most I fere the wyves will bete me,
Yitt shall I take good hert to me and loke wele abought.
And loke that your knyghts be not ferre fro me,
For if I be alone I may sone gete a flought.

Herod.—I say, hye the hens, that thu were goon,
And unto my knyghts loke ye take the way,
And sey, I charge them that my commaundement be don
In all hast possible without more delay;
And if ther be ony that will sey you nay,
Redde him of his lyff out of hand anon;

^m The word *harlot* originally had no relation to sex, but was applied to any low person. See *Morte Arthure*, 2446:—

“Salle never *harlotte* have happe, thorowe helpe of my lorde,
To kille a crownde kyng with krysome enoynted.”

Chaucer says of the Sompnour (C. T. 649),

“He was a gentil *harlot* and a kynde,
A bettre felaw schulde men nowher fynde.”

In the Coventry Mystery of the “Woman taken in Adultery,” it is the young man who is caught with the woman, and not the woman herself, who is stigmatized as a *harlot*.

And if thu quyte the weell unto my pay,*
I shall make the a knyght aventryous whan thu comyst home.

Watkyn.—Syr knyghts, I must go forth with you,
Thus my lord commaunded me for to don ;
And if I quyte me weell whill I am amonge you,
I shalbe made a knyght aventrys whan I come home :
For oon thyng I promyse you, I will fight anon,
If my hert faile not whan I shalbe gynne ;
The most I fere is to come amonge women,
For thei fight like devells with ther rokke whan thei spynne.

1 *Miles*.—*Watkyn*, I love thee, for thu art even a man ;
If thu quyte the weell in this grett viage,
I shall speke to my lord for the that I can,
That thu shalt no more be neither grome nor page.

2 *Miles*.—I wyll speke for the that thu shall have better wage,
If thu quyte the manly amonge the wyves ;
For thei be as fers as a lyon in a cage,
Whan thei are vroken^o ought to reve men of ther lives.

[*Here the Knyghts and Watkyn walke abought the place tyll
Mary and Joseph be conveid in to Egipt. Dixit Angelus.*

Angelus.—O Joseph, ryse up, and loke thu tary nought ;
Take Mary with the, and in to Egipt flee ;
For Jesu thy sone pursuyd is and sought
By kyng Herowd, the wiche of grete inyquyte
Commaunded hath thurgh Bedlem cite,
In his cruell and furyous rage,
To sle all the children that be in that cuntre,
That may be founde within to yeers of age :
Ther shall he shewe in that region
Diverse myracles of his high regalye,
In all ther temples the mawments^p shall falle down,

* Pay, satisfaction, pleasure :—

“Gye entendyd alle that daye
To serve that lady to hur *paye*.”

(*Quoted by Halliwell*).

^o *Vroken* may be another form of Swedish *wröka*, to cast out, etc., and may mean “broken” out or “rushing” out.

^p *Mawments*. The name of Mahomet became, as in Old French, a term denoting any idol ; as also *mahomerie*, in low Lat. *mahomeria*, was used to signify the worship of any false deity. One of the charges brought against Boniface VIII., was that he “haunted maumetrie ;” and R. Brunne, in his *Manuel des Pecches*, speaks of a “prest of Sarasyne” who lived in “maumetry.” In a satirical proclamation, dated 1416, we read, “And whi that I am stiward of helle. I lete you wite I have alle gouernaunce of wicked *mawmentries* and wicked spirites.” Chaucer, C. T., 4656, has “destruction of *maumetry* ;” and in the *Persones* T. asks, “What difference is ther betwixt an idolater and an avaricious man, but that an idolater peradventure ne hath not but one *maumet* or two, and the avaricious man hath many” (v. 3, p. 257, ed. 1860). Hall calls Perkin Warbeck the Duchess of Burgundy’s “newly-invented *mawmet*,” and speaks of him as the “feyned duke, but a peinted image.” And Fabian says that the men of

To shew a tokyn towards the partie,
 This child hath lordship, as prophets do speake,
 And at his comyng thurgh his myghty hond
 In despyght of all idolatrye,
 Every oon shall falle whan he comyth in to the lond.

Joseph.—O good lord, of thi gracious ordenaunce,
 Like as thu list for our journey provide,
 In this viage with humble attendaunce
 As God disposeth and list to be our gyde,
 Therfor upon them bothe mekely I shall abide,
 Praying to that Lord to thynk upon us three,
 Us to preserve wheder we go or ryde
 Towards Egipte from all advercitie.

Mary.—Now, husband, in all hart I pray you, go we hens,
 For dredd of Herowd that cruell knyght :
 Gentyll spouse, now do your diligens,
 And bryng your asse, I pray you, a non right,
 And from hens let us passe with all our myght.
 Thankyng that Lord so for us doth provide,
 That we may go from Herowd that cursed wyght,
 Wiche will us devour if that we abide.

Joseph.—Mary, you to do pleasaunce without ony lett
 I shall brynge forth your asse without more delay ;
 Fulsone, Mary, theron ye shalbe sett,
 And this litell child that in your wombe lay,
 Take hym in your armys, Mary, I you pray,
 And of your swete mylke let him sowke inowe,
 Mawger Herowd and his grett fray :
 And as your spouse, Mary, I shall go with you.
 This ferdell of gere I ley upon my bakke :
 Now I am redy to go from this cuntre,
 All my smale instruments is putt in my pakke.

[*Et exeunt.*]

Now go we hens, Mary, it will no better be,
 For drede of Herowd, a paas I wyll high me.
 Lo, now is our geer trussid both more and lesse :
 Mary, for to plesse you with all humylite
 I shall go be fore, and lede forth your asse.

[*Here Mary and Joseph shall go out of the place, and the godds
 shall fall : and than shall come in the women of Israel with
 young children in ther armys, and than the knyghts shall go to
 them, saying as foluyth :*

Rouen "made theym a mamet fatte and vnweldy." See *Prompt. Parv.*—*Mawment.* Shakspeare's use of the word may also be noticed:—

"A wretched puling fool,
 A whining mammet."—*Rom. and Jul.*, iii., 5.

Herbert Coleridge, *Gloss. Index*, says, "Probably the word [*mawmet*] originally meant a scarecrow, a bundle of clouts or rags, from the verb 'maim.'"

- 1 *Miles*.—Herke, ye wyffys, we be come your houshold to visite ;
 Though ye be never so wroth nor wood,
 With sharpe swerds that redely will byte,
 All your children within to yeers age in our cruell mood
 Thurghe out all Bethleem to kille and shed ther young blood,
 As we be bound be the commaundement of the kyng :
 Who that seith nay, we shall make a flood
 To renne in the stretis by ther blood shedyng.
- 2 *Miles*.—Therfor unto us ye make a delyveraunce
 Of your young children, and that a none,
 Or ells, be Mahounde, we shall geve a myschaunce,
 Our sharpe swerds thurgh your bodies shall goon.
- Watkyn*.—Therfor be ware, for we will not leve oon
 In all this cuntre that shall us escape,
 I shall rather flee them everychoon,
 And make them to lye and mowe^a like an ape.
- 1 *Mulier*.—Fye on you, traitors of cruell tormentrye,
 Wiche with your swerds of mortall violens,—
- 2 *Mulier*.—Our young children, that can no socoure but crie,
 Wyll slee and devoure in ther innocens.
- 3 *Mulier*.—Ye false traitors unto God, ye do grett offenses,
 To sle and morder young children that in the cradell slumber.
- 4 *Mulier*.—But we women shall make a geys you resistens
 After our power, your malice to encomber.
- Watkyn*.—Peas, you folyshe quenys, wha shuld you defende
 Ageyns us armyd men in this apparaile?
 We be bold men, and the kyng us ded sende
 Hedyr in to this cuntre to hold with you battaile.
- 1 *Mulier*.—Fye upon the coward, of the I will not faile
 To dubbe the knyght with my rokke rounde ;
 Women be ferse when thei list to assaile,
 Suche proude boyes to caste to the grounde.
- 2 *Mulier*.—Avaunt, ye skowtys, I defye you everychone,
 For I wole bete you all my self alone.
- [*Watkyn hic occidet per se.* ¹
- 1 *Mulier*.—Alas, alas, good cossynnes, this is a sorowfull peyn,
 To se our dere children that be so yong
 With these caytyves thus sodeynly to be slayn :
 A vengeaunce I aske on them all for this grett wrong.
- 2 *Mulier*.—And a very myscheff mut come them a monge,
 Wherso ever thei be come or goon ;
 For thei have killed my yong sone John.
- 3 *Mulier*.—Gossippis, a shamefull deth I aske upon Herowde our kyng,
 That thus rygorously our children hath slayn.
- 4 *Mulier*.—I pray God bryng hym to an ille endyng,
 And in helle pytte to dwelle ever in peyn.

^a *Mowe*, to grin, make grimaces.

“Like apes that *mow* and
 Chatter at me.”—*Tempest*, ii., 2.

Watkyn.—What, ye harlots? I have aspiied certeyn,
That ye be tratorys to my lord the kyng,
And therfor I am sure, ye shall have an ille endyng.

1 *Mulier.*—If ye abide, Watkyn, you and I shall game
With my distaff that is so rounde.

2 *Mulier.*—And if I seas thanne have I shame,
Tyll thou be fellid down to the grounde.

3 *Mulier.*—And I may gete the within my bounde,
With this staffe I shall make thee lame.

Watkyn.—Yee, I come no more ther, be seynt Mahound;
For if I do, methynketh I shall be made tame.

1 *Mulier.*—Abyde, Watkyn, I shall make the a knyght.

Watkyn.—Thou make me a knyght? that were on the newe;
But for shame, my trouthe I you plight,
I shud bete you bak and side tyll it were blewe;
But, be my God Mahounde, that is so true,
My hert be gynne to fayle, and waxeth feynt,
Or ells, be Mahounds blood, ye shuld it rue,
But ye shall lose your goods as traitors atteynt.

1 *Mulier.*—What, thou jabell, canst not have do?

Thou and thi cumpany shall not depart,
Tyll of our distavys ye have take part.—
Therfor ley on, gossippes, with a mery hart,
And lett them not from us goo.

*[Here thei shall bete Watkyn; and the Knyghts shall come to
rescue hym, and than thei go to Herowds hous sayng—*

1 *Miles.*—Honorable prynce of grett apparayle,
Thurgh Jerusalem and Jude, your wyll we have wrought,
Full suerly harneysed in arms of plate and maile,
The children of Israell unto deth we have brought.

2 *Miles.*—Syr, to werke your commaundement we lettid nought,
In the strets of the children to make a flood;
We sparid neither for care nor thought,
Thurgh Bethlem to shedde all the young blood.

Watkyn.—In feyth, my lord, all the children be dede,
And all the men out of the cuntre be goon;
Ther be but women, and thei crie in every stede,
A vengeaunce take kyng Herode, for he hath our children slean!
And bidde, a mischeff take him both evyn and morn!
For kylling of ther children on you thei crie oute;
And thus goth your name all the cuntre abought.

Herodes.—Oute, I am madde, my wyttes be nei goon,
I am wo for the workyng of this werke wylde;
For as wele I have slayn my frends as my foon,
Wherfor I fere, deth hath me begyled;
Notwithstondyng syn thei be all defyled,
And on the young blood of Bethlem wrought wo and wrake,
Yitt I am in no certeyn of that yong child:

Now for woo myn herte gynneth to quake.

Alas, I am so sorowful and sett in of sadnes,
I chille and chevere for this horrible chaunce;
I commaunde you all, as ye wole stond in my grace,
Aft this yong kyng to mak good enqueraunce,
And he that bryngeth me tydyngs I shall hym avaunce,
Now unto my chamber I purpose me this tyde,
And I charge you, to my precept geve attendaunce,
In ony place wher ye goo or ryde.

What, out, out alas ! I wene I shall dey this day;
My hert tremblith and quakith for feer,
My robys I rende a to; for I am in a fray,
That my hert will brest asunder evyn heer.—
My lord Mahound, I pray the with hert enteer,
Take my soule in to thy holy hande;
For I fele by my hert, I shall dey evyn heer,
For my leggs falter, I may no lenger stande."

[*Here dieth Herowde, and Symeon shall sey as foluyth :*

Symeon.—Now, God, that art both lok and keye

Of all goodnesse and goostly governaunce,
So geve us grace thi lawys to obeye,
That we unto the do no displeasaunce;
Lett thi grace of mercifull haboundaunce
Upon me shyne, that callid am Symeon,
So that I may without any variaunce
Teche thi people thi lawis everychon :

From the sterriid hevyn, lord, thu list come down
In to the closett of a pure virgyn,
Our kynde to take for mannys salvation,
Thi grett mercy thu lowe lyst enclyne,
Lyke as prophetys by grace that is divyne
Have prophecied of the, sythe longe afforn;
It is fulfilled, I knowe be ther doctryne,
And of a chast maide, I wote wele, thu art born.

Now, good Lord, hertly I the pray,
Here my requeste, grounded upon right:
Most blissed Lord, lett me never dey
Tyll that I of the may have a sight;
Thu art so glorious, so blissed, and so bright,
That thi presence to me shuld be gret solas:
I shall not reste, but pray bothe day and nyght
Tyll I may behold, O Lord, thi swete face.

* The first part of the play, ("the killing of the children of Israel,") properly ends here. It must cause some surprise in the mind of the reader when he notices the open manner in which Herod, a Jew, is made to pray to his "lord Mahound" to take his soul into his hands. It should be remembered that a Jew was considered no better than a heathen, and was generally classed with them. The third collect for Good Friday will immediately present itself to the mind:—"Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, heretics and infidels."

[Here shall our Lady come forth holdyng Jesu in hir armys, and sey this laingage foluyng to Joseph.

Maria.—Joseph, my spouse, tyme it is, we goo
Unto the temple to make an offrynge
Of our swete sone; the law commandith so,
And ij yonge dowys with us for to bryng
In to a prests hands, without tarieng,
I shall presente for an observaunce,
Our babe so blissed wiche is but yonge
With me to go, I pray you, make purviaunce.

Joseph.—Most blissed spouse, me list not to feyne,
Fayn wold I plese you with hooll affeccion;
Behold now, wyff, here are dowys tweyne,
Of wiche ye shall make an oblacion,
With our child of full grett devocion:
Goth forth a forn, hertly I you pray,
And I shall folue, void of presumpcion,
With true entent as an old man may.

[Here Maria and Joseph go towards the temple with Jesu and ij dowes, and our lady seith unto Symeon:]

Maria.—Heyll, holy Symeon, full of grett vertu;
To make an offryng I gan my self perveye
Of my sovereyne sone that callid is Jesu,
With ij yonge dowes, the lawe to obeye,
Toward this temple, grace list me conveye,
Of Godds sone to make a presentacion;
Wherfore, Symeon, hertly I you pray,
In to your hands take myn oblacion.

[Here shall Symeon receyve of Maria, Jesu, and ij dowis, and holde Jesu in his armys expownyng Nunc dimittis, etc., seynng thus:]

Symeon.—Welcome, lord, excellent of power;
And welcome, Maria, with your sone sovereyne:
Your oblacion of hooll herte and enteer
I receyve, with these dowys tweyne:
Welcome, babe; for joye what may I seyn?
Atwen myn armys now shall I thee embrace:
My prayer, Lord, was not made in veyn,
For now I se thy celestiall face.

[Here declare Nunc dimittis.]

O blissed Lord, aft thi language,
In parfright peas now lett thy servaunt reste;
For why, myn eyen have seyn thi visage,
And eke thyn helthe thurgh my meke request:
Of the derk dungeon let the gats brest
Before the face of thyn people alle;
Thu hast brought triacle and bawme of the best
With sovereyne suger geyn all bitter galle:

I mene thi self, Lord, gracious and benigne,
 That woldest come down from thyn high glorye
 Poyson to repelle, thi mercy doth now shyne
 To chainge thyngs that are transitory,
 Thu art the light and the hevynly skye
 To the relevyng of folk most cruell,
 Thu hast brought gladnesse to our oratorye,
 And enlumyned thy people of Israell.

[*Here shall Anna prophetissa sey thus to Virgynes :*
Anna Prophetissa.—Ye pure virgynes, in that ye may or can,
 With tapers of wax loke ye come forth here,
 And worship this child very God and man,
 Offrid in this temple be his moder dere.

[*Here virgynes as many as a man wyll shall holde tapers in ther hands ; and the first seyth :*

1 *Virgo.*—As ye commaunde we shall do our dever
 That lorde to plesse echon for our partye,
 He makyth for us so comfortable chere
 That we must nede your babe magnifie.

Symeon.—Now, Mary, I shall tell you how I am purposed ;
 To worship your lord I wil go percession,
 For I see Anna with virgynes disposed
 Mekly as now to your sonys laudacion.

Maria.—Blissed Symeon, with hertly affection-
 As ye have seyde I concent therto.

Joseph.—In worship of our child with grett devossion
 Abought the tempill in order let us go.

Symeon.—Ye virgynes alle, with feythfull entent
 Dispose your silf a songe for to synge,
 To worship this childe that is here present,
 Whiche to mankende gladnes list bryng,
 In tokyn our herts, wiche joye doth spryng,
 Betwyn myn armys this babe shalbe born,
 Now, ye virgynis, to this Lord praysing,
 Syngyth Nunc dimittis of whiche I spak afforn.

[*Here shal Symeon bere Jesu in his armys goyng a percession
 rounde aboute the tempill, and al this wyle Virgynis singe
 Nunc dimittis ; and whan that is don Symeon seyth :*

Symeon.—O Jesu, chef cause of our welfare,
 In yone tapirs ther be thyngs iij,
 Wax weke and lyght, whiche I shall declare
 To the apporprid by moralite :
 Lorde, wax betokyneth thyn humanyte,
 And weke betokyneth thy soule most swete,
 Yone lyght I lyken to the godhede of the,
 Brighter than Phebus for al his servent hete,
 Pes and mercy han set in the here swete
 To slake the sharpnes, O Lorde, of rigour,

Very God and man grace togedir mete,
 In the tabiracle of thy modrys bower :
 Now shalt thou exile wo and al langour,
 And of mankende tappese infernall stryf,
 Record of prophets thou shalt be redemptour,
 And singuler repast of everlastyng lyf,
 My sprete joyeth thou art so amyable,
 I am not wery to loke on thi face,
 Our trowe entent let it be acceptable,
 To the honour of the shewys in this place ;
 For thy friends a dwellyng thou shalt purchase,
 Brighter than berall outhere clere crystall,
 Thee to worship as chef welle of grace :
 On both my knees now down knele I shall.

Maria.—Now, Symeon, take me my childe that is so bright,
 Chef lodesterre of my felicyte ;
 And all that longyth to the lawe of right
 I shall obeye, as it lyth in me.

Symeon.—This, Lord, I take you knelyng on my kne,
 Whiche shall to blisse folk ageyn restore,
 And so be callid sonne of tranquylte,
 To geve them drynke that hem thyrstyd fore.

[*Here she receyveth hir sone thus seying :*

Maria.—Now is myn offrynge to an ende conveyed ;
 Wherefore, Symeon, hens I wolde bende.

Symeon.—The lawes, Mary, fulwell ye han obbeyed
 In this tempill with hert and mende.

Now ferwell, Lord, comfort to all mankende :
 Ferwell, Maria, and Joseph on you waytyng.

Joseph.—Celestiall socour our sone mot you sende,
 And for his high mercy geve you his blissyng.

[*Here Maria and Joseph goyng from the tempill seying :*

Maria.—Husbond, I thank you of your gentilnes,
 That thou han shewed onto me this day,
 With our child most gracious of godenes :
 Let us go hens, hertly I you pray.

Joseph.—Go forthe afforn, my owne wyf, I sey,
 And I shall come aftir stil upon this ground,
 Ye shal me fynde plesant at every assaye ;
 To cherysshe you, wyf, gretly am I bonde.

Symeon.—Nowe may I be glad in myn inwarde mynde ;
 For I have seyn Jesu with my bodely eye,
 Wiche on a cross shall bey al menkende,
 Slayn by Jews at the mount of Calvery,
 And throw evyns grace here I will provysye
 Of blissid Mary, how she shall suffre peyn,
 Whan hir swete sone shall on a rood deye ;
 A sharpe swarde of sorrow shall cleve hir hert atweyn.

Anna prophetissa, hertly I prey you nowe,
 Doth your devir and your diligent labour,
 And take these virgynis everychon with you,
 And teche hem to plesse God of most honour.

Anna Prophetissa.—Lyke as ye say, I will do this hour :

Ye chaste virgynis, with all humilitie
 Worshipe we Jesu that shalbe our savyour ;
 Alle at ones come on, and folowe me.

Anna Prophetissa.—*Et tripudiant.*

Shewe ye sume plesur as ye can,
 In the worship of Jesu, our Lady, and seynt Anne.

Poeta.—Honourable soverignes, thus we conclude
 Our matter, that we have shewid here in your presens :
 And though our eloquens be but rude,
 We beseeche you all of your paciens,
 To pardon us of our offens ;
 For aft the sympyll cunnyng that we can,
 This matter we have shewid to your audiens,
 In the worship of our Lady and hir moder seynt Anne.

Nowe of this pore processe we make an ende,
 Thankyng you all of your good attendaunce ;
 And the next yeer, as we be perposid in our mynde,
 The disputacion of the doctors to shew in your presens.
 Wherfor now, ye vyrgynes, or we go hens,
 With all your cumpany you goodly avaunce :
 Also ye menstralles doth your diligens,
 A fore our depertyng geve us a daunce.

State of Syria.—The following item, which we copy from the *Levant Herald*, shews that Palestine is now in a more settled state than it has been for ages, and that the time for carrying out the suggestions made in Sir Moses Montefiore's report is very auspicious :—"The number of Russian pilgrims this season has augmented to about four thousand. The Jewish colony is increasing in the Holy Land. The projected carriageable road from Jaffa, for which the firman has been issued, has not yet been commenced, and is anxiously waited for. Travelling in Palestine has become unprecedentedly secure. At Damascus, however, we hear of murder after murder within the walls of the city, perpetrated by Moslems upon their fellow-citizens and co-religionists, while under the influence of intoxication. No less than seven such murders are said to have taken place lately, and the authorities begin to see the need of resorting to capital punishment to stop their recurrence, if possible." And again—"The anticipations of a good grain harvest throughout Syria have been confirmed, especially in the Hauran and in the South ; so much so, that it is expected this country can afford to export much more than the necessary amount of imports during the past year. The ravages of the locusts had been chiefly confined to the olive-trees and vineyards in the south of Palestine. The telegraph from France announces the glad news of prospects of peace. An amelioration in the prices of silk is hoped for, which will enable the people to sell at remunerative rates. Trade and commercial transactions generally have been held long enough in a state of stagnation, owing to the want of produce during last year, which has been felt the more keenly on account of the financial crisis in Europe this spring."



TWO EPISTLES OF MĀR JACOB, BISHOP OF EDESSA.

THE two epistles, of which I now present the Syriac text to the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, are taken from one of the manuscripts bound up in the volume Add. 12,172, and numbered fol. 79—134.

This manuscript is written in an elegant, cursive character, probably of the ninth, certainly not later than the tenth century. It contains seventeen letters of Jacob of Edessa, addressed, with a single exception, to a presbyter named John, a stylite, who resided at a place called ܐܕܝܬܐ, or, as it is elsewhere spelled, ܐܕܝܬܐ. The last of these is imperfect, having been left unfinished by the scribe.

These letters are, to my mind, very interesting, for several reasons. They give us an idea of the literary activity of the Syrian Christians in the seventh and preceding centuries; they show us what was the character of the scriptural exegesis of those times; and, with regard to the person of Jacob himself, they present him to us as a man of marvellous learning for his age;—an ἀνὴρ τρίγλωττος, who was equally conversant with Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew; equally at home in his native literature, in the Septuagint, and in the traditions of the Jews. I hope, therefore, that this specimen of his correspondence may have special attractions, not only for Christian students of the Bible, but also for Jewish scholars, like my friend Dr. Geiger.

I regret that circumstances prevent me from giving a complete translation of these two epistles, and that I am obliged to content myself with briefly indicating the contents of each.

The *thirteenth* letter, which I have placed first, because of its greater length, contains replies to no less than eighteen questions of John the stylite.

1. The reason of the Divine utterance in Genesis, chap. xv., verse 13. Here Jacob introduces several Jewish legends regarding the first calling of Abraham, his burning the temple of Kainān, etc.

2. Whether it is true, as they say, that there was no writing nor letters before the time of Moses? Jacob replies that this was affirmed by *Athanasius* in one of his Festal Letters (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ), in order to rid the church of apocryphal books (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢܝܬܐ), even though that of *Enoch* had to be sacrificed with them; but that he himself is of a different

opinion. He considers the genuineness of the book of Enoch to be proved by its being cited by the apostle Jude in his epistle ; and says that there was a Jewish tradition to the effect that Amram taught Moses the Hebrew as well as the Egyptian letters in Pharaoh's palace.

3. Who was the Ethiopian woman mentioned in Numbers, chap. xii., verse 1 ? Not Zipporah, but the daughter of an Ethiopian king, whose city Moses had besieged and captured, when he was in Pharaoh's service, as is narrated in Egyptian history.

4. What was the pride of Satan, on account of which he fell ? What was his envy ? And if the time be known when he suffered thus ?

5. How we should understand Job, chap. ii., verse 6 ? And whether Moses wrote the book of Job ? Jacob answers the latter part of this question in the affirmative.

6. What are the *Bēhēmōth* (בהמות, חסמול), the bird called חתב מצבי (Job, chap. xxxix., verse 13), and the *Leviathan* (לכ). *Bēhēmōth*, says Mār Jacob, means in Hebrew *animals*, סתל ; חתב מצבי is equivalent to חסמול מצבי, *beautiful bird* ; and *Leviathan* is לכ, i.e., סתל, *great snake*. The *bēhēmōth* are *locusts*, סתל ; *Leviathan* is *κῆτος*, and applicable metaphorically to Satan ; and the חתב מצבי is an Indian bird, also called סתל, or *elephant-bird*, because it carries off and devours young elephants.

7. Who was Zacharias, mentioned in St. Matthew, chap. xxiii., verse 35 ; St. Luke, chap. xi., verse 51 ? and why he was put to death ? According to Mār Jacob, he was the father of St. John the Baptist.

8. Whether the son of the widow of Zarephath (1 Kings, chap. xvii., verse 17—24) was Jonah the prophet ? Whether Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, was king of Nineveh in the time of Jonah ? And which is the correct reading in Jonah, chap. iii., verse 4, *forty* days or *three* days ? The first part of this question Jacob answers in the negative, as the only authority for the statement is "the Lives of the Prophets," wrongly ascribed to *Epiphanius*. The second point he leaves undecided, though he thinks it probable that Tiglath-pileser was the king.

* The passage cited by Jacob (Job, chap. xl., verse 15—24) is no doubt taken from his own revised version of the Old Testament.

As to the third, he prefers the reading of the LXX., ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι.

9. Of the "wild gourds" mentioned in 2 Kings, chap. iv., verse 39.

10. Obadiah the prophet was probably the third captain of fifty in 2 Kings, chap. i., verse 13, and the husband of the widow mentioned in 2 Kings, chap. iv., verse 1.

11. The articles carried away from the temple by the Babylonians were those made by Solomon. The ark, altar, golden table, etc., made by Moses, which had been carefully stored up since the time of Solomon, were conveyed away secretly by Jeremiah, and deposited in the cave on Mount Nebo, where Moses was buried, the site of which is now unknown. This is

what is meant in the Epistle of Baruch by the words ܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܝ (compare De Lagarde's *Libri vet. Test. Apocryphi*, p. 89, line 17.)

12. Of the rock that emitted water Jacob declines to speak, but answers John's question regarding Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, Abishai and Asahel, and Abigail, the mother of Amasa, the son of Jether.

13. The Psalms were not all written by David. Some were composed by the sons of Korah, viz., Asaph, Ethan and Heman; others by Moses, Jeremiah, Solomon, Jeduthun, etc.

14. Whether the Jews were called *Hebrews*, ܝܗܘܕܝܐ, from Eber? and whether Hebrew is the primeval tongue? Jacob answers both questions in the affirmative. He rejects the derivation of ܝܗܘܕܝܐ from ܝܗܘܕܝܐ (*περατής*). As regards the antiquity of Hebrew, in comparison with Syriac or Aramaic, he quotes *Clement*, the disciple of St. Peter, and *Eusebius* of Emesa; but his chief argument is drawn from Genesis, chap. ii., verse 23 (ܐܕܡ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ, correctly transcribed ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ, as compared with ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ and ܐܝܬܐ).

15. Regarding 1 Kings, chap. iv., verses 32, 33.

16. On the Song of Songs, chap. iii., verses 7, 8. Here Jacob cites *Gregory Nyssen*.

17. On 1 Samuel, chap. xvii., verse 55.

18. On Genesis, chap. xviii., verse 32. Lot had only two daughters and two sons-in-law, and no one else akin to him in Sodom, except his wife.

The *twelfth* letter is much shorter than the thirteenth. In it Mār Jacob explains some passages in the second *madrāshā* of

Mār Ephraim against false doctrines (see *Ephraemi Opera*, t. ii., p. 440), giving an account:—

1. Of the woman who was at the head of the sect of the *Shabbēthāyē* (ܫܒܬܝܐ, ܫܒܬܝܐ, Σαββαριανοί).

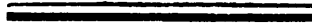
2. Of *Kūk*, from whom the sect of the *Kūkāyē* got their name.

3. Of *Pālūt*, who is also mentioned by Ephraim. He was not a heresiarch nor a heretic, but one of the bishops of Edessa.

I have only to add, in conclusion, that I have reproduced the text of the manuscript, with all its diacritical points and marks of punctuation, as accurately as the type at my disposal would allow.

W. WRIGHT.

London, 26th Nov., 1866.



تجده بی. اف هوما ته دمهف دعای منی حمصه مقصا: همبکف
 قیلا ا اف ته مکے شکے دهکلههه: اف مکے دکا ذمه.
 شکے به دت: بی: لا ا هوما مکے شکے دعے مبههه
 املاتج. الا مکس مکے دت: بی غمه: ج ا لیه: مکے خا
 داتلدههه دکا: نهههه قیلا قیله نهههه. اامعه
 تهههه هوما دکملا مکس مکس مکس. ا لجهه بهتلا خلا مصر
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 لا ا تهههه املاتج. ا ا ا نهه تههه. الا دت: مکس دکا
 مهه املاتج. مکس تهه دکمهه دهه دکمهه دکا: اامعه دکا: اامعه
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 دت: مکمهه دکا دکمهه دکا دکمهه. اامعه.

E

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

* MS. قديمة.

[illegible]

* MS. പ്രാർത്ഥന.

^b MS. **وایجن وایجن**.

C

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

2

SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS AT ST. PETERSBURG, ETC.

THE Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg possesses four Syriac MSS. of great age and value, which were purchased in 1852, for the sum of 2500 silver roubles, from a Greek named Pacho. These MSS. have been carefully described by my learned friend Dr. Dorn, in the *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin Historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, t. ii., 2me livr., p. 195. As they all formerly belonged to the convent of S. Mary Deipara in the desert of Scete, and M. Pacho had but shortly before delivered at the British Museum the last lot (as he alleged) of the Nitrian MSS., it would almost appear as if he had withheld from the Trustees of that institution a portion of their due.

Three of these MSS. belong in all probability to the seventh century; the fourth is, as we shall presently see, of much older date.

The first volume described by Dr. Dorn is a MS. of *the two books of Samuel*, according to the *Peshittā* version.

The second is an imperfect copy of *the Epistles of S. Paul*, also according to the *Peshittā* version.

The third is in part identical with Add. 14,644, and would have been of much use to Dr. Cureton in preparing his *Ancient Syriac Documents*. It contains the *Doctrine of Addai*; the *Doctrine of Simon Peter at Rome*; the *History of John the son of Zebedee at Ephesus*; ^a the *Invention of the Cross by the Empress Helene*; the *Martyrdom of Judas*, a Jewish convert, who became bishop of Jerusalem by the name of *Oyriacus*; ^b the *History of the eight youths of Ephesus*; the *History of Gregory* (Thaumaturgus), bishop of Neo-Cæsarea; and the *Life of Basil by Amphilochius*, of Iconium.

The fourth MS. is one of greater rarity and value than any of the preceding. It is a copy of the *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius*, far more complete than Add. 14,639. The MS. of the British Museum contains only books i.—iv., of which the first is slightly imperfect. The MS. of St. Petersburg, on the other hand, comprises books i.—iv. and viii.—x. Of books v. and vii. only small portions remain; and book vi. is altogether wanting. The date of Add. 14,639 has unfortunately been purposely erased. Dr. Cureton ascribed it to the sixth

^a Probably identical with the *History of S. John at Ephesus* in Add. 17,192, which I hope to publish, some day or other, in a second volume of "Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament."

^b See the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, t. i., p. 449 foll.

century; I am inclined to think that it belongs to the latter half of the fifth. The MS. of St. Petersburg is dated A. Gr. 773 (A.D. 462), and was therefore written little more than a hundred and twenty years after the death of Eusebius. Hence the British Museum no longer possesses the *two* oldest dated MSS. in existence (see *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for April 1865, p. 218), for Add. 14,425 was written A. Gr. 775 (A.D. 464). Knowing the great liberality of the Russian Government in all matters where science and literature are concerned, I ventured a short time ago to apply to his Excellency M. Delianoff, the Director of the Imperial Public Library, for the loan of this precious volume, in order that I might take a copy of it, with a view to publication; and my request has, I am happy to say, been granted without the slightest hesitation.

I have also recently had an opportunity of examining a Syriac MS. from the convent of S. Mary Deipara, which is in the possession of the Honourable R. Curzon of Parham, and was kindly lent by him to the Rev. Dr. Ceriani of Milan, whilst he resided among us during the past summer. This volume consists of three parts. At the beginning are four leaves, containing a portion of the *Index* to the *Catena Patrum* (ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ) numbered Add. 14,532.^c Then follows a copy of the books of *Ezra and Nehemiah*, according to the *Peshittā* version, consisting of 56 leaves, written in a large, regular Estrangēlā, and dated A. Gr. 1082, A. H. 153 (A.D. 770). Last of all comes a copy of the book of *Isaiah*, according to the *Septuagint* version, with the hexaplar marks, the various readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and some marginal notes, chiefly taken from the commentary of Cyril of Alexandria. The tetragrammaton is expressed by ܡܠܟ, to which is often added in Greek letters HEHE. The first quire of this MS. has been lost, so that the text commences with chap. iv. 5. It is undated, but I should hardly think it much, if at all, older than the preceding one.

London, 7th Nov., 1866.

W. WRIGHT.

PROPHECY OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS IN DANIEL IX. 24—27.

IN your review of the new *Fasti Sacri* (see *J. S. L.* for January 1866, p. 472) the principal Gospel dates, as settled by the learned author, are drawn out and proposed as a subject for discussion. None of these dates is more deserving of investigation than that of the crucifixion, an event in which we are all so deeply concerned. Mr. Lewin thinks that "the year A.D. 33, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified." Having already argued in your pages in favour of the year A.D. 29 (see *J. S. L.* for January 1863, p. 416, January 1866, p. 459, and April 1866, p. 205), I shall be excused

^c Since the above was written, Mr. Curzon has presented these leaves to the Trustees of the British Museum.

for endeavouring to defend this date, and to shew the untenableness of the other. The test shall be one of Mr. Lewin's own choosing. Among the arguments by which he is led to date the crucifixion A.D. 33, one of the principal is, "the striking manner in which the prediction of the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel is fulfilled on this hypothesis." (*Introduction*, p. xlii.) I believe that it is much more strikingly fulfilled on the hypothesis, that the crucifixion took place in A.D. 29; and to prove this is the design of the present communication.

On some important points we happily agree. We both believe in common with the best commentators,^d that the weeks mean hebdomads or septenaries of *years*; that the $7 + 62 + 1$ in verses 25—27 are constituent parts of the 70 in verse 24; and that the 70 weeks are to be computed from the decree given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus in the seventh year of his reign, for the restoration of the civil and religious polity of the Jews. We also agree in following the received chronology of Grecian history;^e and in believing that the decree in question was issued in the year B.C. 458.^f But we differ in the conclusions drawn from these premises.

^d See Dean Prideaux's *Connection*, Dr. Pusey's recent volume on the Book of Daniel, and Dean Goode's *Warburton Lectures*, Appendix, pp. 276—318.

^e Dr. Pusey (p. 167, note) defends the received chronology against the objections of Krüger and Hengstenberg. The Rev. Franke Parker has recently impugned it in the pages of this Journal, chiefly on the ground of alleged defect in Diodorus's list of archons: but Corsini, in his *Fasti Attici* (tom. i., p. 309, and tom. ii., p. 38) fully vindicates the accuracy of Diodorus.

^f Some date this decree a year later, B.C. 457; and consequently place the crucifixion in A.D. 30: but I have shewn in your Numbers for January last, pp. 457—459, and April, pp. 200—205, the serious objections which lie against dating the crucifixion A.D. 30. As the date of the decree is a critical point, it will be worth while to examine the evidence on the subject.

Comparison of the texts, Ezra vii. 7—9, and Nehemiah i. 1; ii. 1, will shew, that the ninth and fifth Jewish months were in the same regnal year of Artaxerxes Longimanus: his accession must, therefore, have taken place at some time between the fifth and nine months, or between July and December. Now the astronomical Canon of Ptolemy places his accession in the year of Nabonassar 284, which began December 17th, B.C. 465: according to the Canon, therefore, it would seem to have taken place between July and December, B.C. 464; and his seventh year would begin between July and December, B.C. 458, and the decree be issued early in B.C. 457.—On the other hand Thucydides, the contemporary of Artaxerxes, states in his *Summary of Grecian History* (i. 137), that Themistocles fled from Greece to the Persian court; and in his passage across the *Ægean* narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his countrymen who were besieging Naxos. Dodwell (*Annales Thucyd. ad Ann.*, B.C. 466, 465), and Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*, ii. p. 254) have carefully examined the chronology of Thucydides, and proved by an induction of particulars that the siege and surrender of Naxos cannot be put later than B.C. 466. We may gather from the accounts, that Themistocles landed in Asia about the autumnal equinox of that year, and lay in concealment till he could inform his friends at Athens and Argos of his whereabouts, and receive supplies from them. These could not reach him till the following spring, B.C. 465. He then took a journey of three or four months in a palanquin, disguised as the wife of a Persian nobleman, to Babylon, where, according to Thucydides, he found Artaxerxes *νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα*; and Charon of Lampsacus, another contemporary and resident in Asia at the time,

The following is my own view of the prophecy and its fulfilment.

I. The prophecy says at verse 25: "From the going forth of a commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem to Messiah Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks," *i. e.*, 69 weeks = 483 years.

Ezra states (vii. 9) that Nisan 1, or some day in March, B.C. 458, "was the foundation of the going up from Babylon" (Heb.); the meaning of which phrase is plain from what follows. On quitting Babylon Ezra repaired to the banks of a neighbouring river, the appointed place of rendezvous; he there reviewed his company, and finally left for Jerusalem on Nisan 12 (viii. 15—31). He evidently, therefore, "began to go up from Babylon" (E. V.) on Nisan 1. But we must assign a somewhat earlier date to "the going forth of the decree;" for neither Ezra nor his brethren would have dared to take a single step in such a business, under such a government, without the authorizing document in hand. His own narrative proves as much; for he *first* recites the provisions of the decree, one of which authorizes him to collect money for his object in the province of Babylon (vii. 16—18); he *then* thanks God for inclining the king and his nobles to favour his undertaking (verse 27); and he adds *lastly*, "And I was strengthened as the hand of the Lord my God was upon me, and I gathered together out of Israel chief men to go up with me" (verse 28). It is plain, therefore, that *after* the decree was granted he had to interest his brethren, to collect funds, and to organize the expedition. It inevitably follows, that "the going forth of the decree" must have preceded Nisan 1 by two or three months, and would be dated probably some day in January B.C. 458.

II. From the issue of this decree, then, in January B.C. 458, to Messiah Prince, were to be 7 + 62 weeks = 483 years, which bring us to January A.D. 26.

The phrase "Messiah Prince," or Anointed Prince, points distinctly to the *baptism* of Jesus, called at verse 24 "the anointing of a most Holy One." The Father then visibly anointed his Son with

confirms this statement. Clinton proves, that the twentieth regnal year of Xerxes closed about the end of February, B.C. 465; and Diodorus says, that he reigned *ετη πλείω τῶν εἰκοσι*, and was murdered by Artabanus in the archonship of Lysitheus, which began July 6th, B.C. 465. Diodorus also twice states that Artaxerxes reigned forty years; and Thucydides (iv. 50) dates his death about the autumn of the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 425; and forty years reckoned backward from thence bring us to the autumn of B.C. 465. Dodwell happily reconciles this date with that of the Canon by suggesting that the Canon, *more suo*, adds the seven months of Artabanus to the reign of Xerxes, not deeming Artaxerxes secure on the throne till the death of Artabanus, about the end of February. If we suppose Xerxes to have reigned five months over his twentieth year, the seven months of Artabanus being added will make up the twenty-first year, assigned by the Canon to the reign of Xerxes (see Clinton's *Fasti Hel.*, ii., pp. 40, 261, and 312—314).

The weight of evidence, therefore, requires us to place the *actual* death of Xerxes, and accession of Artaxerxes, in the autumn of B.C. 465, early in the archonship of Lysitheus; the seventh of Artaxerxes will then commence in the autumn of B.C. 459, and the decree would be issued early in B.C. 458.

the Holy Ghost, and bore audible testimony to him by a voice from heaven (Matt. iii. 13—17; Acts iv. 27; x. 38). This was the token of recognition given to his forerunner (John i. 31). Then first Jesus became Messiah; for St. Luke immediately after the baptism says, "And Jesus himself was about thirty years of age when he began;" implying that his course as the Messiah began from his baptism (Luke iii. 23). Accordingly, just after the ensuing fast of forty days Andrew tells Peter, "We have found the Messiah" (John i. 41); and about two days later Nathaniel confesses him, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the *King* of Israel" (*ibid.*, 49): and shortly after, when Jesus was at Jerusalem for his first public Passover, he expelled the traders from the temple; which shewed the *Prince* by the very same token of authority that he gave at his last Passover (John ii. 13—16; xii. 12—15): and when the woman of Samaria said, "I know that Messiah cometh," Jesus replied, "I that speak unto thee am he" (John iv. 26). There can be no doubt, then, that the *terminus ad quem* of the sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years from the decree, was the baptism of Jesus in January A.D. 26.

Now the exact day of our Lord's baptism cannot be ascertained;^s but we will suppose it to have occurred sixty-eight days before the

^s For the sake of approximating to the date of the baptism more nearly, I have endeavoured to ascertain how the Jewish months Sebat, Adar, and Nisan would fall according to Julian time, in the years B.C. 458 and A.D. 26. John Russell Hind, Esq., Head of the *Nautical Almanack* Office, has kindly computed for me, according to Largeteau's Tables, the following—

TRUE TIMES OF NEW AND FULL MOON in January, February, and March of the years B.C. 458 and A.D. 26, Jerusalem mean time.							
	d.	h.	m.		d.	h.	m.
B.C. 458, New January	6	17	5	A.D. 26, New January	7	6	32
Full	22	7	33	Full	21	7	6
New February	5	8	58	New February	5	21	24
Full	20	17	39	Full	19	21	0
New March	7	1	37	New March	7	9	34
Full	22	2	33	Full	21	11	45

As the Jewish day changed at sunset, the full moon of March, A.D. 26, would fall on March 22nd. It appears, therefore, that Nisan 15, which was always on the day of the full moon between the limits of March 17th and April 17th (see *J. S. L.* for January 1863, pp. 415, 417; and April 1866, p. 204), fell in both years on March 22nd: Nisan 1, therefore, fell in both years on March 8th; Ezra therefore quitted Babylon on Wednesday, March 8th, B.C. 458, and the banks of the Ahava on Sunday, March 19th. It also appears that the January new moon would be seen first, in both years, at the sunset which commenced January 9th; hence Sebat 1, *κατὰ σελήνην*, would in both years fall on January 9th. And as there are but fifty-eight days from January 9th to March 7th, Sebat and Adar were in both years *menses cavi* of twenty-nine days each, and Adar 1 fell in both years on February 7th. Hence in both years the two-and-a-half Jewish months from Sebat 1 to Nisan 15 occupied exactly the same portion of Julian time, viz., from January 9th to March 22nd. The parallel may have extended further. When the connection between the two years in the prophecy is considered, this correspondence between their almanacks is something very remarkable. The same correspondence did not obtain between the years B.C. 457 and A.D. 27, according to Mr. Hind's computation.

feast of the passover, Nisan 15, at which he made his first public appearance. The following table will shew how this approximation is reached:—

	Days.
Baptism of Jesus on the Lord's day, Sebat 5, January 13th, A.D. 26	1
Journey to the wilderness.....	1
First of the forty days, Tuesday, Sebat 7, January 15th; Adar 1, Feb. 7; last of the forty days, Saturday, Adar 17, February 23rd.....	40
Hunger, temptation, and ministry of angels (Luke iv. 2)	1
Journey to Bethabara (John i. 28)	1
The Jews enquire of the Baptist (<i>ib.</i> , 19—28).....	1
The Baptist points out Jesus (<i>ib.</i> , 29—34).....	1
John, Andrew, and Peter follow Christ (<i>ib.</i> , 35—42).....	1
Jesus goes to Galilee (<i>ib.</i> , 43)	1
Jesus spends the sabbath with Philip and Nathaniel, Adar 24, March 2 (<i>ib.</i> , 44—51)	1
Jesus arrives at Cana; marriage in the evening (John ii. 1—11)	1
Jesus arrives at Capernaum (<i>ib.</i> , 12)	2
Spends seven days at Capernaum (<i>ib.</i>)	7
Leaves Capernaum for Jerusalem on Wednesday, Nisan 6, March 13 (<i>ib.</i> , 13); arrives in Jerusalem on Friday, Nisan 8, March 15th	3
Expels the traders from the temple on Sunday, Nisan 10, ^a March 17 (<i>ib.</i> , 14) ..	2
Continues at Jerusalem till Thursday, Nisan 14, March 21st	4
Paschal feast on Friday, Nisan 15, March 22nd	68

We have only to suppose, then, what is highly probable in itself, that the decree was issued on Friday, Sebat 5, B.C. 458, and that our Lord was baptized on Sunday, Sebat 5, A.D. 26, and this part of the prophecy is seen to have been fulfilled to a tittle.

III. The prophecy goes on to say at verse 26: "And after the threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off:" and at verse 27, "But he shall confirm a covenant with many during one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause sacrifice and oblation to cease."

From these words, compared with the context in verse 24, we gather that the Messiah was to be put to a violent death after the expiration of the sixty-ninth week, in the course of the seventieth week, but before the end of it; in other words, "in the midst of that week." By his death he would "finish the transgression and make an end of sins, and make reconciliation for iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness." He would, therefore, supersede the ceremonial righteousness and typical atonements of the old Sinai covenant, or "cause sacrifice and oblation to cease." But he would establish a new covenant with his followers; who, before the expiration of the week, would be "many." An intimation is also given in verses 26, 27, that a foreign prince and people would eventually avenge on the Jews the quarrel of their rejected Messiah, by the utter desolation of their city and sanctuary, to continue until "the consummation." But as this judgment is not alluded to in verse 24, we might expect that it would not come to pass till after the expiration of the seventy weeks.

^a See *J. S. L.* for January 1863, p. 181, 182.

It is easy to shew the exact and punctual fulfilment of all this. If the seventieth week began at the baptism of Jesus in January, A.D. 26, it ended in January, A.D. 33. His public ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, viz., from his baptism to his death on Friday, March 18th, A.D. 29, in the fourth or middle year of the seventieth week. On the previous evening he ate his last Passover, keeping the feast a day sooner than the authorities; and the reason which he gave for so doing amounted to a declaration, that before the next opportunity the Passover would have been "fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke xxii. 15, 16, 18). He instituted the Lord's Supper in its stead, to be observed by his followers "till I come;" and saying, "This cup is the [pledge of the] New Covenant [about to be ratified] in my blood, which is to be shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins" (Matt. xxvi. 28; Luke xxii. 20). On the morrow he died as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" as "our Passover;" saying, with his dying breath, "It is finished:" and "by his one sacrifice for sins for ever" he "caused sacrifice and oblation to cease" among his followers. "The ministry of reconciliation," though in some sense dating from the beginning of the week (Mark i. 1), was publicly commenced by his apostles on the day of Pentecost following his ascension, when three thousand souls were converted at once, and "the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved" (Acts ii. 41, 47). Soon after, "five thousand men believed" (*ibid.*, iv. 4): "And believers were added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women" (*ibid.*, v. 14): "And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem daily; and a great company of the priests were obedient unto the faith" (*ib.*, vi. 7). The Sanhedrin at length lost all patience, and would no longer pursue the tolerant policy dictated by Gamaliel (*ib.*, v. 34—40), but tried to crush the new sect by persecution (vi.—vii.)—a sure sign of the progress which the Gospel had made and was making. Some try to bring the conversion of St. Paul and of Cornelius within the seventieth week; but there is no necessity for this, as the "many" of the prophecy refers primarily to the Jews and Jerusalem, "thy people and thy holy city." Enough, I think, has been said, to prove the exact fulfilment of the prophecy on the hypothesis that Jesus was crucified in A.D. 29.

I will now advert to the other hypothesis, "that A.D. 33, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified."

1. The learned author supposes the decree to be issued and the weeks to begin on Nisan 1, B.C. 458; but I think I have sufficiently proved that the decree, which was the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, must have preceded Nisan 1 by two or three months: according to his own shewing, however, the weeks could not have extended beyond Nisan 1, A.D. 33.

2. Mr. Lewin supposes our Lord born under the presidency of Saturninus, about Aug. 1st, B.C. 6; but he dates his baptism February, A.D. 29, making him then "thirty-three years old" (p. 115), or rather

thirty-three and a half: which he feels to be such a strain upon St. Luke's ὥσει τριάκοντα ἑτῶν, that he proposes an emendation of the text τριωντριάκοντα, for which there is not the least authority (*Introd.*, p. xv).

3. Mr. Lewin thinks that our Lord's ministry lasted four years with five Passovers, and they are certainly necessary to his chronological scheme; but his proof of the *fourth* Passover rests mainly on Matt. xviii. 24, where Jesus is called upon to pay the half-shekel. The Mishna is quoted to shew, that the Jews paid that tribute half a month before the Passover, and the arrears half a month before the Pentecost and Tabernacles. Mr. Lewin thinks that Jesus was paying the tribute at the proper time, Adar 15, and that consequently a Passover was at hand, which certainly would be the fourth. But to my mind the question, "Doth not your Master pay tribute?" implies that it was being demanded a little before Pentecost, because it had *not* been paid at the proper time. In short, the *fourth* Passover is not satisfactorily made out.

4. Lastly, Mr. Lewin says, "*In the midst of the week* or in the middle year of the week, viz., at the Passover, A.D. 29, Jesus began to preach the new dispensation, which *was to* supersede the sacrifices and oblations; and this ministry of Christ was continued until the end of the week, which expired at the Passover, A.D. 33. And lastly and chiefly, at the Passover of A.D. 33, being *the end of the week* and also of the seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years, the Messiah was cut off, and the typical sacrifices of the law *were* concluded and determined by the real sacrifice once offered for the sins of the world" (*Introd.*, p. xlv). Mr. Lewin here makes the Messiah to do that in the midst of the week which *was to* "cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" *at the end of the week*: whereas the prophecy says, that he should *actually* "cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease *in the midst of the week*." Moreover, he forgets that on the same page he had said "the decree would be dated Nisan 1, B.C. 458, that day being stated as 'the foundation of the going up from Babylon:'" but if so, Nisan 1, A.D. 33, would be the conclusion of the seventy weeks; and thus on Mr. Lewin's shewing, Jesus would not be crucified till a fortnight after the seventy weeks had expired.

As my own date, A.D. 29, avoids these inconveniences, and critically meets all the requirements of the prophecy, I assert with confidence that the year A.D. 29, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified.

JOSIAH PRATT.

ON THE DATES IN LUKE III. 1; JOHN II. 20.

THERE are two, if not three, dates in the Gospels which may at first sight appear inconsistent with the conclusions of the foregoing paper. Two such occur in Luke iii. 1, where the Evangelist says,

that John the Baptist opened his commission as the forerunner of Christ "in the fifteenth year of the *hegemony* of Tiberius Cæsar, when Pontius Pilate was *hegemon* of Judea."

It is commonly supposed that John first began on the day of Atonement, Tisri 10. The prophet Malachi had said (iii. 1), "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple,"—"suddenly," *i. e.*, immediately after his harbinger had announced his approach. Now between Tisri 10 and Nisan 10 (March 17th, A.D. 26)—on which day Jesus made his first public appearance in the temple, and expelled the traders—there were just six months: his actual arrival had been already announced by John to the Sanhedrin about Feb. 26th (see my table *supra*, p. 466): the intervals above stated would be—the one, *long* enough for John to have excited the attention of all classes, as described in the Gospels; and the other, *short* enough to satisfy the prophet's language. I hold, then, that John began on Tisri 10, Sept. 21st, A.D. 25.

But it is quite a *vexed question* whether this date can be reconciled with the two dates in Luke iii. 1. I feel confident that it can.

I. St. Luke says that the Baptist began "in the fifteenth year of the *ἡγεμονία* of Tiberius Cæsar." The fifteenth year of Tiberius's *reign* would be A.D. 28-29, which does not suit my purpose. St. Luke, however, does not say the *μοναρχία* or *βασιλεία* of Tiberius, but his *ἡγεμονία*—a more general term, as appears from his saying in the very next clause, that Pilate *ἡγεμονέυε τῆς Ἰουδαίας*. In truth, this *hegemony* of Tiberius, like the other five notes of time in this passage, is a purely provincial date, such as the educated citizen and physician of Antioch, the friend of "the most excellent Theophilus," may be supposed to have been familiar with.

Now an authority equal to that of Augustus "*in all the provinces and armies*" was certainly conferred on Tiberius, just three years before the death of Augustus; which is thus proved:—(1.) Tiberius leaving Germany, celebrated his triumph at Rome Jan. 16th, A.D. 12 (Clinton). (2.) Dion says that he waited in the camp to celebrate the birthday of Augustus, *i. e.*, Sept. 23rd, A.D. 11, and then went to Rome for his triumph (lvi. 30). (3.) Velleius Paterculus tells us, that himself and his brother were officers under Tiberius, and went up with him to his triumph, and were decorated on the occasion; and he says that Tiberius, "*Cùm (=postquam) Senatus Populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus, ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset quàm erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset, in urbem reversus triumphum egit*" (ii. 121). This decree was therefore passed before Sept. 23rd, say Aug. 23rd, A.D. 11. (4.) Suetonius mentions the same matter, but *after* the triumph; and Mr. Greswell (vol. i., *Dissert.* vi., p. 276), who takes my view of Tiberius's *hegemony*, but puts his chronology a year later than mine, seizes on Suetonius's words as proving that the decree did not pass till *after* the triumph, A.D. 12. But if we punctuate Suetonius properly, he is seen perfectly to harmonize with Velleius Paterculus.

After mentioning the triumph, he says, "Ac non multo post (lege per Consules latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret) condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est." The "non multo post" evidently refers to "condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est," and it is not stated *when* the law was passed.⁴ A Roman law had first to pass the Senate; it was then brought, usually, by the consuls ("lata per consules") before the popular Comitia; and if it passed there, became a "lex" (Adams's *Rom. Antiq.*). Suetonius therefore means to say, that this "lex" was not smuggled through, but passed with the due formalities and with the concurrence of all parties in the state. It is clearly, therefore, identical with the "decretum" of the "Senatus Populusque Romanus," mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, which was passed about Aug. 23rd, A.D. 11.⁵ The fifteenth year, therefore, of this provincial *hegemony* of Tiberius would be the twelfth of his *monarchia*, i. e., Aug. 19th, A.D. 25—26; and Tertullian said correctly, that Jesus "a duodecimo anno Tiberii revelatus est." It corroborates this view of the case, that two coins of Antioch are extant bearing the head of Tiberius, and superscribed Τιβεριος Σεβαστος Σεβαστου, and numbered 43, 44, i. e., by the Actiac Era used at Antioch—Sept. 1st, A.D. 12—13, and Sept. 1st, A.D. 13—14; also two other coins of Antioch similarly superscribed, and numbered 45, 47, i. e., Sept. 1st, A.D. 14—15, and Sept. 1st, A.D. 16—17, and lettered A, Γ, respectively: there was doubtless an intermediate coin numbered 46, i. e., Sept. 1st, A.D. 15—16, and lettered B, of which no specimen has come to hand (Greswell's *Diss.*, vol. i., p. 279). These three last coins, so lettered, mark the first three years of Tiberius's *monarchia*, and imply three previous years of his provincial *quasi-imperial hegemony*, two of which are represented by the two unlettered coins. If the Baptist then began Sept. 21st, A.D. 25, it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius's *hegemony*. This explanation should be the more readily accepted, because St. Luke discovers in other cases such accurate knowledge of the minutiae of provincial history. The same remark applies to the next topic.

II. St. Luke adds, that the Baptist began "while Pontius Pilate was *hegemon*, or procurator, of Judea."

Josephus states (*Antiquities*, xviii., ii., § 2), that Tiberius on his accession "sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea in room of Annius Rufus," and that "Gratus went back to Rome after tarrying in Judea eleven years: when Pontius Pilate came as his successor." Reckoning the eleven years from Tiberius's accession, Aug. 19th, A.D. 14, Pilate would enter on his office about Aug. 19th,

⁴ When this was sent to press, I was not aware that Benson, in his *Chronology of our Saviour's Life*, pp. 193—197, adopts the very same mode of reconciling Paterculus and Suetonius.

⁵ Tacitus refers to this matter when he says (*Annal.*, i., § 3), "Nero [Tiberius] solus à privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere: filius, *collega imperii*, consors Tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur, omnesque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu." See more in Benson, pp. 169, 208.

A.D. 25—a full month before Sept. 21st, when the Baptist came forward.

Mr. Greswell, however, contends (vol. i., *Diss.* vii.) that Pilate could not have been in office till A.D. 26, for the two following reasons *inter alia* :—

(1.) A governor, he thinks, would not “under ordinary circumstances” arrive in Judea till the summer or autumn : so that Gratus would not commence his government till towards the end of Tiberius’s first regnal year, and would therefore be succeeded by Pilate at the end of Tiberius’s twelfth year, Aug. 19th, A.D. 26. It is obvious to reply, that the circumstances here were *not* ordinary. Tiberius would be anxious to put his own nominees into office as soon as possible ; and Josephus’s mode of speaking implies as much. Gratus would therefore be sent out at once across the winter sea, and arrive in Judea about the passover A.D. 15. Moreover, Josephus expressly says (*Antiq.*, xviii., ii., § 2) that M. Ambivius superseded Coponius, the first procurator, soon after—μετ’ οὐ πολὺ—the passover A.D. 9 (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 150) : Ambivius’s term of three years would expire about the passover A.D. 12, when he would be superseded by Annius Rufus, who in his turn would be superseded at the end of three years by Gratus : it necessarily follows, then, that Gratus arrived in Judea about the passover A.D. 15. At all events, Josephus regarded the procuratorship of Gratus as starting with, and running *pari passu* with, the emperor’s reign ; and represents him as having tarried eleven years in Judea, because he left it at the end of Tiberius’s eleventh year, having actually been in Judea ten years and a half. Eusebius in his Chronicle, citing this very passage of Josephus, takes the same view of the matter ; and says that Judea was committed to Pilate in the twelfth year of Tiberius ; and he calls Pilate’s fourth year Tiberius’s fifteenth year : at this rate, Pilate’s tenth year would coincide with Tiberius’s twenty-first year, ending Aug. 19th, A.D. 35, and Pilate would have arrived Aug. 19th, A.D. 25.

(2.) Mr. Greswell fetches another argument for the later arrival of Pilate in Judea from another passage of Josephus (*Antiq.*, xviii., iv., § 1, 2), where he states that Pilate attacked a body of Samaritans at Tirabatha, supposing them to be assembled for seditious purposes ; when he slew some, and afterwards executed the chief persons among the fugitives. The Samaritan senate complained of Pilate to Vitellius, “now president of Syria.” “Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his own, to take care of the affairs of Judea ; and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer for his conduct before the emperor. So Pilate, after he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome ; and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict ; but before he arrived at Rome, Tiberius was dead.” This statement, taken by itself, would seem to prove Mr. Greswell’s point ; for if Pilate ἠπείχετο εἰς Ῥώμην, how came he to be more than a year in reaching it, when he should have been but three months ? (See Augustus’s orders about governors returning from their provinces, quoted in Mr. Lewin’s *Fasti Sacri*, p. 248.)

Nevertheless, Lardner, Clinton, Kitto, and others,^{*} were of opinion that what seems at first sight so improbable actually happened. Though Pilate made haste to leave Jerusalem, he could not put to sea till the following spring, and then loitered on the way, and kept in concealment, till he should hear of Tiberius's death, which might be expected any day; when he hoped the prosecution would be dropped. Thus Gabinius, president of Syria, becoming obnoxious to the Roman people for his mal-administration, was superseded by Crassus, and recalled B.C. 55; but evaded for some time surrendering his province; and when he did put to sea, lingered by the way, *ὥστε χρόνιον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκεσθαι* (Dion., xxxix. 62), not till Sept. 28th, B.C. 54 (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 18). Antipater, son of Herod, on his voyage homeward from Rome, met with letters in Cilicia which made him suspect that his plot against his father's life had been discovered: his friends advised him not to proceed with his voyage, but to wait and see the issue of things (Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvii., v., § 1).

Josephus's narrative contains internal evidence that it must have been so in Pilate's case. For he immediately adds (§ 3), that "Vitellius went up to Jerusalem at the time of the passover," evidently to support the authority of his friend Marcellus, whom he had appointed Pilate's *locum-tenens*. Being hospitably received, he in return granted the Jews certain privileges; *inter alia* he allowed them the custody of the high-priest's vestments, which the Romans had taken into their own keeping ever since the deposal of Archelaus. Josephus says (*Antiq.*, xv., xi., § 4) that Vitellius *ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, κακεῖνος ἐπέτρεψε*. Claudius indeed (*Antiq.*, xx., i., § 2) afterwards says that Vitellius granted the privilege at once, which is probable; but what Josephus states is equally probable, that he wrote about it to Tiberius, who gave his sanction; but no rescript from Tiberius on the subject could ever have reached Vitellius, unless the passover in question had been the passover of A.D. 36; for Tiberius died March 16th, A.D. 37, three days before the passover of that year (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 251).—Josephus adds, that Vitellius at the same passover "deposed Caiaphas from the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan the son of Annas in his room." If this were the passover of A.D. 37, Jonathan was only seven weeks in office; for at the Pentecost of A.D. 37 Vitellius deposed this same Jonathan, and gave the high priesthood to his brother Theophilus (*Antiq.*, xviii., v., § 3). Josephus would have made some allusion to Jonathan's very brief tenure of office had it been only for seven weeks, if we may judge from a like case (see *Antiq.*, xviii., ii., § 2): "Gratus deprived Annas, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high-priest. He also removed him *in a little time* (*μετ' οὐ πολὺν*), and ordained Eleazar, the son of Annas, to be high-priest; which office when he had held for a year Gratus deprived him also, and gave it to Simon, son of Camithus; and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made the suc-

^{*} See also Benson's *Chronology*, etc., pp. 222—229.

cessor." It is my conviction that Jonathan was appointed at the Passover A.D. 36, and superseded at the Pentecost A.D. 37; and that consequently Pilate had been deposed after the Tabernacles A.D. 35, and had arrived in A.D. 25.

Josephus states, that "after these things done at the Passover Vitellius returned to Antioch." He then proceeds (§ 4) to mention a commission sent to Vitellius by the Emperor, relative to Parthian affairs. After detailing the movements in Parthia which had led to this commission, he resumes his thread in next section (§ 5), and states how Vitellius executed the said commission about Midsummer A.D. 36, as appears from Tacitus's more accurate account (see Brotier's *Tac. Annal.*, vi. 38). Herod Antipas, who had been acting with Vitellius against the Parthian king Artabanus, sent tidings of peace to Tiberius by special express, so as to anticipate the despatches of Vitellius; his object being to obtain the Emperor's aid against his enemy, Aretas king of Arabia, now that the Parthians were off his hands. The concluding section of this chapter (§ 6) gives an account of the death of Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis. The next chapter (v. § 1—3) details, how the quarrel originated between Herod and Aretas, and Herod's defeat by Aretas, and Herod's complaints to Tiberius, who was very angry, and sent a commission to Vitellius to take up Herod's cause against Aretas. Vitellius accordingly raised an army, and ἡπείχετο ἐπὶ Πέτρας. The Jews objected to his crossing the Holy Land with his idolatrous standards. He therefore ordered them to march another way, while he himself with Herod went up to Jerusalem, and attended the feast of Pentecost, and made a stay of three days, "during which he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus;" and on the fourth day he heard of the death of Tiberius. This feast must have been the Pentecost of A.D. 37 (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 251). Now if the Samaritan affair, and the disgrace of Pilate, had taken place towards the close of A.D. 36, and the Passover following were that of A.D. 37, Josephus would have inserted that portion of his narrative between the two commissions, at the end of chap. iv., just after the notice of Philip's death. But by putting it before the first commission, executed about the summer of A.D. 36, he shews that he understood the Samaritan affair to belong to A.D. 35, and the Passover to be that of A.D. 36. It is also observable, that Josephus first introduces Vitellius as president of Syria in connection with the Samaritan affair and the deposal of Pilate; for he says (iv., § 2), that the Samaritan senate complained of Pilate to Vitellius, "a man that had been consul, and who was *now* president of Syria." He was consul at Rome A.D. 34, and his first year of office in Syria was A.D. 35.

I trust that enough has now been said to prove, that Pilate arrived out as *hegemon* of Judea about the end of the eleventh year of Tiberius's reign, August A.D. 25; just as the fifteenth year of his provincial *hegemony* was commencing—a full month before John the Baptist opened his commission on the day of Atonement, Tisri 10th, Sept. 21st, A.D. 25.

III. I must now say a few words about another date: "Forty and six years hath this temple been in building" (John ii. 20).

It is commonly supposed, that Herod undertook the rebuilding of the Jewish temple in the eighteenth year of his reign. From any point within that year (*i. e.*, between Nisan 1, B.C. 20, and Nisan 1, B.C. 19) to Nisan 1, A.D. 26, would be forty-five years; and to the Paschal or third week following would be forty-six years, according to the Jewish mode of expressing periods of time. But the text of Josephus (*Antiq.*, xv., xi., § 1) represents Herod as undertaking it ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ, which rather implies that the eighteenth year was *over*. The eighteenth year is introduced at chap. x., § 3, by saying that ἑπτακαιδεκάτου ἐνιαυτοῦ παρελθόντος, or when the seventeenth year was passed, Augustus came from Samos, where he had wintered, and visited Syria: this certainly was in the spring of A.D. 20. Augustus paid such honour to Herod during this visit, that the king in gratitude filled his country with memorials of Cæsar; till the Jews began to suspect that he was disaffected to their religion; and became so unquiet, that Herod felt it necessary to exact a fresh oath of allegiance, probably at the Tabernacles (Sept., B.C. 20). To reassure the Jews further, he determined to rebuild their temple on a magnificent scale; and probably first broached the idea at the Encænia, or Feast of Dedication, in December. The Jews at first stood aghast at the vastness of the enterprize, and feared lest Herod, having pulled down the old temple, would be unable to replace it by a new one; when Herod promised them that he would not touch the old fabric, till he had collected materials for the new. Having made preparations in the interval, he would be ready to proceed with the work soon after the Passover, B.C. 19; and the ναὸς was finished in eighteen months, synchronizing with the day of Herod's inauguration, which fell according to Greswell the last week of September, according to Mr. Lewin two months later (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 53). The Jews round our Lord would naturally exaggerate, and dating the work from the first proposal in B.C. 20 to their own time, Passover A.D. 26, called it "forty-six years."

I trust I have now established, that our Lord was born in October B.C. 7, baptized in January A.D. 26, when thirty-one years and a quarter old, and crucified in A.D. 29. The great importance of these conclusions is, that they critically shew the fulfilment of the Seventy Weeks prophecy in Daniel; and that they account astronomically for a Thursday and Friday Nisan 14, and so explain the discrepancies between St. John and the other three Evangelists relative to the last Passover.

JOSIAH PRATT.

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,
Dec. 1st, 1866.

THE HARE.

I HAVE perused the short article on the subject of "the Arabic term for *hare*," in the last number of your valuable periodical, and I, for my part, beg to return the writer, W. Wright, my best thanks for his communication, considering the light which it throws on the subject. I may inform him that I am perfectly "satisfied as to *what is the Arabic for hare*."

But when I said in No. 18 of the "Correspondence," referred to by Mr. Wright, that "it would be highly satisfactory to learn what is the Arabic for *hare*," it is to be taken into account what it was I really meant, according to the shewing of the Correspondence itself, especially Letters 12, 15, and 18. In my own mind I was perfectly convinced that the Hebrew *Arnebeth* stood for a hare, and I had no doubt that the Arabic *Arnab* also denoted a hare. Mr. Young, my correspondent, had however called this in question, and in two respects. First, he thought that Arabic lexicographers had transferred the Hebrew word into Arabic dictionaries by merely turning "the Hebrew word into their own peculiar characters." Secondly, he disputed that *Arnab* is the Arabic for hare "in the language of *common life*." (See Mr. Young's letter, No. 17.) Now it was with reference to this procedure on my correspondent's part, that I wrote as I did in No. 18. In fact the very letter now referred to, contains evidence that it was not to bring about satisfaction to myself, so much as to silence Mr. Young's doubts and questionings, that I wrote as I did.

Any way, Mr. Wright has taken a considerable deal of trouble to shew that Arabic lexicographers were not so far at sea as Mr. Young supposed. Mr. Wright has also endeavoured to point out "the usage of the present day on the borders of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula." For all which I desire to return, once more, your learned correspondent my sincere thanks, and I trust that Mr. Young will be induced to follow my example, and to thank Mr. Wright for dispelling his doubts as to what in reality is "the Arabic term for *hare*."

I may mention that since the correspondence about the hare was published in the July number of your periodical, I have received a variety of letters having relation thereto. These letters, which refer to old authors who treated of the animal in question, as well as to the most recent knowledge extant about the hare itself, may form an interesting addition to the *hare correspondence* for a future number of your Journal.

WILLIAM GILLESPIE.

The Mineral Villa, Stirling,
December 3, 1866.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

La Philosophie de Saint Augustin. Par M. F. NOURRISSON, Professeur de Philosophie au Lycée Napoléon, ouvrage couronné par l'Institut de France. 2 vols., 8vo. Paris : Didier and Co.

IN the year 1861, the Académie des Sciences Morales, et Politiques proposed, as the subject of a prize to be awarded in 1864, the following thesis—" *The Philosophy of Saint Augustine : its origins, its character, its merits, and its defects ; its influence, especially during the seventeenth century.*" The work we now would bring before the notice of the English public obtained the prize ; and we certainly consider it as one of the most valuable contributions lately made to the history of moral philosophy. It bears on the title-page the name of M. Nourrisson, professor at the Lycée Napoléon in Paris, and already well known amongst our neighbours through other productions of the same character.

Our author begins in his preface by asserting the superiority of Saint Augustine's influence over even that of Saint Athanasius. No doubt the heresy of Arius was a most dangerous one, and the services rendered by the Patriarch of Alexandria cannot be overrated ; but worldly policy contributed especially to the development of Arianism, and stamped it with a kind of spurious popularity. Manicheism and Pelagianism, on the other hand, were two heresies originating from false and incomplete views of human nature, and they tended to nothing short of a destruction of the very elements upon which the Christian faith is established. In defending man's freedom against the Manicheans, and the doctrine of the grace of God against Pelagius, the Bishop of Hippo may be said to have strengthened the foundation of religion. It is not too much to say that Saint Augustine's consummate skill as a dialectician contributed largely to his success and his reputation ; at all events, to quote M. Nourrisson's remark, he philosophized, and the most eminent Christians of all ages have held him up as a pattern of what the true metaphysician should be.

The question proposed by the Académie des Sciences Morales, et Politiques, was not, therefore, an idle one ; and it remains for us to justify briefly the praise we have awarded to M. Nourrisson's remarkable essay.

We need not dwell here upon the biography of Saint Augustine, which forms the subject of the introduction to the first volume. As our starting principle, we may just say that the two problems which occupied the attention of the illustrious father of the Church were the following : 1st, the conditions of a happy life ; and 2nd, the question of certitude. Now these two propositions are far from being simple ; for, in the first place, if we want to determine the nature of certitude, its origin and its validity, we must have ascertained what is the origin of

our ideas—discovered the limits within which the mind of man can safely move—found out the essence of truth. In the second place, it is equally evident that many subsidiary problems must be solved before we can determine what are really for man the conditions of a happy life. The happiness of man is necessarily in some sort of relation with his nature. Now, man consists of a body and a soul; we shall, therefore, have to investigate the nature of these two essential parts of our being; we must see how they act and react upon one another; our connection with the world, with our fellow creatures, and with God, should also so be taken into serious account. Finally, the two problems which we consider, together with M. Nourrisson, as forming the sum and substance of Saint Augustine's philosophy, embrace the whole range of metaphysical investigation, and touch upon every side of our nature. Moreover it has been very accurately remarked that the discussion of these problems was, so to say, rendered obligatory by the character of the times in which the Bishop of Hippo was called to live. Heresies of every kind confronted him and offered him battle. His controversy with the Manicheans gave him an opportunity of examining thoroughly the dark and puzzling questions of the divine nature, Creation, Providence, and free will—that cause of every evil. Against the Donatists he had to maintain the authority of the Church and the efficaciousness of the Sacraments. The Arians had spread their dangerous views in Africa, as well as through the rest of the Christian world. Here again Saint Augustine proved himself equal to the task, and explained the doctrine of the Trinity more thoroughly than it had been done before him. The Pelagians, finally, by giving undue importance to the freedom of the will, had attacked the ethics of Christianity, and introduced erroneous views about them. The result was, on the part of the Christian doctor, a systematic course of morality founded upon the Gospel. Bossuet has admirably said of Saint Augustine—"C'est le seul des anciens que la Providence a déterminé, par l'occasion des disputes qui se sont offertes de son temps, à nous donner tout un corps de théologie."

Certitude—The Soul—God—The World—Liberty—The City of God, or ethics: such are the headings of the various chapters which compose the first part of M. Nourrisson's suggestive work. Through the means of a number of quotations from the different treatises of Saint Augustine, our author has constructed a metaphysical code of doctrines, all the parts of which are harmoniously blended together, and stated in the clearest way possible. This division of the book is entirely historical; the system is merely developed, criticism being reserved for a separate section. It has been thought best that we should take an uninterrupted survey of the whole country, and that no objections should disturb us in our contemplation of the Bishop's intellectual greatness.

But a question now arises,—Did Saint Augustine draw entirely from himself and from the study of Scriptures the elements of his teaching? or was he not, rather, indebted to a certain extent to his

contemporaries and his predecessors for some of his views and illustrations? We may remark, in answer, that the education of that illustrious man was carefully attended to and pursued under the most favourable circumstances. Africa, which had given birth to such distinguished writers as Apuleius, Nemesianus, Tertullian and Minucius Felix Arnobius and Lactantius, might reckon amongst the most highly civilized districts of the Roman Empire. Since the reign of Marcus Aurelius, its schools had enjoyed great celebrity, and it was there that Saint Augustine was brought up. He soon became thoroughly acquainted with Latin literature; on the other hand, we know from his own evidence that he never succeeded in mastering Greek; and all the ingenious hypotheses of the Benedictine editors have failed to impugn the statement which we find in several passages of his works, particularly the following decisive one:—“*Et ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil.*” (*Contra Litter. Petilian.* ii., 38). We are, then, led to conclude that the quotations from Greek writers, which occur so frequently in Saint Augustine’s writings, were taken at second-hand, through the medium of translations, which it would be difficult now to identify. M. Nourrisson shews in a very conclusive manner that Plato, Aristotle, and the philosophers of the Alexandrine school, exercised upon the Bishop of Hippo the greatest influence, and a French translator of the *Æneid* has even gone so far as to say that, “pour bien comprendre Saint Augustin, il est indispensable de connaître la langue et la doctrine de Plotin.” With respect to the Latin sources of the prelate’s philosophy, the question is, of course, much easier. Cicero is the writer whom he quotes most frequently, and to whom he alludes chiefly. We know, from a passage in the *Confessions*, with what delight in his early youth he had studied the fascinating poetry of Virgil. Lucretius, Horace, Terence, Persius, and Juvenal are equally familiar to him, especially the two last.

If we now come to examine the influence which Saint Augustine enjoyed over both his contemporaries and posterity, the facts are so numerous and the testimony of Church history so abundant, that we need scarcely go into any particulars. Amongst the many controversies originating from an erroneous interpretation of the Bishop’s views, the one which arose between the Jansenists and the Molinists is, perhaps, the most famous, and M. Nourrisson gives a detailed account of it. What are the solitaires of Port Royal—Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, De Sacy—but champions of the doctrine of free grace, and fervent disciples of Saint Augustine? Saint Cyran, whom Richelieu hated on account of his spirit of independence, had encouraged Jansenius to publish the famous *Augustinus*, and while the Jesuits described the work as a *réchauffé* of Calvinism, he declared, on the contrary, that it was a book “which would last as long as the Church.” Now, as M. Nourrisson says, what is the *Augustinus* except the quintessence of St. Augustine’s teaching? Who is Saint Augustine but the theologian, next to Saint Paul, the most eloquent on the subject of free grace? At the voice of

Saint Cyran a whole legion of devoted Christians arose, who ranged themselves under the banners of the great African doctor, and endeavoured to drive away from the Church the dangerous teaching of the Jesuits.

Descartes and Malebranche may also be named amongst those who reflected in a very considerable degree the mind of Saint Augustine. The predilection of the Port Royalists for Cartesianism might suffice to prove this assertion with respect to the author of the *Discourse de la Méthode*, even if we had not direct evidence supplied by his writings. In the case of Malebranche the fact is equally clear, and to quote only one instance, the *Méditations Chrétiennes* are merely a reproduction of the *Soliloquies*.

We would say now a few words on the concluding part of M. Nourrisson's book, the one, namely, in which he appreciates the character of Saint Augustine's teaching. We are not astonished at finding that, on the whole, the judgment passed is a favourable one; but still, even the sun has its spots, and the Bishop of Hippo in some respects was open to criticism. M. Nourrisson remarks very justly, for instance, that his psychology offers many imperfections, and that the proofs of the immortality of the soul are not sufficiently cogent. Saint Augustine, let us add, seems to have been conscious of his shortcomings in this respect, for he says in his *Retractationes* (lib. i., cap. 5): "*Qui liber* (on the immortality of the soul) *primo ratiocinationum contortione atque brevitate sic obscurus est, ut fatiget, cum legitur, etiam intentionem meam, vixqué intelligatur a meipso.*"

The endeavours which Saint Augustine makes to prove the doctrine of the Trinity seem, likewise, very futile and absurd to M. Nourrisson; and no wonder. Any attempt to explain one of the deepest mysteries of the Christian's belief cannot but be a signal failure; and if human reason were capable of fathoming that truth, there would be no more room for the exercise of faith.

The prelate's views on the philosophy of history are also, in many points, far from being correct. Subordinating everything to the triumph of the Church, and placing this preliminary fact above all controversy, giving it out as an axiom, he does nothing but accumulate assertions and heap up hypotheses of the most gratuitous description. His ideal is essentially an ecclesiastical one, and at a time when the civilized world seemed hopelessly abandoned to the grossest misrule, he appealed to Divine grace, to the power of God, to a supernatural order of things. As M. Nourrisson remarks, it is less human life that Saint Augustine has wished to describe than the religious one, which he deems to be the sole purpose of creation.

From so one-sided a view the most absurd, the most dangerous consequences necessarily flow. Thus, an erroneous theory of property. Property, says the Bishop, is a divine right, and no one can be a proprietor but through the immediate delegation of God. Now, no one can be God's delegate except the man who obeys him; therefore all things belong, *jure divino*, to the elect, and the reprobate possess

nothing lawfully. Of course, Saint Augustine did not foresee the consequences of his principle, but they issue naturally from it, and that is what a well-known writer on law, Barbeyrac, pointed out in his French translation of Puffendorf.

After having enumerated all the defects of Saint Augustine's views, there remains still a considerable balance on the side of his merits. There are few amongst the Fathers of the Church to whom we owe so much, and a spiritual teacher who has numbered in the multitude of his disciples men like Calvin, Pascal, Arnauld, Whitfield, and Jonathan Edwards, must ever be regarded as one of the brightest lights of this fallen world.

G. M.

La Monastères Bénédictins d'Italie, souvenirs d'un voyage littéraire au-delà des Alpes. Par M. ALPHONSE DANTIER. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris : Didier and Co.

M. ALPHONSE DANTIER has been commissioned by the French Government to collect together and publish the correspondence of the illustrious men who shed so much glory upon the *congregation de Saint Maur*; but in the course of his investigations he had naturally to inspect and examine the principal monasteries belonging to other branches of the great Benedictine family; hence the two volumes we are now recommending to our readers. The students acquainted with the *Iter Italicum* and the *Voyage Littéraire* will immediately recognize in M. Dantier a worthy intellectual *confrère* of the Mabillons and the Montfaucons, and they will rejoice at finding that the taste for serious and ennobling pursuits has not yet disappeared from France.

It would be too much, indeed, to expect that M. Dantier is not an admirer of the Benedictines, and we do not suppose that any one is disposed to find fault with him on that score. Voltaire, who is such an authority with revolutionists of every country and every shade, admired the brethren of Saint Maur, and has paid a handsome tribute to their incontestable merits. Let that man step forward who appreciates what learning is, what sound criticism, unwearied industry and honesty of purpose—let him step forward, and, if he dares, fling a stone at the Benedictines; but, on the other hand, M. Dantier does not blindly rush into a panegyric of monastic orders. They did in their day the work appointed for them by God; they preserved the dying sparks of civilization at a time when "might was right," and when brute force seemed to rule from one end of Europe to the other. Mediæval society has disappeared, the old order of things exists no more, and the institutions which were necessary three or four centuries ago are ill adapted, it may be, to the requirements of the present age. Our author acknowledges all this, and he limits his regret to the fact that the destruction of monastic establishments should have been made compulsory; one of his wishes is that the treasures of Monte Cassino may be left untouched, and the house itself preserved as a monument of glories long since departed. A recent decree of the Italian Govern-

ment has, we are happy to say, realized M. Dantier's hopes, and under the keepership of Father Tosti, the noble library of the great Benedictine monastery will remain accessible to the *savants* of Europe.

It would be difficult to give within the compass of a short article an adequate idea of M. Dantier's two volumes. Suffice it to say, that they combine antiquarian details with sketches of literary and political history, personal impressions, with descriptions of scenery, and that they give a very full account of the rise and progress of conventional establishments in Italy. Rather than weary the reader by what could be at best only a dry catalogue and a bare table of contents, we prefer detaching from the work one of its most interesting episodes, and we shall follow M. Dantier throughout his history of the progress of literature and science in the monastery of Monte-Cassino. We may notice, to begin with, that Benedict uniformly encouraged amongst his monks the love of study. Not only was each person expected to read throughout during Lent one of the books contained in the library, but the rule ordered them all to be provided with writing instruments (*graphium et tabulæ*), and when, after some time, the riches of the community became very great, the transcription of MSS. was sanctioned by the successors of Benedict as amply satisfying the conditions of manual labour enjoined by the statutes, whilst it helped in an equal degree the intellectual culture of the monks.

Paul Warnefrid may be quoted amongst the most distinguished members of the Benedictine association during the middle ages. He is well known as having been one of the chief ornaments of Charlemagne's court, and his influence was as great as it was beneficial. History, poetry and hagiography, flourished at Monte-Cassino, and at the same time the art of the copyist, to which we are indebted for the preservation of so many treasures of ancient lore, was actively carried on. "The archives of the abbey," says M. Dantier, "still possess, amongst the MSS. of the ninth century, a history of Zosimus and of Theodoret, a fine copy of St. Augustine and of other fathers of the Church. Towards the beginning of the next century, the abbot Theobald gave in the same direction a fresh impulse to the activity of the monks. Not satisfied with having caused two chapels erected by him to St. Severus and St. Nicholas to be embellished with paintings, not satisfied with having built round the atrium preceding the abbey-church a wall flanked by towers, he likewise wished to enrich the library by the addition of new MSS. But it was particularly during the following period, and under the administration of Desiderius, that the literary movement went on with greatest success, and that the monks both studied and transcribed most energetically the monuments of antiquity. The library, reconstructed near the new church, soon numbered amongst its treasures the works of Virgil, Horace and Terence, Justinian's *Novellæ*, the Latin historians and chroniclers of the middle-ages. Desiderius himself set the example of the greatest intellectual activity. When forty years old, he began to study literature and music with ardour, and composed several works on the miracles performed at Monte-

Cassino, besides the singing for the office of St. Maur. Through his influence the celebrated abbey-school, which had begun to revive under abbot Theobald, reached at this epoch its highest degree of prosperity, the pursuit of literature in nowise interfering with the religious keeping of the rule. Monte-Cassino was then the asylum where the most distinguished men of southern Italy sought the repose and the light which they stood in need of. Profane and sacred literature, Latin mediæval poetry, history under the entertaining garb of chronicles, finally the medical and the physical sciences, were worthily represented during this period.

The impulse given to every kind of intellectual pursuit at the time of the *Renaissance* was felt throughout the Benedictine communities as much as in the other regions of society. Greek and Latin became still more satisfactorily studied, because the discovery of the noblest masterpieces of classical lore had opened fresh views of thought and new fields of enquiry. Fascitelli, a favourite of Pope Julius III., and a friend of Cardinal Bembo, composed at that time his heroic poem and his metrical panegyrics, which have been collected in the *Deliciæ Poetarum Italarum*. The archives of Monte-Cassino seem still to contain a large number of unpublished works written during the sixteenth century, for M. Dantier alludes to *un grand nombre de pièces manuscrites* bearing the name of Benedict dell' Uva alone; and it is evident that if one author has left behind him so imposing a collection, others must have shared in enthusiasm, and profited to the same extent by the general diffusion of learning. Benedict dell' Uva composed several religious poems; but M. Dantier quotes a sonnet which he addressed to Torquato Tasso on the publication of the *Gerusalemme*. The French critic very justly remarks on the silence Benedict keeps respecting Dante and Petrarch. Whatever may have been the genius of Tasso, and no one would, we suppose, question it for a moment, he cannot claim the honour of being the *first* Italian poet. We shall translate the sonnet from M. Dantier's version:—

“O Tasso! thou to whom heaven has given a rare and noble genius, fruitful inspiration and true learning, since thou hast entered upon the road which Homer and the Mantuan Swan were the first to open;—following their track which serves to guide thy footsteps, thou climbest with a firm and nimble tread the steep path.—Thou proceedest the third after them; but to thee, I hope, will belong a share of glory equal to that which the illustrious pair has obtained. Our language has been for many years expecting its poet; till now it had not found him—not found, at least, a poet such as could restore to it its original splendour. Fortunately, thy style, full of grace and of majesty, combines solid qualities with enchanting forms, and thy poem offers the noblest examples to the imitation of men.”

It must not be supposed that Monte-Cassino was the resort only of poets, scholars, and artists; on the roll of its controversial divines we find men like the abbot Angelo de Faggi, Benedict Canofilo, and many others. The reputation of the monastery for piety and learning was so great that the celebrated Loyola visited it, and prepared himself there by retreat for the great work he meditated. Since the sixteenth cen-

tury the number of pilgrims whom piety or the interests of science drew towards Monte-Cassino kept increasing, and under the reign of Louis XIV. the French Benedictines of Saint Maur carried on with their Italian brethren a correspondence which has been preserved to us, and which is in every respect worthy of attentive perusal. Dom Mabillon, it is well known, visited Italy in 1685 for the purpose of procuring for the Paris Royal Library some books and MSS. He went of course to Monte-Cassino, and bore ample witness both in his *Iter Italicum* and his letters to the prosperity of the abbey, the courtesy of his inmates, and their enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits. M. Dantier has given several extracts from this correspondence; they are very interesting, but we shall not transcribe them here, as the publication of the entire collection at no distant period will give us a natural opportunity of reverting to that part of our subject.

One of the most remarkable discussions in which the Benedictines found themselves engaged, related to the publication of the works of Saint Augustine. The Jesuits, with their usual spite, accused the learned editors of having altered the text of several passages so as to favour the doctrine of free grace and predestination. To such a scandalous imputation, affecting the honour of the whole community, Montfaucon opposed a vigorous reply, in which we find, as M. Dantier remarks, all the uprightness of a pious man combined with the indignation of a *gentilhomme* who had served under Turenne. He received permission to present the Pope with a copy of his apology, and the commissioners appointed to examine the new edition of Saint Augustine adopted all Montfaucon's conclusions. The Jesuits, then all powerful at Rome, were extremely opposed to the Benedictines, whom they accused of Jansenism, not, we must say, undeservedly. For the followers of Loyola, every word composed or edited by a brother of the congregation of Saint-Maur was, *ipso facto*, suspected; as Mabillon said:—"there are ten Jesuits who examine with the utmost rigour all the works printed by the congregation:—Saint Augustine, Saint Athanasius, Saint Ambrose and Saint Bernard, and they criticize everything *à outrance*." However, Clement XI. gave a most solemn approval to the edition of Saint Augustine, and exhorted the learned fathers to "continue with all possible courage and diligence an undertaking worthy of their profession and of their virtue."

After the death of Mabillon, Montfaucon, Estiennot, Germain, and all the great Benedictine celebrities of the seventeenth century, we do not find any other monks equalling them in reputation, though M. Dantier gives us a short account of three or four whose industry and piety should not be left unnoticed. Fathers Tosti and Kalefati are at present the most distinguished literary representatives of the order, the former being equally known for his liberal sentiments as a politician, and his talents as a writer. It was he who received M. Dantier, opened to him the intellectual treasures of Monte-Cassino, and supplied him with the materials which were necessary to make his *Recueil* of the Benedictine correspondence more complete and more interesting. Al-

though we are still living in the midst of revolutions, and the whole of Europe seems convulsed by the throes of democratic agitation, yet we trust that the scenes of Vandalism which marked the beginning of the present century will not be repeated, and that the cloisters of Monte-Cassino will not be desecrated by the noise of war or the agitation of political squabbles. It is well that Italy should set the example of respect for the traditions of the past, and prove that its idea of liberty does not imply the fanaticism of *sans-culottes*, quite as hateful in its way as that of priestcraft.

G. M.

Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke; shewing the doctrines taught by Jesus Christ, and how far these agree with the doctrines taught by Paul and other Apostles, and by Modern Churches. By JAMES STARK, M.D., F.R.S.E., etc. Two Vols. London: Longmans. 1866.

It is far from being a pleasant task to speak one's mind with perfect freedom about such a book as this. It has no doubt cost its author much time and labour, and it exhibits very considerable freedom, not to say recklessness, in its treatment of sacred subjects; but nevertheless it is a thoroughly unsatisfactory book.

To begin with, whatever else it may be, it is not a commentary on St. Luke. These two volumes (more than a thousand pages put together) do certainly in some slight degree follow the course of the narrative in the third Gospel, but they are a commentary, if upon anything, upon the entire Gospel history, with very numerous digressions to prophecy on the one side and the epistles on the other. The very numerous references to current controversy, and even to passing events, may or may not in themselves be wise and useful, but they have no more whatever to do with a commentary on St. Luke than with a commentary on Jonah or the Song of Solomon.

The tone and spirit of the book are even more unsatisfactory than its actual contents. Dr. Stark sets out with a wholesale disparagement of all preceding commentators. He says in his preface that among the innumerable writers of the present day there are comparatively few original thinkers, but among these few he says, "I class myself." Nobody can find much fault with this very harmless delusion; probably Dr. Stark's originality has been discovered by nobody in the world except himself, but what of that, if a man is not original he may at least manage to be candid, and seeing that Dr. Stark thinks almost every writer but himself an incurable fool, there is for that very reason the less cause to suspect the honesty of those who differ from him. There are quacks and even knaves in the *medical* profession, and there is also a fair sprinkling of honest noodles, who now and then kill a patient because they do not know any better; but would a clergyman for that reason be justified in branding the whole profession as hypocrites and scoundrels? And yet it is exactly in such a way that Dr. Stark thinks proper to treat all the ministers of religion. When

they are not dishonest, he would have us believe they are fools, and when they are not fools they are dishonest.

Thus, for instance, he tells us (vol. i., p. v) that most of the commentaries known to himself were written by men who "did not even make the attempt to ascertain the true meaning of Christ's discourses and parables, but twisted them to support the doctrines of the creed in which they believed." So again he says (vol. i., p. 10) that German critics, De Wette for instance, *under pretence* of great Biblical knowledge, have done infinite harm to Christianity by their infidel and rationalistic criticisms. Again he speaks of the phrase "inspiration of the Scriptures," as one which *we now so Jesuitically use*. He speaks of certain interpretations of the language of St. Peter, which by the way has nothing whatever to do with a commentary on St. Luke, as supported by perverting the meaning to an extent of which they (that is, nearly everybody except Dr. Stark) ought to be ashamed, and that they, the same people, are unlike honest men in search of truth. In the same way his book is crowded with such expressions as this, "every one who takes the trouble to think" on a subject must arrive at such and such a conclusion. Such and such a passage would never have been quoted for such and such a purpose "had the original Greek been critically looked at." In fact all scholars, Biblical students, and commentators may be divided into two classes—Stark and not-Stark, and by an inscrutable providence Stark is always right, and not-Stark is always wrong.

Now all this is wretched nonsense. The best commentary that ever was written or even could be written would almost certainly be ruined by such insufferable conceit. And Dr. Stark must know perfectly well that this kind of rubbish is quite as unjust as it is offensive. He knows perfectly well that long before he was born thousands of people who could think had most carefully studied their Bibles, without perceiving what seems so plain to him; and he is perfectly well aware that there is not a single text in the New Testament of which the original Greek has not been over and over again critically examined.

Perhaps it would be too much to say that Dr. Stark has no originality. It is almost impossible for any body contemptuously to disregard all human guidance without floundering into some absurdity from which every one else has escaped. He believes, though this is by no means his most magnificent piece of originality, that St. Luke was a constant attendant on Jesus, and that his narrative is the direct testimony of a conscientious man, who himself relates what he saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears. It was, of course, a matter quite undeserving of regard that this opinion is directly opposed to the opinion of almost every Biblical scholar, because these unfortunate Biblical scholars belong to the class not-Stark. He arrives at his conclusion from the words in the preface to the third Gospel, *ἔδοξε καμοῖ, παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*; which he translates, "It seemed good to me also, having closely accompanied all these men from the beginning."

Surely Dr. Stark is not so simple as to imagine that the profoundest Greek scholars do not know the derivation of the verb that is here employed. They do know the derivation, the meaning of both the components and of the compound, and it is precisely because they do know this that they adhere to that rendering which is adopted in the Authorized Version. The word occurs only here in St. Luke's writings, and only in three other places in the whole New Testament. And it would be interesting to know whether Dr. Stark would translate 1 Timothy iv. 6, "If thou put the brethren in mind of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, which *thou hast accompanied as an attendant.*" Or again, perhaps we ought to read in 2 Timothy iii. 10, "*Thou hast accompanied as an attendant* my doctrine, manner of life, purpose," etc.

Perhaps the most brilliant of Dr. Stark's discoveries, the surest tokens of his originality, are to be found among those very numerous passages in which he demolishes the superstitious claims of the Roman Catholic Church. He attacks the Virgin Mary almost as if she were a personal enemy, and he demolishes the dogma of the immaculate conception by arguments which have probably never been applied to the same subject before, and will almost certainly never be applied to the same subject again.

"Mary in her conception was no more pure and free from sin than any other legally married woman. The Scriptures are quite explicit on this point; for Paul authoritatively settles all such matters by saying, 'If thou marry thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned.' . . . Now, what is the reason for the married being a sinless state? It is not only because it is an institution of God, without which the world could not be continued, but also because God decreed it to be a great mystery, inasmuch as it constituted two persons to be but one flesh. . . . From this it follows that neither marriage, nor conception, nor child-bearing are sins; all are sinless; all are immaculate. Mary, therefore, was not distinguished from other women by her Immaculate Conception, of which the Romish Church makes so much; for by the Scriptures the conception of every legally married woman is immaculate. The only thing which distinguished Mary from other women in her conception was, that it was *miraculous.*"

And so this is the teacher who is to set all Christendom right! It would be odd enough if women were *born* married, but to be *conceived* legally married is a phenomenon that has hitherto at any rate escaped the notice of the Registrar-General. Dr. Stark plainly enough has not the faintest notion what the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is.

This notice is already longer than the *Commentary on St. Luke* deserves, but though Dr. Stark's volumes have little or no merit as a commentary on St. Luke, they are at any rate worth looking at as amongst the curiosities of literature.

W. K.

Our Sermons. An attempt to consider familiarly but reverently the Preacher's work in the present day. By Rev. R. GEE, M.A., Oxon. London: Longmans. 1866.

THIS is a very wise little book; but on the other hand most melancholy. What must *the preachers* be who not only need such counsel, but to whom it must be administered with so paternal a gentleness. Even the very moderate demands that Mr. Gee is bound to make upon the abilities and the patience, and, in fact, the common honesty of the clergy, he makes with the greatest hesitation, and with no expectation whatever of receiving complete satisfaction.

So far as this book deals with the great work of preaching itself, with the question, what is the real object of a sermon? or, what is the justification of the existence of an order of preachers? its pretensions are exceedingly modest. Indeed its author deserves far higher consideration than he claims. But what can be done with the existing race of preachers? and how can their ideal of their work be purified and ennobled? above all, how can they *now* become qualified for the due discharge of duties for which they have never had an adequate preparation?

Mr. Gee's suggestions are perfectly astounding, because of what they reveal of the existing state of things, and they leave no room whatever for surprise at empty churches, and a growing alienation of the intelligence of England not only from the clergy, but even from Christianity itself. One chapter of this little book—by no means the least suggestive—is entitled, “Of the Pre-requisites of the Preacher;” that is to say, of those gifts and acquirements without which nobody ought to presume to attempt the work of preaching at all. These are:—1. Impressiveness produced by personal character. 2. Knowledge of the Scriptures in Greek as well as in English. 3. Knowledge of the right use of theological terms, as fixed by the standards of our own Church. 4. Knowledge of the usual springs of human action, and the motives by which these are regulated. 5. Acquaintance with our own language, and a power of expressing oneself at least in “plain English.”

What Mr. Gee says on these subjects is unquestionably wise, and yet this chapter of his book is truly melancholy, not to say appalling. “That the preacher,” he says, “shall have some power of expressing his thoughts in simple if not vigorous English, this I confess is the qualification which I doubt to find as much as any.” “If a young clergyman feel that he has no such gifts, then let him not disdain to study in some way or other the art of composition.” Mr. Gee is far too good a man to write at random on such a subject as this; and being a rural dean, he must have a very wide experience of what the qualifications of the working clergy really are. But what does this admission of his amount to? It amounts to saying that the average clergyman is as a preacher totally and incurably unfit for the office he holds. A man may be exceedingly pious, he may be a most affectionate friend, his visits to the sick and poor may never fail to

impart consolation, but if he cannot express his thoughts in plain English, it is perfectly certain that he cannot be a preacher.

Mr. Gee's book leaves the impression upon the mind of his reader that the Anglican clergy need, not exactly lecturing—Mr. Gee is far too courteous to lecture anybody—but quietly instructing, like little boys or girls, how to write themes. If such a book as his be necessary—and it can be scarcely doubted that it is—then the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the clergy as preachers are wholly imbecile. Their one chief characteristic must be a feebleness which it would be a compliment to call effeminacy. No wonder that men of this sort are constantly sneering at what they call “preaching shops.” It is only too plain that, in a “preaching shop,” their occupation would be utterly at an end. They cannot preach; but on the other hand, how excessively easy it is to dress in gay clothing, and to pace the aisles of a church in processions, singing Gregorian chants. When a man knows perfectly well that if he had to stand on his own merits, no human being could be found so infatuated as to listen to him for ten minutes, he is naturally enough driven to look about for something else to stand upon. It is indeed a dreadful thing that a man should endeavour to secure acceptance of his own nonsense by affirming that it is the infallible truth of Almighty God, but what else are we to make of the enormous pretension of a clergy, the majority of whom are unable to express their thoughts in plain English?

What we want now is not mummery but teaching, and Mr. Gee's book is calculated to do good service in the right direction.

W. K.

The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula.
By CARL RITTER. Translated by WILLIAM L. GAGE. Four Vols.
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

To those who take an interest in the physical features of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula—and who does not?—this work will be an unmistakeable boon. We have afloat among us an immense mass of information respecting the regions alluded to, but it is either mixed up with other matter, or too frequently reduced to proportions so slender as to be of little value to students. A few books certainly form honourable exceptions. But we wanted something which would embody more completely the materials of English and continental writers. German scholars knew very well the wonderful storehouses which Ritter erected and filled, and they gladly acknowledged their obligations to them. Still, everybody could not read German, and all who could had not money to purchase and leisure to explore the bulky tomes of Ritter. Under these circumstances we heard with much satisfaction that Messrs. Clark had engaged the services of a competent editor to reduce into English, and into a moderate compass, this portion of the veteran German's work. We have no less satisfaction in announcing the result. Mr. Gage has produced four handsome

octavo volumes, which are very well printed, and are arranged in a convenient form for general use. The editor's labour must have been very heavy, as he has not merely digested his original, but has added a great amount of new matter in the form of notes, etc.

We do not now propose to criticize individual portions of the work, for this our space will not allow; but we will rapidly indicate the course pursued. First of all we have a general historical introduction, which is followed by detailed descriptions of the Sinai peninsula in every direction; and this occupies the first volume. In the second we have a general comparative view of Syria, a valuable survey of authorities for the geography of Palestine, notices of Canaan previous to its conquest by the Israelites, and an account of surrounding tribes. The detailed description of the Jordan, its valley and basin, followed by a useful appendix of notes, fills the rest of the volume. The third volume continues the description of the Jordan valley and basin. After this we have an account of the successive divisions of the country, a detailed description of portions of it, and an appendix of notes. The fourth volume opens with an elaborate account of Jerusalem, followed by descriptions of Northern Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. The whole concludes with an index of subjects, and another of texts. It is easy to imagine that the sixteen or seventeen hundred pages of the work abound in facts of all degrees of interest; they involve a geographical and topographical commentary on the Bible of great value and utility. One is amazed that the incidental allusions contained in books written so many ages ago, should be capable of so much illustration in our day. The impression of truthfulness which we receive from the mere perusal of the Scriptures is deepened and informed by these admirable pages. We sincerely wish that every Christian minister, every Sunday-school teacher, and every private layman might possess a work of so deep and varied interest. The price is exceedingly moderate, and the book has been prepared with equal honesty, intelligence, and judgment. Messrs. Clark have published many useful books, but few more truly useful and praiseworthy than these noble volumes.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Edited by ALEX. ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, D.D. Vol. I., Apostolic Fathers. Vol. II., Justin Martyr and Athenagoras. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

WE have already advertised our readers of this very important and seasonable project, and now we are able to tell them of the issue of the first two volumes. Vol. I. is translated by the editors and the Rev. F. Crombie. It contains the epistles of Clement, Polycarp, and Barnabas, the epistles of Ignatius, spurious and genuine (including the longer and shorter texts of the seven, the Syriac text of three, and the nine undoubted forgeries), the epistle to Diognetus, the pastor of Hermas, the fragments of Papias, and the martyrdoms of Polycarp

and Ignatius. The translations are accompanied by introductions and notes, and the volume closes with indexes of subjects and texts of Scripture. The two recensions of the seven epistles of Ignatius are printed in parallel columns, which will enable any one to compare them with very little trouble. The divisions into chapters are adopted throughout, and, in the case of the epistles, the subjects of the chapters are indicated. The whole are printed in a clear and legible type on good paper, and the external appearance is attractive.

The description of the first volume will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the second, which has been translated by the Revs. Dods, Reith, and Pratten. It contains Justin's genuine works, viz., the two apologies, the dialogue with Trypho, the discourse to the Greeks, the hortatory address, the treatise on the sole government of God, and various fragments. These are followed by the martyrdom of Justin and others, the apology of Athenagoras and his treatise on the Resurrection, and indexes of subjects and texts.

We believe these two handsome volumes will cost subscribers half a guinea; it is therefore necessary that a very large impression should be disposed of to cover the outlay. That the demand for the whole series will be great we believe, and we are sure that if it were not, the fact would be a disgrace to us as a nation. The editors are more than competent—they are men of known learning and ability, and have already proved their profound interest in this branch of literature. They have the additional and rare recommendation of being honest, and therefore they will not admit forged rubbish because it pretends to a great name, nor will they tolerate the abominable principles of translation which have been too often exemplified in versions from the Fathers, and which have resulted in mere parodies of the Fathers in a Romish dress. Translators of these writings seem to have felt that they were so much raw material which could be wrought up for party purposes; or they have tacked on to them the most impudent frauds as genuine. There are inconsistencies and follies enough in genuine patristic writings, but why should the fictions and lies of other men be laid upon them. We call them fathers, forsooth, we had better say godfathers, for they have had to stand sponsors and give names to the spurious offspring of every monkish or sacerdotal brain that might come in their way. Their genuine productions even have been so disfigured and disguised, that if they could rise from the dead they would not know their own children.

Thanks to modern researches, learning, criticism and enterprise, Englishmen will now be able to see for themselves the Fathers restored as far as possible to their primitive state; they will learn what doctrines those earliest Christian writers and bishops preached, and they will know that all the parade and pretence about them being zealous advocates of forms and ceremonies, vestments and sacerdotalism, and all that sort of thing, is supported by the thinnest and flimsiest shadow. We advise the curious to read the epistle of Clement, bishop of Rome in A.D. 96, and to compare it with the last encyclical letter of Pío IX.,

Pope of Rome in A.D. 1866. If this does not open their eyes, they may be assured that they are hopelessly blind.

After what we have said of the editors of these two volumes it is superfluous to add that they have done their work well. We would only venture to urge, and with some earnestness, that the indexes of subjects and of texts should be made as copious as possible.

Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job. By F. DELITZSCH, D.D.
Translated by the Rev. FRANCIS BOLTON, B.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THE difficult problems of Job have not appealed in vain to the courage of critics and commentators. Like the Revelation, it has had hosts of expounders. But there is this remarkable difference, that while every Rosicrucian has supposed himself able to elucidate the Revelation in particular, and the prophecies in general, the Book of Job has most often fallen into the hands of respectable and sober men. Probably no one is fated to solve all its mysteries, and happily no theory of the Book of Job is at present canonized as an article of faith. There is a "pious opinion" that it was written before the time of Moses; but another opinion, possibly quite as pious, regards it as some centuries, at least, more modern than Moses. Dr. Delitzsch does not adopt the older date, but for all that his commentary is very excellent. Though like all that proceeds from his prolific pen, it furnishes questions for discussion, yet still, like all the same author's works, it contains a fund of materials which the students of Job will be sure to prize. This second volume completes what appears to be a well-executed version of a book which we have pleasure in recommending.

Christian Dogmatics: a compendium of the doctrines of Christianity.
By Dr. H. MARTENSEN. Translated by the Rev. W. URWICK, M.A.
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

DR. MARTENSEN is a Danish bishop, and a Lutheran. His book has been popular in Danish, and the author has himself issued a German edition, from which the one before us has been translated. Systems of divinity are not so popular, perhaps, with us as they were with our fathers, but there is no reason why systematic theology should be more objectionable than systematic botany. In both cases we have, or ought to have, a classification of facts on scientific principles. Dr. Martensen's introduction is occupied with various matters which claim the attention of the student. The author then considers the Christian idea of God, after which, under the heads of the doctrine of the Father, that of the Son, and that of the Spirit, he treats of most of the questions which pertain to Christian dogma. The plan is simple, and the style terse and generally clear, but the book as a whole is one for study. Possibly few will accept every opinion advanced, but for all that the work is one of superior merit, and will be of special service to preachers and others who desire to treat of Christian truth in a logical and me-

thodical manner. In addition to an index of texts, there is one of subjects which will much assist those who wish to use the volume for reference.

A Critical Exposition of the Third Chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans. A Monograph. By JAMES MORISON, D.D. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Glasgow: F. D. Morrison.

IF this work had appeared first upon the Continent, it would most likely have soon found a niche in the "Foreign Theological Library," but making its advent in Britain, it may be almost overlooked. Whatever its fate, it is a remarkable production of one who seems to have read and quoted well nigh all the authors that have written on the same subject. Manuscripts, versions ancient and modern, commentators ancient and modern, editors ancient and modern, all pay tribute, and the result is one of the most comprehensive expository monographs which we have seen upon a single chapter. The author is not only industrious and learned, but he is a close and clear thinker and reasoner, earnest in the expression of his religious sentiments and doctrinal convictions, and ready in the use of his pen. It is with the literary features of the volume that we have to do, and we do not hesitate to say that such as would have all the materials needful for studying the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans will find them here. Dr. Morison reminds us that Luther said of one part of this chapter, "It is the central and most important passage of the epistle, and indeed of the entire Scripture." Calvin coincided with Luther, and many others have expressed a similar opinion. We have read various portions of the volume with interest and pleasure, and have been pleased with the author's free and outspoken utterances even when we have not fully agreed with them. The book deserves real commendation, and any young minister especially would be greatly profited by a close, discriminating, and continuous study of it.

Genesis and its Authorship. Two Dissertations. I. On the import of the introductory chapters of the Book of Genesis. II. On the use of the names of God in the Book of Genesis, and on the unity of its Authorship. By JOHN QUARRY, A.M. London: Williams and Norgate.

GENESIS is a book of singular interest, and in many respects of singular difficulty; hence it has attracted a wonderful measure of attention, and has given occasion to a multitude of theories, religious, critical, historical, and scientific. Mr. Quarry has added to the literature of Genesis a solid octavo volume of nearly 650 pages. When we say "solid," we mean it both as to manner and to matter. The first dissertation, on the introductory chapters of Genesis, is mainly concerned with chapters i.—iv., but we all know what a host of mighty problems is encamped upon that ground. Mr. Quarry believes that although we are to accept the earlier portions of Genesis as Holy Scripture, written for religious purposes, we are not to regard the record of crea-

tion, etc., as chronologically exact and literally historical. Viewing them as the vehicle of certain great truths, he considers they should be taken for such, and not tortured into agreement or disagreement with scientific discoveries. In the main we are at least free from hostility to this idea, and never imagine that any reasonable man can require Moses to foreshadow modern science, or to avoid it, or to be judged by it. We may be told that the book assumes to be inspired, and that its author must have known the entire truth. Agreed: but it remains to be shewn that when God speaks in the language of men he may not use the very language they employ, nor adapt his phrases to their ideas, sensations, and even harmless prejudices. After all the form of the book is historical; and the crucial question is, whether it is to be literally interpreted or not? Nobody can dogmatically assert on his own *ipse dixit* either the one or the other.

At the end of his first dissertation Mr. Quarry introduces some interesting and thoughtful notes on other portions of Genesis. In his second dissertation he grapples with the problem of unity of authorship, and analyses the phenomena to which appeal must be made. This is a very patient examination and is honourable to the independence and acumen of the author. The result of his explorations is favourable to unity of authorship, and it seems to us that he deals the maintainers of the plural theory a blow which they ought to feel, though we doubt if they will. If some other books were subject to such a cross-examination as Genesis has been, it might lead to similar results, especially if those books were historical, and had been written piecemeal, as this may have been. Two things seem now to be admitted; 1, that the writer of Genesis used older materials; and 2, that his book has been augmented by glosses and interpolations, and altered by various readings. In opposing the "pluralists" Mr. Quarry has a number of theories to assail, but he seldom or never quails, and even when we differ from him we do not get angry with him. His two dissertations are so earnest and thorough that we expect they will, as they merit, take a place among the best books relating to the great controversy which has called them forth.

Some Distinctive Peculiarities of each of the Four Evangelists. By the late JAMES T. ROUND, B.D. London: Rivingtons.

THIS is a posthumous work, its respected author having departed this life in August, 1860, as we learn from a brief but kindly memoir, prefixed by the Rev. J. M. Chapman. A work which appears under such circumstances is seldom subject to a critical process. In the present case we are relieved from the labour commonly attendant upon works on such subjects: it is neither erudite nor scholastical. Its author availed himself of the sources of information which a clergyman is expected to possess. He made good use of his English New Testament, consulted his Greek one, and, while referring to other books, availed himself of his recollections of what he had read. But though not invested with literary pretensions, the work is characterized by

transparency of thought and diction, by a thoroughly reverential tone, and by other features which will render it agreeable and useful. Occasionally the author is rather discursive, but for general readers this will be no disadvantage, and it must be observed that in many passages he is terse enough. The analyses and comparisons, and passages illustrated are often very interesting, and altogether the work is one which may be strongly recommended to the active clergyman and the educated Christian layman.

Our Hymns: their Authors and Origin. By J. MILLER, M.A.
London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

MR. MILLER has here presented us with biographical sketches of nearly two hundred psalm and hymn writers, and notes on their compositions. His work is planned as a companion to the New Congregational Hymn Book, which is one of the best edited collections of hymns in our language, and would be still better if a summary of Mr. Miller's volume could be appended to it. It is well known that bibliographical and biographical supplements are added to numerous German hymn books, and greatly promote the knowledge of hymns, as well as their authors. The work before us has been compiled with every regard to accuracy, and is the fruit of much research. We warmly congratulate the author on his success, and the more so that he usually resides away from the advantages of the metropolis. Most of our best known hymn writers here find a place, and the obscure composers of some of our most popular hymns, as well as many others. The order followed is mainly chronological, and the plan includes living writers. The series commences with Telesphorus, which is a name very gratuitously prefixed to what is, nevertheless, one of the most ancient of Christian hymns, the evening hymn of the Codex Alexandrinus, a very good rendering of which has long been current among us. Translations of a few other ancient hymns appear in the Congregational Hymn Book, —fewer than we could have wished;—the mass of them date from the Reformation onward. We have repeatedly returned to the pages of Mr. Miller's work, and always with new pleasure and instruction. His little memoirs are often exceedingly neat and compact, and his observations upon hymns are characterized by sound judgment and pious sentiment. He has our best thanks for what he has done, and we trust his volume will be extensively circulated, as it certainly deserves to be.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D. With General Preface, by JOHN C. MILLER, D.D., and Memoir by ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.
Vol. XII. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS volume concludes the issue of Goodwin's works. It contains sermons, notes of sermons, and indexes. The set to which it belongs is quite a mine of mental and spiritual wealth, which the lovers of old Puritan divinity may explore without fear of exhausting it.

The Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops to the Reformed Religion at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the assumed descent of the present Established Hierarchy in Ireland from the Ancient Irish Church Disproved. By W. MAZIERE BRADY, D.D. London: Longmans. 1866.

THE curious historical problems discussed with singular acumen in this pamphlet will be regarded as important by every one who thinks it necessary to prove the unbroken chronological and regular succession in the Irish Church. It seems, however, that either our forefathers kept their accounts very badly, or those accounts have been sorely mutilated and garbled. Under such circumstances Dr. Brady may claim to have made out a very plausible case; just as Dr. Lee has shewn very forcible reasons for quite another opinion. Our own opinion is, that instead of unprofitable questions about ending or endless genealogies, the clergy of the Irish Church are now called on more loudly than ever to make full proof of their stewardship, and to justify their calling and election by imitating apostolical examples. The spirit of St. Paul is worth more than a pedigree from St. Malachi, or even from St. Palladius. After all, we must say that Dr. Brady conducts his argument with great ability and erudition.

A Christian view of Christian History, from Apostolic to Mediæval times. By J. H. BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A. London: Rivingtons.

THIS new work consists of eight chapters: the birth of Christianity; the infancy of Christianity; the struggle between Christianity and Paganism; early adulterations and imitations of Christianity; the breaking up of early Christian unity; Mahometanism; early English Christianity; the Church of the middle ages. Under the various headings indicated, there is much useful and interesting matter, and as Mr. Blunt generally writes with freedom and transparency the book is very pleasant reading. It is fitted for popular use, and will not dismay any one, either by its bulk or its appearance. There is little doubt in our mind that it will be one of the author's most popular works. It seems to have been compiled with care and judgment.

Hymns of Faith and Hope. By H. BONAR, D.D. New edition. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THIS is a remarkably elegant edition of the hymns of Dr. Bonar. As the hymns are already widely appreciated, we may be dispensed from criticizing them. But the book is an admirable specimen of typography and binding. The hymns have illuminated though not coloured initials, and every page is surrounded by a chaste and ingeniously devised border. The letter-press and paper are of the first order, and the beautiful cover and gilt edges contribute to make it a desirable and appropriate gift-book, or table-book. The fact that the work is brought out in so superior a style is itself an evidence of its acceptableness. As

a Christian poet Dr. Bonar will no doubt continue in honour, and we trust, increase in usefulness.

The Works of Henry Smith ; including sermons, treatises, prayers, and poems. With Life by Fuller, etc. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: JAMES NICHOL.

THIS is one of the choicest volumes yet issued in Nichol's cheap series, and is worth far more than it costs. We have for years been wishing to see the "silver-tongued" Smith in a modern and accessible form, because he was one of the greatest preachers of his age. Few, perhaps, now know his sermons; but those who do know them, greatly prize them. Happily he was one of our earliest theological counsellors and friends, and he has not lost his high place in our estimation. We advise all who can to procure this work, and we are sure that those who read it will sympathize with our judgment. One other volume will complete the work, and it is promised at an early date

The Passion Week. By Rev. W. HANNA, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

THOSE who possess Dr. Hanna's previous works on our Lord's earlier years, passion, and resurrection, should not fail to procure this, which is every way like them in style, spirit, and appearance. It is exceedingly well adapted for quiet devotional reading in meditative hours, and will greatly aid to promote the realization of those solemn days and events to which it is consecrated. The author enters thoroughly and heartily into his subject, and in a beautiful and forcible style reviews the transactions and lessons which belong to his theme. In these times it affords us pleasure to recommend so refreshing a work, and one so eminently Christian in all its language and bearings. More than this it is unnecessary for us to say, to prove the satisfaction with which we have perused these excellent pages.

The Acts of the Apostles: with a commentary and practical and devotional suggestions for readers and students of the English Bible. By Rev. F. C. COOK, M.A. New edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

WE are glad to see a new edition of Canon Cook's very carefully prepared and useful volume. The English text with parallel texts appear above the continuous commentary. The author has availed himself of the labours of other critics, without sparing his own. His notes are frequently very apt, and suggest at once the true sense of the original, and the practical use to be made of it. The book is neither dry nor formal, but yet is scholarly and thorough. The whole is preceded by a well-written introduction, and each chapter is preceded by a summary, and followed by "practical and devotional suggestions." Readers unacquainted with Greek will be able to appreciate and enjoy it; and those who do know Greek, will find in it many useful critical and expository observations.

The Divine Law ; or the Scriptural duty and happiness of Man. By J. W. SMITH, B.C.L., Q.C. London: Rivingtons.

WE cannot do better than hear Mr. Smith himself:—"In the main, the sentiments expressed in this book are those of the middle school of the Church of England. And the endeavour of the author has been to delineate a purely and thoroughly Christian system—a system founded, not on the doctrines and commandments of men, or on particular passages of Scripture detached from other parts of the sacred volume ; but of duties in general as derivable from Scripture. It is throughout on the whole of God's Word, and on that alone." The introduction is on the neglect, abuse, and use of the Bible. The book itself treats of duties in general as derivable from Scripture. It is throughout eminently Biblical, and the author shews much readiness in selecting and applying texts. Although the profitable perusal will require rather close application, we have no doubt that earnest young men, especially, will not grudge the attention it asks, and we are quite sure that the result will be abundant profit. The volume will be very useful to such as have to prepare sermons for practical purposes.

The Chronicles of an Old Manor House. By GEORGE E. SARGENT. London: The Religious Tract Society.

THIS is an elegant volume, internally and externally. The story is well told, and will assist the youthful reader to understand and prize the principles and privileges which we have received from our forefathers. If our space permitted us to notice works of fiction at length, we should certainly say much in praise of this excellent and—paradox as it may seem—truthful story.

Christianity in its relations to Social Life. By the late Rev. STEPHEN J. DAVIS. London: The Religious Tract Society.

A NICE little book for the family library. The topics are—social intercourse with the world ; friendship ; courtesy ; woman's sphere ; marriage ; temper ; the tongue ; government and obedience.

Christ our Ideal ; the satisfaction of the Reason. A sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. V. C. KNIGHT, M.A. Oxford: Rivingtons.

WE have much pleasure in recommending the perusal of this excellent discourse, which thoughtful readers will find eminently suggestive and helpful.

Christian Manliness : a Book of Examples and Principles for Young Men. London: The Religious Tract Society.

A BOOK of convenient size, and eminently practical on a subject of great moment. Christian young men will be greatly assisted by it in their endeavours to acquire that breadth and development of character which they aspire to. The standard is high, but so are Christian aims.

Greek Lessons. By W. H. MORRIS. Second Edition. London: J. B. Bateman.

THIS small book is one in which nothing seems superfluous. We imagine that the intelligent young student will be able, without overtaxing his brains, to learn more of Greek from this manual than from many other books of three or four times the size. We strongly recommend it to beginners who have no time to lose.

Essays on Symbolism. By H. C. BARLOW, M.D., F.G.S. London: Williams and Norgate.

DR. BARLOW is a well-known explorer, and in that character has appeared in our own pages. Two of the essays contained in the volume now issued were originally published in this Journal; we refer to those on the Tree of Life, and Sacred Trees. The first and longest essay,—on Symbolism in reference to Art, is new, and quite curious. It is to be expected that many of the particular views here advanced will be questioned, or at any rate not relished by all their readers. But it is very desirable that we should divest ourselves of prejudice and partiality; for so far as the churches are concerned, it is a momentous question where all these conventional symbolical forms have come from. For our part we have been considerably interested in Dr. Barlow's pages, which are laden with facts and reasoning upon them. We believe symbolism will be one of the great investigations of no distant day.

Six Lectures on the Fundamental Truths connected with the Church of God. By W. KELLY. London: W. H. Broom.

We regret to be unable to find space for a detailed account of Mr. Kelly's lectures, but we give their titles: One Body; One Spirit; The Assembly, and Ministry; Worship, breaking of Bread, and Prayer; Gifts and Local Changes; The resource of the Faithful in the ruins of Christendom. The author's views of Christianity are the converse of those who advocate anything like a ritual. Like all the productions of his pen, this volume is characterized by spiritual earnestness, talent, and definiteness of purpose.

Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik. Dr. E. O. SCHMIDT. Altona: Handcke and Lehmkuhl. 1865.

As a record of movements in the Churches, this is a very useful manual; and we are glad to see it continued notwithstanding the demise of its originator. The contents are diversified and well arranged.

The Acts of the Deacons. In two books. Book 1.—The Acts of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. Book 2.—The Acts of St. Philip, Evangelist. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1866.

DR. GOULBURN is a writer of very superior order, and the volume before us is worthy of his reputation. He writes with calmness and moderation, and at the same time with firmness; nor is he at all liable to obscurity either of thought or of expression. We understand what he means, and the tone of earnestness pervading the composition shews that he means what he says, and has reasons for it. Without a show of scholarship, we have all the results of mental acquisition and discipline. None but a well-balanced mind, fully furnished, and admirably cultivated, could produce such a work, and we are happy to add that its spirit is eminently Christian. We trust the author's elevation to higher dignity will not rob him of the leisure which has enabled him to edify the Church at large by the excellent publications which bear his name.

The Autobiography of Rev. E. Mathews, the "father Dickson" of Mrs. Stowe's "Dred." London: Houlston and Wright.

THIS book reached us too late for careful examination; but it appears to be a faithful narrative, recording many romantic events, and abounding in information about men and manners in America. We have seldom taken up a more entertaining volume, and we have been struck with the author's earnest aspirations and endeavours in favour of the African serf. The book should be read by everybody.

Ueber den sogenaunten Barnabas-Brief. Von Dr. J. KAYSER. Paderborn.

WE beg to call attention to this little monograph on one of the oldest and most interesting pseudepigraphs of the primitive church. Dr. Kayser thinks it appeared in the first two decennia of the second century.

How Saints are made in modern days. An inquiry into the canonization of St. John Nepomnucen in 1729. By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

A VERY neat and clever *brochure*, deserving to be extensively circulated. The author is thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and very ably expounds and exposes the proceedings of those who make it their business to manufacture dead saints rather than living ones.

The Annotated Book of Common Prayer; being a historical, ritual, and theological commentary on the devotional system of the Church of England. Edited by the Rev. J. H. BLUNT, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THE second and concluding division of this handsome and elaborate work reached us too late for us to prepare a review of it for the present

Number. The editor and his learned and industrious *collaborateurs* have brought together a wonderful mass of materials, and have constituted this the most complete work upon the Prayer-book hitherto published. Prolegomena and notes, references and documents in great variety, will be found to justify us in saying that at the present crisis the volume will supply no little assistance to the student. An admirable index and glossary has been given, as well as a facsimile of a portion of "the Sealed Book," and sketches of certain ecclesiastical vestments recently revived.

Revelation and Science: being a critical examination of a sermon on the unsearchableness of God, preached at the Nottingham meeting of the British Association, by D. Moore, M.A. By T. WILSON, M.D. London: Rivingtons.

MR. MOORE'S sermon has been published, but we have not seen it. The animadversions before us are exceedingly well and earnestly written. It is much to be regretted that the divine should be so commonly afraid of science, and the philosopher so prone to think revelation unsound. We shall not learn much science from the Bible; we may learn much of God's truth from science.

An Order of Service to be used in the ministration of public Baptism of Infants, at the same time as the reception into Church of Infants privately baptized. London: Rivingtons.

A TENTATIVE amalgamation of two offices, beautifully printed in red, blue, and black. When the Common Prayer-book is revised, it should not be lost sight of.

We have received and beg to call attention to the following:—

- A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By W. Gouge, D.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: James Nichol.
- Nicolaus von Basel. Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften, von Charles Schmidt.
- Liber Judicum secundum LXX. interpretes Triplicem textus conformationem recensuit Lectionis varietates enotavit interpretationis veteris Latine fragmenta adjecit O. F. Fritsch. 1867.
- Was ist die Wahrheit von Jesu? Zeitfrage und Bekenntnits von Heinrich Koenig. Leipzig. 1867.
- Das Münz-mass und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, von J. Brandis. Berlin. 1866.
- Das Opfer nach Lehre der heiligen Schrift alten und Neuen Testaments. Eine apologetische Darstellung des biblisch-kirchlichen Opferbegriffs von Dr. Wangemann. Two Vols. 8vo. Berlin. 1866.
- David der König von Israel. Ein biblisches Lebensbild mit fortgehenden Beziehungen auf die Davidischen Psalmen, von Dr. F. W. Krummacher. 8vo. Berlin. 1867.
- Theologischen Jahresbericht Unter Mitwirkung namhafter Theologen herausgegeben, von W. Hauckerster Jahrgang Erstes Quartalheft. 8vo. Wiesbaden. 1866.
- Neue Bibelstudien, von H. G. Hoelemann. 8vo. Leipzig. 1866.
- Paulus nach der Apostelgeschichte. Historischen Werth dieser Berichte. Eine von der Haagen Gesellschaft zur Vertheidigung der Christlichen Religion Gekrönte Preisschrift, von C. H. Tripp. 8vo. Leiden. 1866.
- Biblisch-theologisches. Wörtenbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität von Herman Cremer. 8vo. Gotha. 1866.
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MISCELLANIES.

The Palestine Exploration Fund.—The society raising the Palestine Exploration Fund has published a pamphlet containing all the papers as yet published in connection with their scheme. The most interesting portion for us was the "Statement of Progress," in which we met with the following passage:—"The most interesting remains are those of the ancient synagogues at Tel Hum, Irbid, Kefr Birim, etc. To these attention has been called by Dr. Robinson in his *Later Biblical Researches*. But the present expedition has furnished the first complete account of their arrangement and construction. They all lie north and south, have three gateways in the southern end, the interior divided into five aisles by four rows of columns, and the two northern corners formed by double engaged columns. The style of decoration does not always appear to have been the same. At Tel Hum (the strongest claimant for the site of Capernaum) and Kerazeh (Chorazin), Corinthian capitals were found; at Irbid a mixture of Corinthian and Ionic; whilst Kefr Birim, Meiron, and Um el-Amud have capitals of a peculiar character. The faces of the lintels over the gateways are usually ornamented with some device; at Nebartein there is an inscription and representation of the seven-branched candlestick; at Kefr Birim the ornament appears to have been intended for the Paschal Lamb; and at Tel Hum there are the pot of manna and lamb. A scroll of vine leaves with bunches of grapes is one of the most frequent ornaments."—Can any one explain why all these synagogues should lie north and south?

In the letters by Captain Wilson, who conducts the exploring operations, we find some details in reference to the discovery of these synagogues. Of that of Tel Hum he wrote:—"We are now at Khan Minyeh, and have to-day been digging in the mounds. I was very sorry to leave Tel Hum; there is much to be done there yet, but excavating is very expensive work, and we have a great number of places to visit; we can only call what we are doing scratching; it would take £150 or £200 to do Tel Hum properly. We have found out the plan of the white building,—four rows of seven columns each, the favourite Jewish number, surrounded by a blank wall ornamented outside with pilasters, and apparently a heavy cornice of late date; the longest side is north and south, but what puzzles me is that the entrance was on the south side, which does not seem to be usual in synagogues. Plans and measured drawings of architectural details have been made. The synagogue was surrounded by another building of later date, also well built and ornamented; we opened one portion of this; the remainder would have cost too much to have done at present. The confusion caused by the mixture of the ruins of the two buildings, and the loss of a great portion of both from stones having been taken away to Tiberias, makes the whole very puzzling. If Tel Hum was Capernaum, they certainly took the old synagogue for Peter's house, and built the church round it." Of that of Nebartein, he states:—"From Tiberias we turned north again, to complete the exami-

nation of the Jarmuk district, and at some ruins called Nebartein discovered an old synagogue, on the lintel of which was an inscription in Hebrew, and over it a representation of the candlestick with seven branches, similar to the well-known one of Titus's arch at Rome—a squeeze was taken of the inscription."—The most precious relic that could be discovered by the Exploration Society would be some truly ancient scroll of the law or prophets, such as, undoubtedly, existed in every synagogue. And if manuscripts from Pompeii and Herculaneum are in our days being brought to light, why should we despair of meeting with a similar treasure in one of these synagogues, which have so long been hidden in the bowels of the earth?—*Jewish Chronicle*.

IN MEMORIAM: DR. HINCKS.

It is with undissembled sorrow that we record the setting of one of the brightest luminaries of learning in our islands. Intelligence has reached us that our old and honoured friend and contributor DR. HINCKS is gone to his rest. Not immature, not unhonoured, has he died; but we could have wished that his extraordinary merits and attainments had been recognized in a more substantial manner by the Church he adorned. Perhaps we do wrong to allude to this; but who shall say that he whom we have lost was unconscious of it? Never mind; he rests from his labours, and his works do follow him, and his memory will live and be resplendent. He has built himself a monument on earth, *ære perennius*, and his Master has doubtless given him a high place among the children in the Great Father's house.

Circumstances will prevent us from doing more, but we hastily snatch from the *Daily Northern Whig* of Dec. 5, a few brief mementoes for preservation by our readers, who know already his unusual learning and ability, and zeal for the elucidation of dark places in the sacred page.

"It is our painful duty to announce the decease of this amiable and excellent man; one of the profoundest scholars whom Ireland has produced for many centuries; a gentleman in every sense of the word; a patriot of whom his country may justly be proud; and a clergyman of whom any Church might with reason boast. His death took place on Monday, the 3rd December. He was the son of Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, LL.D., pastor of the Presbyterian congregation of Prince's Street, in the city of Cork; afterwards minister of Fermoy; and, in the latter years of his life, head-master of the classical school, and Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages in the Belfast Academical Institution. Dr. Edward Hincks was born in the month of August, 1792, and consequently was seventy-four years of age at the time of his decease. At a very early age he gave indications of no common powers of observation and comparison. Before he was able to speak, he had learned to put together a dissected map of Europe, and could point out every important country, river, mountain, and town on the terrestrial globe. His education, under his learned father, was so carefully superintended that he entered Trinity College, Dublin, at an unusually early age, taking the first place; and having "gone in" for a fellowship before the completion of his undergraduate course, he obtained it, being of all

the candidates *facile princeps*. We have heard that his answering in the pure and mixed mathematics was the best that had ever, till that time, been made by any candidate for a fellowship. He soon afterwards took orders as a clergyman in the Church of England, and, at a considerable sacrifice of emolument, accepted the living of Ardtrea, which was in the gift of his college, and in which a vacancy had occurred. He was afterwards promoted to the rectory of Killyleagh, in the Diocese of Down, which is also in the gift of Trinity College; and there he spent the last forty-one years of his life, respected, honoured, and beloved by all who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance.

"He early manifested a wonderful capacity for deciphering texts in characters and languages equally unknown to him. His first essay in this line was somewhat remarkable. A gentleman, desiring to test the power of learned men in acquiring a knowledge of truths locked up in the obscurity of dead languages and obsolete alphabets, published in a periodical work a passage from a foreign book which he had transcribed in a set of characters *invented by himself*, and totally differing from any known form of writing, and requested those who thought themselves skilled in such undertakings to send to the editor a transcript of it in the common type, and a translation in the English language. Dr. Hincks did both in twenty-four hours after the magazine came to his hands. The language, it may be observed, was Spanish, with which he had no previous acquaintance. This facility of analysis was of great use to himself, and to the learned world when he afterwards applied himself to the study of Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Demotic texts, and to the inscriptions in the Cuneiform character found in Persepolis, Nineveh, and other places in the ancient Empire of Assyria. His interpretations of these inscriptions were at first disputed by men of great experience and paramount ability; but we believe that at length his principal opponents and rivals—Rawlinson, Grotiefend, and others—have admitted that his fundamental principle was right, and have acknowledged that all consistent and trustworthy interpretation of these texts must proceed on the principles which he was the first to discover and explain. He was no less learned as a theologian than as a philologist. He took part, in the year 1829, in a controversy on the comparative merits of the Roman Catholic and Established Churches, in which the vast stores of knowledge which he had at command, and the clearness as well as readiness with which they were produced, in reply to an able and most dexterous opponent, were conspicuous. The discussion was marked by good feeling and good temper on both sides; and, strange as it may appear, had the happy effect of allaying the heats and animosities of the contending parties.

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"Dr. Hincks lived and died—incomparably the most learned man in the Irish Church, and inferior to none in personal and moral qualifications—the Rector of Ardtrea and Killyleagh, who never owed one farthing to the favour, or patronage of the Crown, except a literary pension bestowed upon him not long since in acknowledgment of his labours as a scholar. He also had an Order of Knighthood conferred upon him by the King of Prussia on similar grounds.

"Most of his publications appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, and other learned Societies, many of which had enrolled him among their members. We have been informed that an entire volume of the Transactions of the Academy consists of papers from his pen. He also read some interesting papers at the meetings of the British Association, and some which excited much attention at public meetings of the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Belfast."

END OF VOL. X. (NEW SERIES). K

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